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HISTORY OF ERIE COUNTY
1870 - 1970

edited by

Walter S. Dunn, Jr.

Published by

THE BUFFALO AND ERIE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

in commemoration of

THE ERIE COUNTY SESQUICENTENNIAL 1971

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Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society
Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 72-176247

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Preface

This book is not so much a history of Erie County as a collection of essays concerning the history of the County.

Because of the tremendous scope of the topic and the enormous volume of sources available, it would be difficult to write a comprehensive history for the entire 150 years from 1821 to 1971. Very early in our planning, it was decided that the work would concentrate on the last 100 years of the County history, since the earlier period was already covered by several well-written secondary works on the history of Western New York. Foremost among these are the works of Henry Wayland Hill, *Municipality of Buffalo;* John T. Horton, *History of Northwestern New York;* Chrisfield Johnson, *Centennial History of Erie County;* Josephus Larned, *A History of Buffalo and Erie County;* Truman C. White, *Our County and Its People;* Merton Wilner, *Niagara Frontier.*

Yet, even after eliminating the first 50 years from our research, the final 100 years presented a tremendous challenge. We chose to concentrate on several topics with some care and to cover other topics with photographic essays, rather than attempt to discuss all aspects of the County's history. This meant that we excluded certain topics.

The editor hopes that this finished work will serve as a point of departure for further research and writing by students of our local and regional history. The Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society through its quarterly journal, *Niagara Frontier,* now in its eighteenth year, offers a continuing medium for the publication of Erie County history.

Another problem was that of authorship. The in depth research and writing established as a standard for this work was too extensive for any single person. Thus, multiple authorship was adopted. The major contributors to the book have been Dr. Wilbur H. Glover, Dr. Stephen Gredel, Mr. Roger Squire, Ms. Ellen Errigo, and Mr. James Littlefield; any errors either in fact or interpretation, however, remain the editor's responsibility.

The book was prepared and published in commemoration of the Sesquicentennial of the founding of Erie County. A collection program and preparation of source materials were in progress for ten years.

There is no easy way to list the sources for the sections on education, economic matters, politics, and administration. Some of these subjects had previously been treated carefully and at length, while others represented unresearched topics. Among the topics needing the most extensive primary research was the history of agriculture, and in this area our greatest debt is to the office of Mr. John Birkland, County Agent of the Cooperative Extension Service at East Aurora. He was able to refer us not only to extensive publications of the Farm Bureau, but to Erie County farmers and agriculturalists themselves. Among these are Mr. Herman Agle, Mrs. Harold Blakeley, Mr. Howard Eldridge, Mr. J. W. Krull, Mr. Fred Lewis, Mr. Henry Marquardt, and Mr. Walter

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Smith. They contributed greatly to the story of agriculture in the past half-century and are capable of adding much more, given adequate opportunity and encouragement. For the earlier part of the story of farming there has been a heavy dependence upon the good reporting of the Springville *Journal* and the microfilmed manuscript sheets of the Federal census to be found in the collections of the Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society.

On this subject and on all others the work of our official local historians and local historical societies has been invariably helpful.

The great developments in education have been reported effectively as a result of the alertness of the professional education staffs of our colleges, particularly of Canisius and the former University of Buffalo. Professor Warren Button of the State University of New York at Buffalo has given much direct assistance and has made useful comments on some of the reports on which this section has been based, as well as providing a suggestive preliminary study of his own for our benefit. The list of papers and graduate theses available in collegiate libraries is long. In Professor Button's office are papers by Ms. Susan Hazard, Rev. Gregory M. Kwapisz, and Ms. Theresa V. Lindsey. In the State University of New York at Buffalo library are theses by Mr. Rolland B. Blake, Ms. Susanne M. Cannan, Mr. Douglas C. Crone, Mr. Frank J. Dressler, Ms. Margaret J. Eschner, Ms. Marguerite J. Harter, Mr. Lyle H. Hemink, Mr. Gordon H. Higgins, Mr. Ralph R. Thomas, and Ms. Helen L. Wright. In the Canisius library are theses by Sr. Mary Claver Fitzgerald, Sr. Marie Patrice Gallagher, Sr. M. Frances Kaczmarek, Mr. Robert A. Schultz, Ms. Marion R. Taylor, Ms. Dorothy M. Wolf, and Sr. Colletta Woods. This list is not exhaustive but acknowledges some of our indebtedness on this subject.

On all topics the newspapers have been a prime source. Some of them have been read thoroughly over long periods, and still there is much more to be harvested in their columns. On some subjects they have been indispensable and quite reliable, if their candidly admitted interests are recognized. On matters of observed and reported political fact it was repeatedly noted that the reporters of the *News, Courier, Express, Commercial,* and *Enquirer* were competent, and editorializing produced minimal distortions that should not deceive. This has remained true even though economic conditions have reduced the number of papers, and the resulting larger organizations have given us such remarkable research tools, as in the very complete *News* index covering the past 35 years.

Many individuals have contributed essential and, in many cases, deeply pondered information on the subject of politics. Among these must be mentioned Mr. Paul E. Fitzpatrick, Mr. John W. Henry, Mr. Edwin F. Jaeckle, Mr. Leonard R. Lipowicz, Mr. John Lord O'Bri-

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an, and Dr. Victor Reinstein. Dr. Reinstein and Mr. Paul F. Burke also contributed on the subject of public administration, as did Mr. Nelson Baker from his vantage point of 50 years with the Buffalo Parks Department. The Liberal Club of Buffalo printed many of the lectures it sponsored, and these suggest much as to our constitutional attitudes, as have the more recent brochures from the League of Women Voters. Mr. Denis T. Lynch's biography on Cleveland and Mr. James A. Farley's autobiography offer bits of invaluable background, and quite unexpectedly, a modern but celebrated work of political theory from France, *Political Parties* by M. Maurice Duverger, confirms the existence of a separate political culture that the history of Erie County seems so perfectly to establish.

Acknowledgments in the field of economic history seem inadequate considering its extent as well as the amount of data that has been gathered and considered by the scholars whose work has made this summary possible. Much has been provided by Mr. Henry W. Hill and Dr. John T. Horton. We have worked directly with Professor Horton and have used much material from his pioneer work contained in the history of the County, published 30 years ago.

Our chief debt beyond these standard histories is to the publications of the Chamber of Commerce over the past 60 years. The work of Mr. Lloyd Graham, one of its distinguished editors, must be praised particularly for its broad and imaginative quality. A few scholars have contributed to our knowledge of local industry and commerce, among them Mr. Lewis A. Froman, Fr. James A. Stropko, and Mr. Edward W. Treen. Father Stropko's work at Niagara University is a thesis on the automobile industry.

In the history of labor in Erie County, information has been made available by Ms. Brenda Shelton and Mr. James R. McDonnell. Professor McDonnell's study of the beginnings of industrial unionism in Buffalo is, hopefully, the first of a number of large scale works that will give us greater insight into this essential subject. His work was undertaken as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Wisconsin. Mr. R. K. Fleischman's thesis at the University of Buffalo clearly records the labor unrest of 1913.

Many reports of administrative departments have been invaluable; it is to be hoped that those who have worked faithfully on them, and their successors, realize how very necessary are such normally

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unrecognized labors.

Equally valuable to our work were the efforts of the librarians who have struggled to master the outpouring of varied materials for the benefit of the History, Travel, and Government Department of the Buffalo and Erie County Public Library. Their scrapbooks of newspaper clippings and photographs have bridged gaps of knowledge that would otherwise have been impassable in such fields as the parks systems, industry, welfare, constitutional developments, and many other topics. The personal thanks of the research staff has been earned many times over by the head of the Department, Mr. Ridgeway McNallie and his staff.

In writing the sections on the arts, museums, and libraries, the files of the local newspapers, and the publications of the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, the Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society, the Buffalo Museum of Science, the Buffalo and Erie County Public Library, and the Buffalo Philharmonic Orchestra Society were used. Published works consulted were of primary importance. Consulted were Mrs. Margaret Richmond Fess, *The Grosvenor Library and Its Times*; Mr. Arthur Goldberg, *The Buffalo Public Library*; Mr. Joseph B. Rounds, *The Buffalo and Erie County Public Library, a Federated System*; and Mr. Lars Sellstedt, *Art in Buffalo*.

Special acknowledgment should be given to individuals who were of help in performing this pioneer work, Miss Ginger Burke, Miss Kathleen Crofton, Dr. Virginia L. Cummings, Mrs. Shonnie Finnegan, Mr. Kenneth C. Gay, Mrs. William Godfrey, Jr., Mr. Raymond Jackson, Miss Ellen T. F. Kenny, Dr. Joseph F. Kij, Miss Kathryn Kingdon, Miss Billie Kirpich, Mrs. Manfred Klein, Mrs. Louise Maynard, Mr. Frank E. Merriweather, Mrs. Edwine Noye Mitchell, Miss Ruth A. Schmidt, Miss Alleen Stevens, Miss Mary L. Szostak, Miss Apolonia Szpakowska, and Mrs. Sophia Zakrzewska.

In addition, photographs were provided for the editor's selection from the iconographic department of the Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society by its Curator, Mrs. Clyde Helfter. The project would never have seen fruition if it had not been for the work of Mrs. Wilma C. Bertling, the Society's Chief of Administration who both designed the book and supervised its process from the typewritten page to the printed form.

Walter S. Dunn, Jr.
Erie County Historian
Editor

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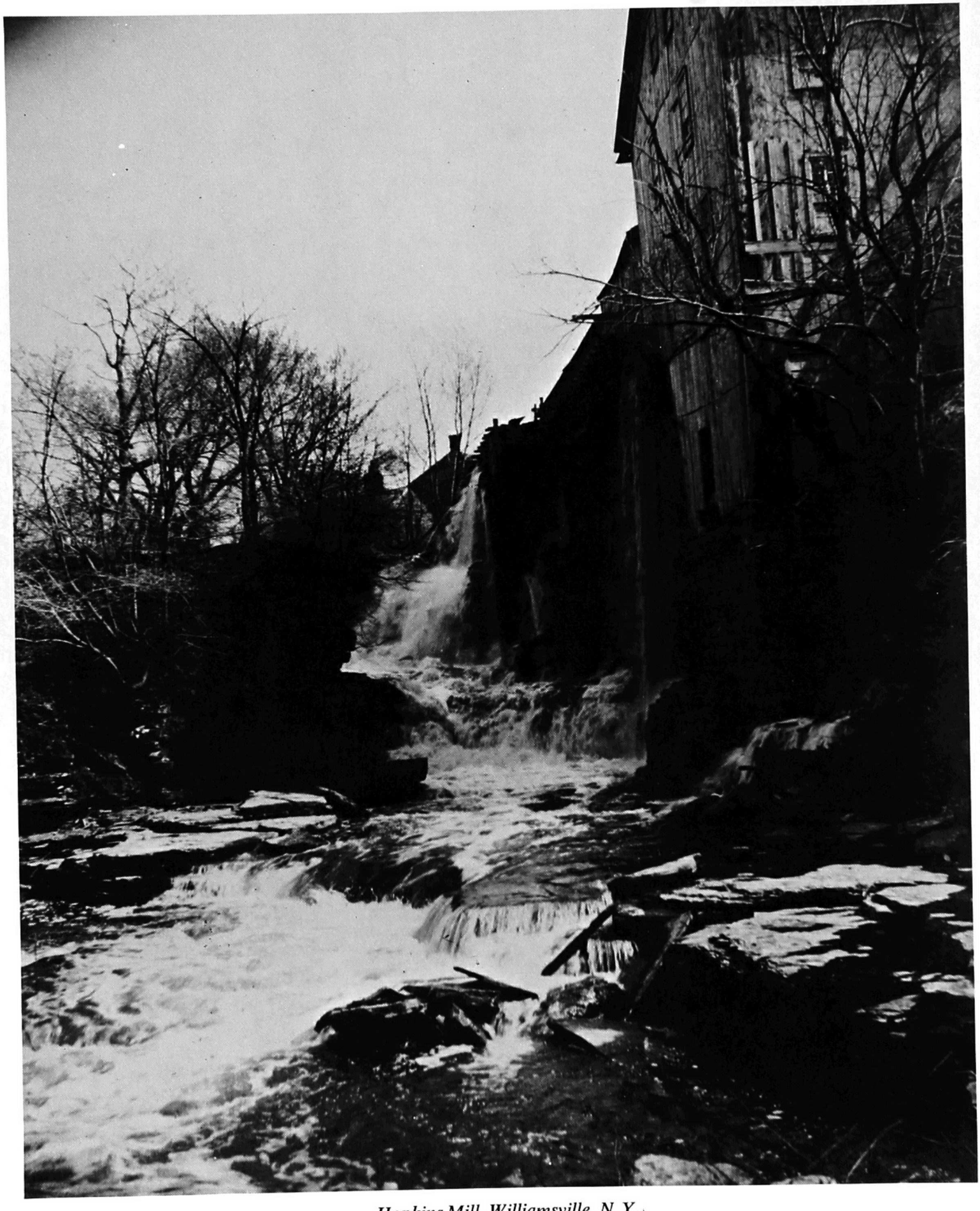

Hopkins Mill, Williamsville, N.Y.

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I. Agriculture in Evolution

The 1870 condition of agriculture in Erie County clearly forecasts its subsequent development into a highly organized profit making industry. Rural life was indeed at that time far from suggesting operations carefully controlled by accountancy and laboratory analysis, but the essential beliefs in careful and thoughtful work were present and effective. While large tracts of late-starting townships like Elma (which had been largely Indian reservation until 1841) were forest, dotted with small openings around squatters' huts, elsewhere there were large farms under the direction of such men as Lewis F. Allen, who had long since pioneered large orchard operations on his Grand Island tracts and had become internationally important by maintaining the American herdbook of Shorthorn cattle. He had published books on farming and rural life, headed the New York State Agricultural Society, and contributed in every way he could to advance farming interests hereabouts.

The Ninth Census of the United States reckoned the county's improved agriculture land in 1870 at 425,927 acres, its woodland at 117,983, and other unimproved land at 11,585. On its farms were livestock valued at $4,677,025, and from them were sold products worth $6,748,527. Most of the activity was directed still to the old-style general farming, which emphasized a good living for the farm family but which was intended also to yield a certain surplus to be traded for metals and spices and other necessities not produced on the farm. Census enumerators were still asking the value of goods produced by home industry, particularly textiles. But the age of specialization in produce for the market was beginning. In the Town of Concord there were scores of dairy herds numbering over five, which would perhaps be the maximum number needed merely to provide milk, cheese, and butter for the family, and herds of 195 and 114 were reported. The presence of eleven cheesemakers on the rolls tells us the purpose of the surplus cows. The dairy age had begun.

Other towns were taking the same course. Colden, Lancaster, Alden, Aurora, Collins, North Collins, Wales, Sardinia, Orchard Park (then East Hamburgh), and Boston had also moved in that direction. Newstead, the premier grain-producing town, on the contrary sold no milk at all, and this division of interest remained. The northern towns of the county were in the western New York grain belt, and constant success with wheat and oats — the county led all others in the state for several decades in oat production — discouraged impulses to experiment with so demanding a process as dairying and its confining routines. The grain farmers' surpluses of milk were reduced to butter in the farm kitchen, which could be, with eggs, traded in the general store.

No farm was without livestock in a day when tillage depended upon the horse. Erie County bred horses for that use, for hauling on the streets of Buffalo, and for racing. In the last-named the Village Farm of the Hamlins in East Aurora was famous and it was followed by the nearby huge establishment of the Jewetts with its enclosed mile track and by lesser efforts such as the Chaffees' of Springville. In 1880 the 22,000 count of Erie County horses made it second in the state, and accounted for some of the concentration on oats. Sheep attracted almost equal effort among farm animals, the northern grain towns finding them compatible with grain culture. In 1870 Newstead and Clarence had flocks aggregating 10,000 each, and, lest it be thought that these were to provide wool for home industry alone, the aggregate wool clip was close to twenty tons in each town. The few hundred sheep in the rising dairy town of Concord were nearer home industry level and they were reduced as dairying absorbed the available labor. But the choice of sheep was not as fortunate as that of the milk cow, for the competition of the open ranges of the west in the wool and mutton markets was to prove too much for New York state conditions, and the number of sheep now grazed in this county is about a fourth of the 1880 flock.

It must not be thought that placing high in production among New York's counties was an empty honor. On the contrary, winning that competition might place a county in top position in the nation. Even in 1880, with the western giants and their immense prairies of unexcelled farm land just getting into full use, New York still led in some categories, such as haylands mown and flax produced, and it was long

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before Wisconsin approached it in milk production. Farming was a vigorous industry, and Erie County held up its end.

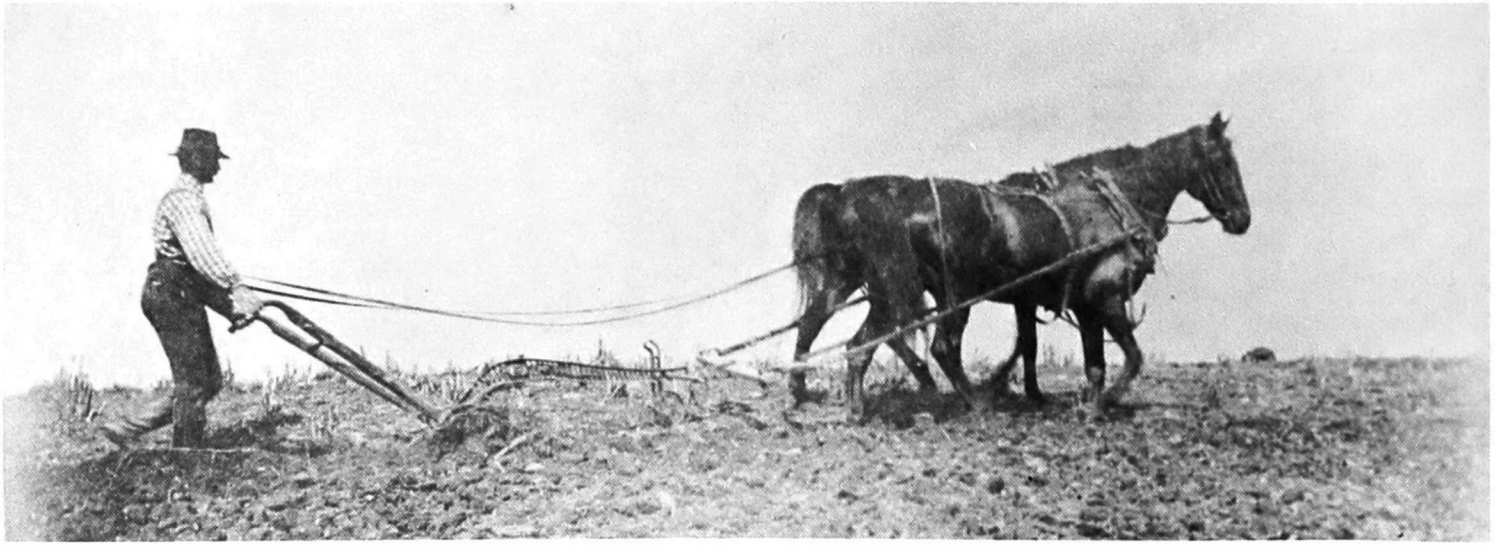
In some respects Erie County agriculture fell radically short of what one from a present perspective might expect. One of these is the market gardening recently so important on the light soil left by an ancient lake in Brant and Eden and running east and a little north into Hamburg, Orchard Park and beyond. Looking for evidences of progress of market gardening there, and we know that certain families had long before 1870 sought and found this type of soil, one is disappointed to find that even the few notably successful farmers enjoyed only moderate returns. In 1870 William Stafford sold $1500 in garden produce from his Eden farm, and this was the best. Another small group of 22 farmers produced together $6368, only a hint of the fruitful future. Even in 1880 less than a dozen passed the thousand-dollar mark in Eden and in Brant there were only two, although about a hundred were beginning to sell fruits and vegetables.

There is a surprising answer to the question this poses: where did the vegetables for Buffalo tables come from? A few sheets further on in the sheaf filled by the diligent census enumerators we find that Buffalo garden produce came from large farms in Buffalo itself. One of these, operated by James Haldane in the seventh ward, produced $16,000 worth of garden crops in addition to subsistence supplies for employees, who drew $10,000 in wages. Altogether the agricultural portion of the city counted 269 farms with about 9,000 tillable acres — and even 470 acres of wood land. From the tillage were sold $100,000 in fruits and vegetables and other crops to a total of nearly a third of a million dollars. Almost all sold both truck produce and butter.

Even the large farms took advantage of the nearby city markets. E. R. Jewett in 1870 still farmed the 400 acres of his holdings that were to be occupied by Delaware Park and the Jewett Parkway he presented to the City in 1882. Of a total of $6800 in his sales $1500 was garden produce (not much from land he valued at $89,000). Orlando Allen's 30 acres yielded similarly, but the 450-acre farm of J. W. Tifft and Company, which in the 1880's was to be the busy center of rail and lake transshipment, was languidly managed as a general farm at some loss. But many farms producing over $2000 a year included heavy garden crops. With these went many large city dairymen who marketed up to 30,000 gallons of milk a year. Among these farmers were the very well known Buffalo names, in addition to printer and editor Jewett, George Urban, Bronson Case Rumsey, and S. V. R. Watson.

The Buffalo farming interest declined very little in the economically depressed decade 1870-1880, when the panic of 1873 sent all industry into a prolonged slump. Field and meadow remained unchanged, but woodland nearly vanished before the need for fuel, for available coal was still largely the expensive anthracite from eastern Pennsylvania. Jewett was holding his own in sales in spite of losing 230 of his acres to the park, but most were suffering from the catastrophic fall in prices as the Civil War inflation collapsed, and indeed farmers were pressed steadily until the first World War by the steady devaluation of their produce.

The expansion of the city of course wiped out this urban farm interest in the course of time, so that our attention is properly directed toward the truly dynamic situation in which the bulk of the county's rural population found itself. The spur to agricultural development was not, in view of the price situation, any glittering prospect of ready wealth to be snatched. It was more like a faithfulness to rural tradition and the habit of doing well, reflected so well in the career of Lewis F. Allen, that opened farmers to the revolutionary



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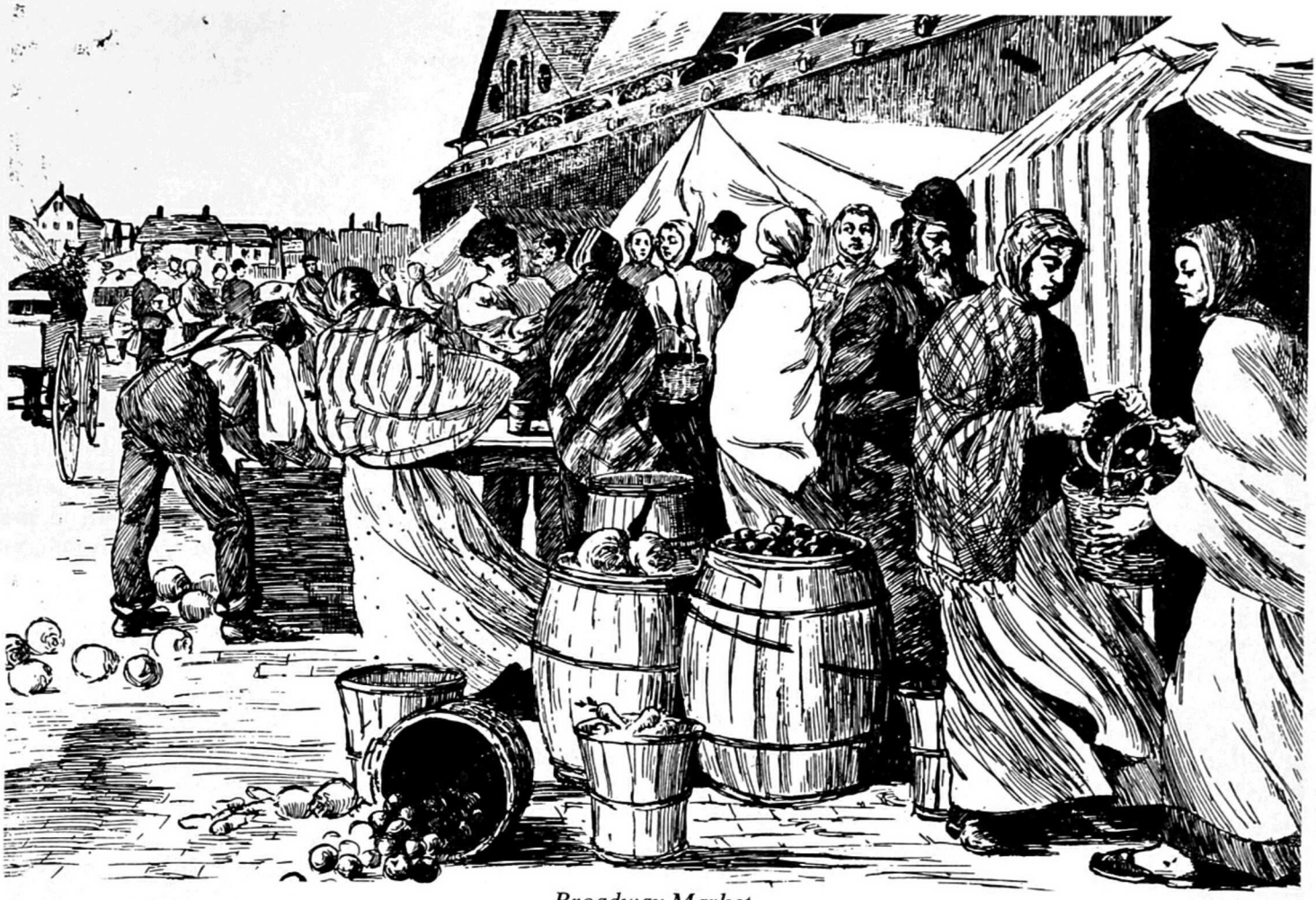
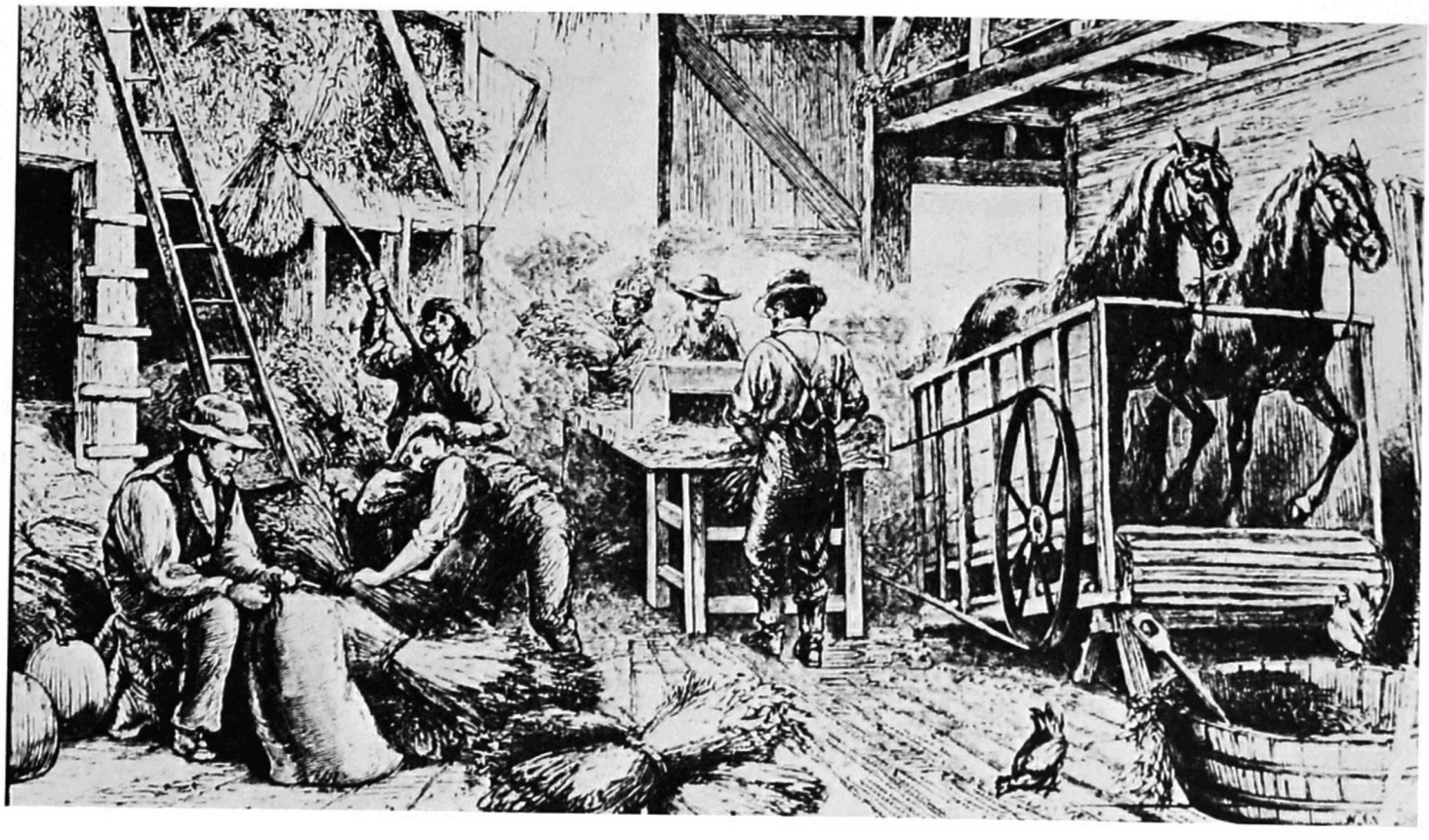


Broadway Market



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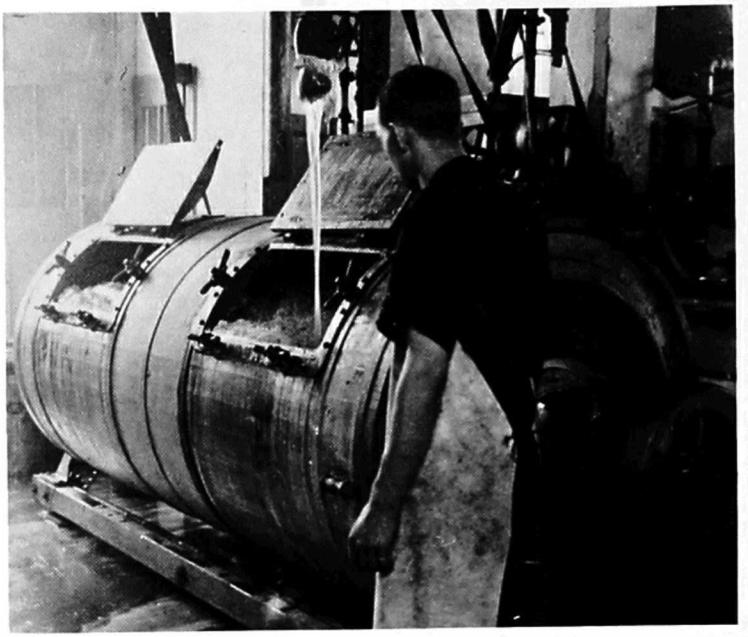

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influences that ultimately substituted commercial for subsistence production on the farm. The extent of the change is seen in the consequent abolition of social distinctions between city and country people. In recent decades this was so marked that it is plain that, far from the countryside depending upon the village and city for the organization of essential services, farm organizations like the Farm Bureau have in recent years undertaken the development of educational services in aid of depressed and backward districts in Buffalo.

The move to rationalized and industrialized farm production was made through specialization of the kind already mentioned, particularly in dairying but also in other lines as well, as in the gradual growth of market gardening in Brant and Eden. By 1880 the promising beginnings of dairying in the southern town had developed into profitable accomplishment. In several towns the sellers of milk were near a majority with occasional neighborhoods dominated by cheese factories, as in Collins, where the families of Sisson, Lawton, Allen, Potter, Taylor, and Himes prospered. In other towns it was observable that dairy herds and prosperity went hand in hand, as it was elsewhere with other specialties.

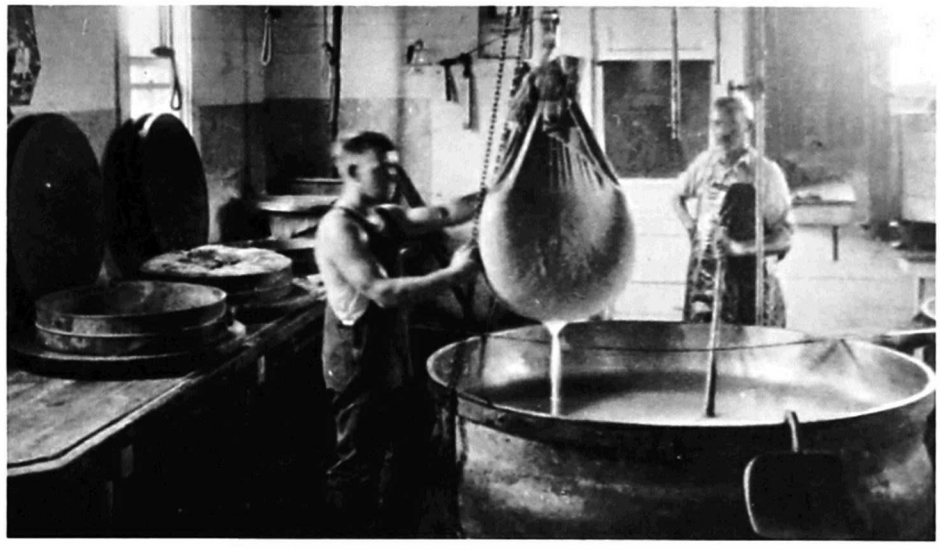
How this occurred is no mystery because a few newspapers reported local developments, revealing the critical importance of cooperative efforts in advancing agriculture to the stage of full industrialism with all that meant in the accumulation of capital, the organization of markets, and the development of an advanced technology. In Erie County the village of Springville occupied an independent position, its industries outside the overwhelming thrust of Buffalo's rising metropolitan power. It could organize such enterprises as a canning factory just because it was, as the *Springville Journal and Herald* observed, beyond the reach of the Buffalo produce markets. The alertness of this paper provides a key to the farm movement. The editor for thirty years at just this time was W. W. Blakeley, and he became a stockholder and officer in the canning company. Keenly alive to the opportunities presented by the burgeoning industry of the period, he became a partisan of civic betterment in encouraging it locally. His reporting was therefore full of economic subjects and it was focussed on local development.

Springville became an organizing center for a considerable dairy industry, as Blakeley's reports show. In cheese factories, he claimed, it rivalled any center in the state. In 1865 the whole county had seven cheese factories in which less than $20,000 were invested and which employed 35 people to make 435,000 pounds of cheese. A single Springville concern, that of Stephen R. Smith, by 1883 had accumulated a string of 23 factories whose monthly sales would approach the whole county's 1865 figure. His prosperity is only incidental to the story of farming, but wherever he set up in business there was a vigorous attack on dairy problems, beginning with the conventional spring meeting of owner, cheesemaker, and suppliers of milk. Smith was in the habit of keeping his charges low, promising market prices for milk plus a dividend at the close of the season (generally March-November), and adjuring suppliers to furnish clean, unadulterated milk. If there were serious difficulties they were not reported.

Smith's Springville factory was a large four-story structure on Main Street that he used also as a warehouse and curing room in 1881 and after, the opening of the Springville and Sardinia narrow-gauge railroad having provided economical transportation to markets. Before that time his office had been, in spite of a relative isolation at the end of treacherous wagon roads, the center for a time of a bustling dairy market, buyers and the salesmen of various factories enlivening Main Street with their weekly dickering and seeking privacy for it even under the Main Street bridge. The stimulus of this market may have helped to develop the poultry industry that soon put in an appearance since eggs, butter, and cheese were normally handled by the city brokerage firms whose buyers visited Springville.

The techniques of cheesemaking were also of immediate concern and New York state furnished the best available information. Its experts drew largely from experience but their pragmatism served since the period preceded control by chemi-

Draining Cheese Curd, East Aurora



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cal and bacteriological analysis. Factory owners busied themselves to extend knowledge of the craft, the *Journal* reporting that a Rushford owner had penetrated the secrets of the English cheesemakers and had benefited greatly from his discovery. Expertise was in any event sufficient for an occasional demonstration calculated to impress. In 1871 the Springville factory was selected to produce a gigantic cheese for the Buffalo firm of George W. Hayward to exhibit at the International Industrial Exhibition. It weighed 3,000 pounds and was 4½ feet in diameter and 34 inches high, the special press and hoops coming from the neighboring machine shop of C. J. Shuttleworth. The success of the effort testifies to the soundness of the making and the cleanliness of the factory, which was described as tightly built and fully plastered. The monster was cut up and sold for the benefit of the Buffalo General Hospital; no sales resistance was evidenced after it was announced that an order for a $250 diamond ring had been stirred into the curd.

The Springville market was important for only a year or two, and in its isolation even that was extraordinary, but cheese and egg buyers operating on a large scale out of Springville adequately replaced it in offering a ready market for cheese and related products to neighborhood factories. The *Journal* had also to report, a little reluctantly perhaps, that other large cheesemaking firms had sprung up, W. A. Johnson & Co. of Collins Center winning in 1874 the accolade as the largest in the state, and they and S. R. Smith were joined by the Richardson firm centered in East Aurora. So far as strong cheese factories could spread dairy knowledge and arrange active markets Erie County was well provided.

In pioneer days a grist mill and a blacksmith provided the really necessary services for a farm community, and they could stand in the open countryside. Now there was more need for somewhat more complex services because implements were no longer simple, and Springville was unusually ready to provide such services and even to furnish the complicated machines that would demand still more. The presence in the village of C. J. Shuttleworth, the deviser of the great cheese press, guaranteed this. He was the master of a foundry and machine shop, an inventor, and an indefatigable man of business.

With Chaffee as partner he operated a flour mill and in his shop produced the machinery for other mills. He invented a new form of horsepower entirely of iron, only to see it surpassed by the steam traction engine. With another partner he started production of a flour bolting machine. He constantly developed his own mills, being first in the village to install turbines to make better use of water power and he soon added steam power when water power became inadequate. Experimenting with pumps, he installed in his factory a turbine-driven pump that once saved the neighboring Smith factory from fire. But he lost his own to fire when a midnight blaze broke out in the pump room itself.

Shuttleworth then built the dam on which South Buffalo Street crosses the brook, erected the large mill still visible from that point, and developed power for that and another grist mill by installing turbines in the bottom of a wheel pit in the pond itself, anticipating the procedure followed in developing the Adams power plant at Niagara Falls a decade later. It is not surprising that he ended by installing waterworks in a number of cities, including his own, but during the span of all these efforts he was also an active building contractor. It is therefore not surprising that he invaded Smith's business by setting up his own string of cheese factories, forcing Smith to buy him out. Vigorous enterprise like this is an assurance that all reasonable services were available to nearby farmers.

Springville was bustling with enterprises at the time, Shuttleworth having no monopoly on initiative. The water power was adequate for many shops, and thirteen mills operated from its strong flow, which was fed by many springs. In two miles it fell two hundred feet and millers battled freshet and flood to keep operating. It is no surprise to see them developing still another industry to serve the farming community, a canning factory that was organized in 1879 and kept in opera-

Chippewa Market

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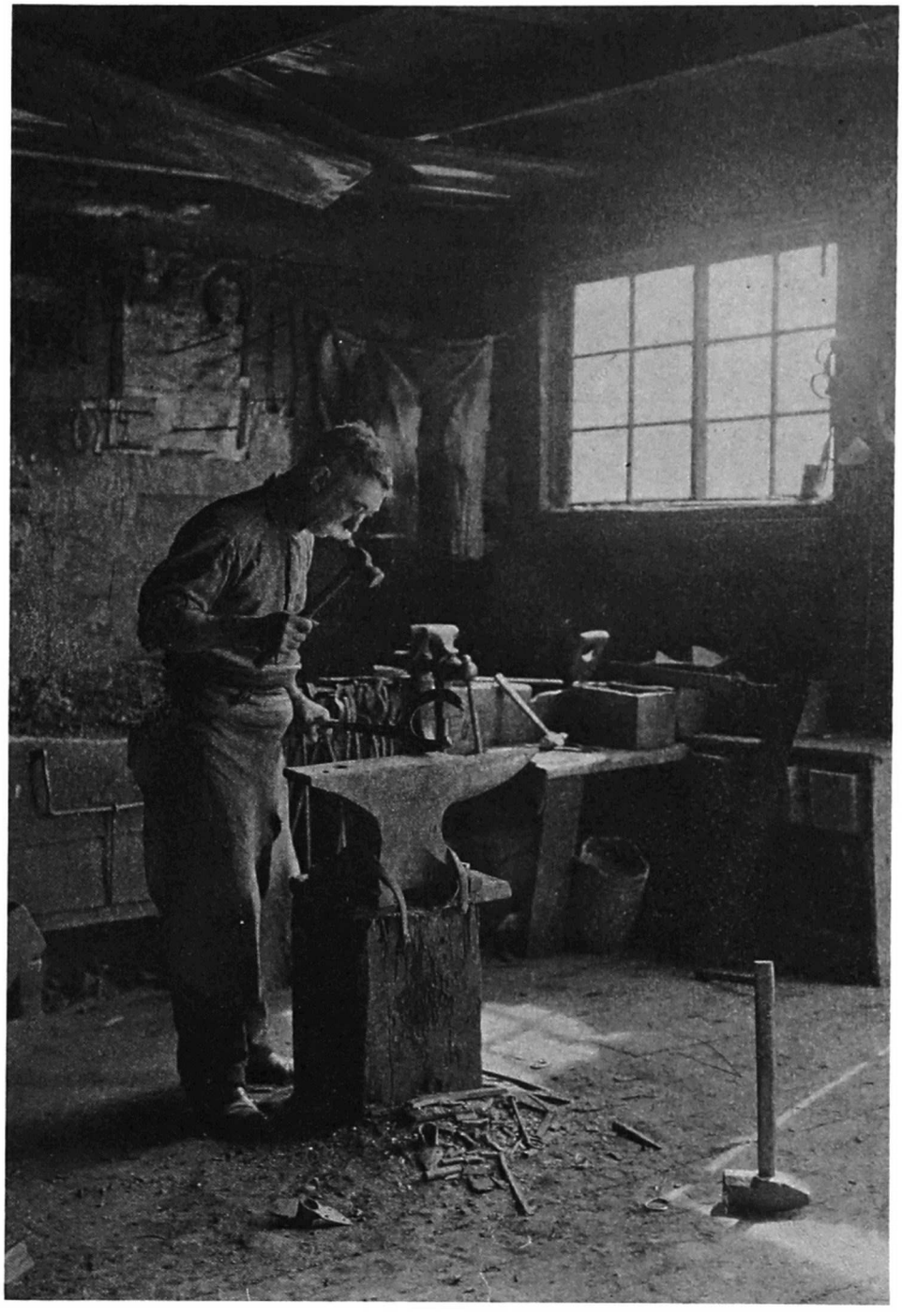
tion for some years in the face of severe competition. There was not too much discouragement over the slender dividends but when it ceased to be possible to recruit large numbers of workers to shell peas in the flush of the season the demands for new capital to install mechanical devices to replace the workers began to look like dubious speculation.

The real competition for such new lines of farming lay right on the Concord farms themselves. Dairying was absorbing labor voraciously and cash wages had ceased to be a novelty. The prosperity of the dairymen was a very real thing. In spite of several years of declining prices, during which cheese prices fell to a half of their 1870 levels, Concord farmers were holding to dairying. In some instances they retained their 1870 incomes on 1880 prices by increasing their herds or perhaps by adopting better animals, for the better dairy breeds were now available in western New York. A very few were entirely independent, making their own butter and cheese, although it is likely in some such cases that they also operated a factory to earn their cent a pound on cheese from other farmers' milk.

Those farmers who still achieved the relatively high sales level of $1500 a year (out of about 330 farms in Concord there were 65 of these in 1870 and only 38 in 1880) owned a minimum of 24 cows and a maximum of 70 and tilled acres numbering from 15 to 340. The figures of milk sold, reduced to the later standard test of butterfat produced per cow, yields a very mediocre high of 166 pounds and a dreadful low of 73. Since the milking season usually extended beyond the normal March-November flush period when factories operated, the true figure would be somewhat better, and a further correction should account for the butter almost every farmer made. The averages might well be 100 to 200 pounds, still not very good. The differential that these figures indicate between the most and least efficient operations was not unusual, and it never disappeared until the fierce pressures of price declines (relative to costs) of the past twenty years drove out of operation all but the most capable dairymen. The census figures of 1880 can be searched for explanations of the difference between good and bad results, but none will be found. The difference lies in degrees of managerial skill, and the dawning realization of that fact opened the way for the educational movement that was about to begin in earnest.



Other areas with their own specializations, such as the northern towns with sheep, were equally aware, and even the slow developers like Elma were about to blaze forth with farm improvements of an impressive quality. Indian occupation of Elma slowed land clearing so

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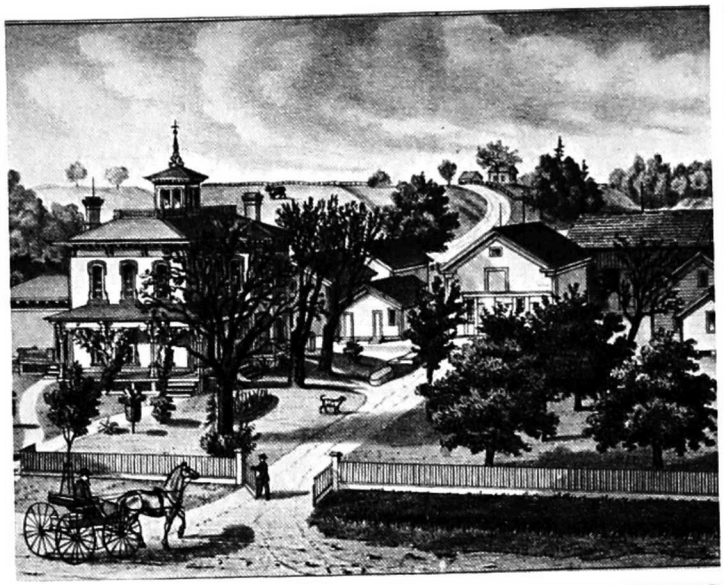

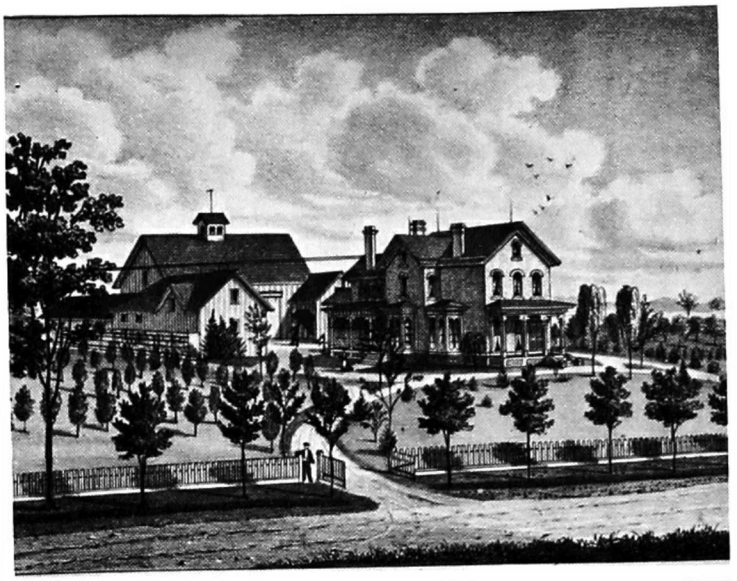

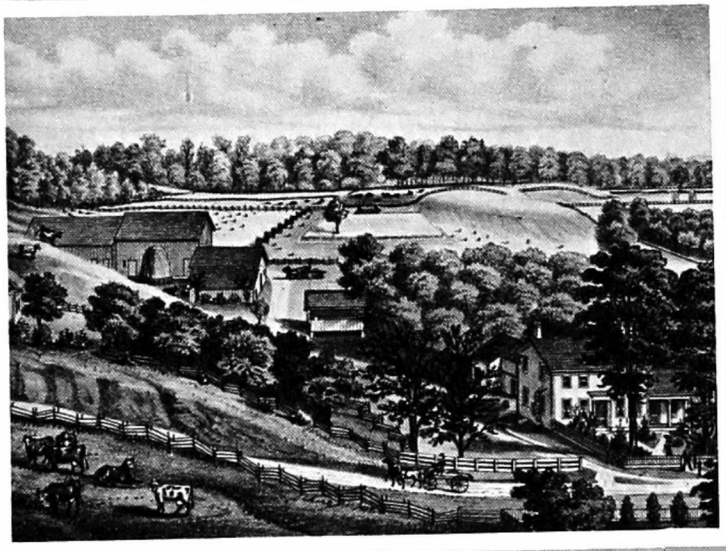

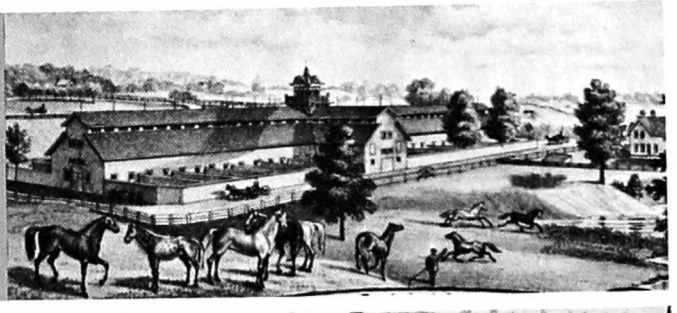

Elma, N.Y. Residence of Capt. C. W. Hurd

Marilla, N.Y. Residence of Watson Munn

Cheektowaga Residence of George Urban, Jr.

Cheektowaga, N.Y. Farm of Peter Zurbrick

Training stables and residence of H. C. and J. Jewett, East Aurora

Jewett Stock Farm, East Aurora

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that in 1867 the Buffalo and Washington railroad had to be cut through solid forest from Transit Road to Bowen Road. The timber business then flourished and by 1888 mills were working on second growth. Farm occupation then was far advanced and large barns and brick residences were commonplace while woodcutters and other pioneer types had abandoned their huts and small clearings. Farming developed far enough by the late 1880's to support a political movement to protest the ever-sagging prices. The Farmers' Alliance started in 1889, built a meeting house in Spring Brook, and disbanded in 1896. More hope was found in the contemporaneous Farmers' Institutes that possibly furnished the motive for the building of silos, of which Elma had eleven in 1899. The solidity of the education work is attested by the organization of a Farmers' Club in 1901. By this time too the milk trade into Buffalo by railroad had been successfully organized.

Only a short distance from the Elma forests were the sites of two farm enterprises remarkable for their sophistication. These were the stock farms, chiefly devoted to trotting horses, of Cicero J. Hamlin and Henry C. Jewett. Hamlin's Village Farm was started in East Aurora in 1855 with 66 acres; on it were developed some of the best horses in standard bred history. Its 2½-story, 800-foot barn had 600 box stalls. Perhaps intending to dwarf this enterprise Henry C. Jewett in 1878 bought 400 acres a mile or two to the southwest and in 1885 built his enclosed mile practice track completely covered to roof and windows. From this came scores of racing horses before it was dismantled in 1918. The Hamlin stock was dispersed in 1905 but much of it was purchased for the neighboring farm of Seymour H. Knox, which carries on the tradition of excellence in livestock.

Such huge enterprises were relatively few, and most of the county experienced the sort of rural living that is still by no means forgotten although vague to most contemporaries. Many families can furnish the memories, more or less sharp or documented, of the routines of this and even earlier rural life. They might still have been operating a sawmill on a creek through their land in 1870 and no doubt were depending upon handpumps in their kitchens for domestic water. Flax was raised for clothing and fashioned into cloth while butter went into trade at the store. Eggs were preserved, bees kept, and a great variety of apples and pears were produced. These and vegetables were for the family. Wood stoves had been generally adopted, the pipes heating the upper floors, of the farmhouses, and there were large barns for threshing, storage, and the stabling of livestock. Wheat carried to their own or neighboring

Delaware Park Meadow

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mills returned as stoneground flour, and a little buckwheat went into many breakfasts with the home-made maple syrup. This all required hard work, but it yielded more than good eating, although another advantage of "setting a good table" was that it attracted capable hired men.

It was inevitable that this pattern should change, as its own reapers, threshers, grain drills, drive-in barns, and horsedrawn mowers and rakes had already destroyed the previous patterns. Such families might find themselves operating cheese factories which in time were purchased by large operators. This required breeding the dangerous dairy cattle as well as the heavier horses for the midnight trip to Buffalo with dairy and garden produce (late arrivals could find the market glutted). They were also going to farmers institutes, which they firmly believed to be the key to the new developments, and taking in such papers as *American Agriculturist, Rural New Yorker,* and *Farm Journal.* The meetings of the many Erie County Granges further aroused farmers so that when the careful and detailed technical bulletins began to flow from the Experiment Stations they found an avid audience. The opening of milk stations on the railroads was a challenge met with ease; stables were remodeled, milk coolers installed, icehouses built, and Holstein-Friesian cattle adopted. Some of those who continued in agriculture began to attend college; the short course at Cornell was the initial experience for many.

The Erie County Fair was, of course, part and parcel of the efforts to improve agriculture. Fairs were an invention of the nineteenth century and much of the work of the inventor, Elkanah Watson, was done in New York. They were intended as a means of bringing farmers together for the purpose of comparing their achievements, and competition quickly became a part of this. Judging of quality and awarding of prizes were long before 1870 an accepted part of the fair. By then, also, it had ceased to be the county-seat monopoly of Buffalo,

A 1900 cannery. Women are filling cans with small food pieces before men seal the tops in place with solder.

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which had lost interest even though still not without its farms, but the fair had only just become the permanent occupant of its present site near Hamburg.

In that year there were three exhibits buildings at that place on the Driving Park Grounds leased by the Erie County Agricultural Society (organized 1841). The buildings housed the Ladies' and the Agriculture Departments as well as a display of the latest in carriages, wagons, and sleighs. There were 700 entries lured by the $600 offered as premiums.

Succeeding years found entry and premium lists gradually strengthening and the location at Hamburg being confirmed. In 1875, rent of the Driving Park was fixed at $50, and the Managers erected a barn. In 1880, they purchased 12 acres and planned further expansion for the Fair, which had climbed to second position among county fairs in the state. And while it had previously held popular exhibitions and huckstering at a distance, now shooting galleries, side shows, "California swings," and peanut men were within the gates for greater festivity. The next year there was double the area and bicycle races open to all amateurs.

The reality of agricultural advancement was not lost in the rising tide of public enjoyment. Better livestock shows, notably in dairy cattle, made their point, and the major address at the 1882 fair dealt with the problem of dairy prosperity. By 1892 the premium total had grown to $5,000 and cattle entries were several times those of any previous year. Local triumphs such as racing horses attracted attention and special trains from Buffalo swelled the crowds that paid for the extra efforts.

The final move into the technological world of contemporary agriculture was the acceptance of planning and study as proper work for a farmer. The old convention of unremitting labor was still dominant in the farming community generally, and the attitude included strong contempt for any effort to find shortcuts by resort to "book farming." But the long search for any kind of scientific help impressed even these, and the publication of whole books of such inquiry, some even by neighbors, severely shook the old faith. Lewis F. Allen's revision of the *New American Farm Book* in 1883 made it a trifle easier for his Erie County neighbors to take such things seriously. The book's moderation in advice, its asking for the care and attention of each farmer trying to use it, make it hard to imagine that it would offend. A second such figure appeared at the same time in Erie County in Elliott Stewart, whose *Feeding Animals* (1883) was long one of the few standard texts on this subject. Stewart lived on a farm near the mouth of Eighteen Mile Creek, held a non-resident appointment in Cornell University, edited the *Buffalo Livestock Journal* 1872-76, and wrote for the *Rural New Yorker*. As an officer of a chapter of the Farmers' Alliance and a member of the Evans Farmers' Social Club he was in good position to advance the cause of farm science and education.

Because of such men and their work there were over a long period sporadic efforts at meetings and publications to spread this slowly developing knowledge. The growth of dairying persuaded the Springville *Journal* to print directions for the care of milk utensils and even to propose a regular column for farm subjects. This failed, as did a county dairymen's association started in 1871. However the Aurora Farmers' Club exercised a broad influence, once coming to Springville in a group for a meeting, but there were not yet enough informed people to keep these active clubs going steadily.

The real beginnings of farmer education lay in the early 1880's. Material at last was provided in sufficient quantities with the opening of the Experiment Station at Cornell in 1879 and that in Geneva a short time afterward. As a result substantial articles of real substance began to appear regularly in the *Journal,* the first direct quotation of an Experiment Station bulletin being printed in 1885. In the meantime growing excitement led to talk of a weekly market in Springville and then to the establishment of a fair, shortly to be followed by that master institution, the Farmers' Institute.

An Institute first appeared in southern Erie County — relying on the *Journal's* reports — in January of 1887. It was administered as in many other states by the State Department of Agriculture rather than an Experiment Station, thus identifying it directly with the farmers and avoiding the lingering prejudice against book farming emanating from a school. Further, it was called the Erie County Farmers' Institute in the press, and to a considerable extent in its early years it was just that. It relied heavily for its day-long programs upon experienced and well read local people, and if this limited the subject matter to fairly general topics it nevertheless confirmed farmers in the habit of accepting generalized and recorded experience and advice.

By early 1888 the Institutes were bringing real scientists to its platforms, led by Prof. I. P. Roberts of Cornell. Over the years the programs were extended to two days and the experts were such very capable men as Dr. L. L. Van Slyke of the Geneva Station, and he was routinely introduced with all his titles and honors. By the turn of the century the Institutes had developed a stable of able speakers of this kind as well as farmers who had absorbed the new scientific lore. With graduates of the Cornell Short Course sitting in the audience to chip in with questions or their own confirming observations, the task was essentially finished. Farm technology had taken the final leap and only time would tell where farmers would end.

The local reaction may be judged

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in part by the change in editorial policy on farming in the *Journal*. In 1900 a column on farming became habitual, and it was carefully selected matter based on experiment station publications. It was syndicated material, but the selection was good, and local writers began to appear also. With the opening of a milk condensery plant in Springville in 1903 more detailed dairy matter was printed, including immediate demonstrations of the need for winter dairying. The new capitalistic, industrialized system of farming found idle seasons uneconomical and set about eliminating them. It was another distinct step in the development of farming as an industry.

The Erie County Fair had meantime again lengthened its stride. From 30,000 total attendance at a four-day show in 1900, it could two years later boast a crowd of 22,000 in a single day with the Fair running five days. Between these dates it had survived the miserable year of 1901 when everyone went instead to the Pan-American Exposition, whose management invaded the fair field with such things as Grange Week. The scope of exhibits continued to expand so that the Managers could declare in 1905 that their exhibit of sheep and swine exceeded the State Fair's.

New methods and machines for the farm continuously appeared. The mushrooming poultry industry produced 8,000 entries in 1908, and by 1914 there was a parking problem on the grounds, for a quarter of the crowds arrived by automobile. But in that year also there was a tent for the new Erie County Farm Bureau, and that marked a new era in agricultural development.

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II. Industry in the Steam Age

Active in 1870 were many firms with names familiar to contemporary citizens of even a modest burden of years. Of these firms, many were even then seasoned veterans. Benjamin Bidwell, who with Asa Stannard began to build ships on Scajaquada Creek in 1809, was in 1836 on the Ohio Basin operating a shipyard and a drydock as the Bidwell and Banta Company. This company became Mason and Bidwell in 1858, and it incorporated as Union Dry Dock Company in 1870. Purchased by Buffalo Dry Dock Company in 1900, its work did not cease until 1962. Van Slyke, Notter Company started in this same business in 1855, and David Bell's shipyard actually started with our opening year of 1870 although his machine shop began earlier. Associated with shipbuilding in the complex that was created by Great Lakes commerce is the milling of the grains brought down the Lakes from western fields. Buffalo millers already long known in 1870 were Thornton and Chester Milling Company (1845), and Jacob Schoellkopf's North Buffalo Mill at Black Rock (1857), and his Frontier Mill followed in 1870.

Railroads had made Buffalo a cattle mart as well, a fact taken advantage of by Jacob Dold and Christian Klinck to set up packing firms that, after the usual corporate metamorphoses, still operate under the Hygrade label, although since 1954 no longer in Buffalo. Slaughtering of animals inevitably set tanneries going, George Palmer's and Aaron Rumsey's among the earliest. A. Rumsey and Howard (1838) led to many things, and Jacob Schoellkopf's, which opened at White's Corners in 1843, is found on this list also. Buffalo's sheepskin tannery followed in 1846, and soap boiling quickly appeared to use surplus fats from butchering and tanning operations.

Basic blacksmithing inevitably appeared with the beginning of settlement, (43 blacksmiths were active in Buffalo in 1880), but a tremendous stimulus to metallurgy was created by the discovery of iron ore near Lake Superior in the 1840's, which made that metal available in quantity to the enterprising. The firms of Edward Root and Beals, Mayhew & Company date from 1826, and S. S. Jewett's Eagle Iron Works began in 1846. Pratt and Company set up its first blast furnace in 1864 and in 1870 was operating 8 heating and 22 puddling furnaces. Pratt & Letchworth erected a foundry in 1854 that in 1860 developed into the Buffalo Malleable Iron Works. George Palmer and Charles Wadsworth founded Union Iron Works in 1860 with three blast furnaces. Feeding these and other industries were at least three large coal yards, notably Hedstrom and Spaulding's (1856), now Spaulding and Yates.

Engineering works included Shepard Iron Works, later King Iron Works, and Republic Metal Ware Company, Farrar and Trefts (1864), David Bell Company (1845), Jones, Eagle, and Washington Iron Works, and Buffalo Bolt Company. Buffalo Scale Company began in the 1860's and Pitts Agricultural Works began in 1851. Washington began 1840, Wurlitzer 1856, and they as well as the Jewett Refrigerator Company (1849) were already nationally known in 1870.

Some notion of the scale of the ironworkers' industry in Buffalo may be gained by scanning the enumerator's sheets of the 1880 census of industry, which is available on microfilm in the Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society.

The minor established uses in wagon and blacksmith shops—scores of both active at the time—pale beside the railroad giants. The largest single investment in heavy industry in Buffalo was the New York Central's car and repair shops which together were valued at $800,000. The J. & N. C. Scoville foundries, specializing in car wheels, were capitalized at $350,000, followed by the shops of the Buffalo, New York, and Philadelphia valued at $200,000, and the New York, Lake Erie & Western railroad shops, at $250,000. The Gilbert Car Works added $140,000 to bring the total to $1,750,000. Other primary ironworking plants—casting, forging, and finishing—added only a little over $1,500,000, giving a measure of the importance of railroads as a stimulator of industry. The latter figure includes such shops with famous names as Drullard & Hayes, Wheeler, Buffalo Forge ($9,000 capital in 1880), Lang, Tifft, Eagle, Farrar and Trefts, Bell, Howard, King, and Holloway.

Glucose, or grape sugar, is one industry that rivals iron in scale. Three Buffalo plants produced glucose in 1880 and their capitalization equalled that of the railroad shops.

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Other metallurgical industries were small in comparison. There were seven brass founders and finishers capitalized at $400 to $15,000, employing one to eleven hands. In lead the Cornell interests had $100,000 in its white lead and paint factory and $20,000 in its pipe works.

A giant of the future, chemicals, had one sizable plant, M. Kalbfleisch & Sons, that was capitalized at $300,000. The Schoellkopf operations, organized in 1879, seems to have escaped the enumerator's attention.

Flour milling capital was estimated at $925,000. These figures must all be regarded as the results of estimates: by factory owners, by census workers, and by the author. It is impossible for anyone to separate capital employed in primary production from that used to finish consumer goods.

The lumber trade was booming both in Buffalo and down river at Tonawanda and on Grand Island. The East Boston Company was on Grand Island in 1833, John Simson and J. S. Bliss Company in 1840, James M. Scatcherd appeared in 1859, L. S. Payne, A. B. Williams, Eastern Lumber Company, and others appeared in the 1860's. Furniture makers were on hand to use this raw material, Cutler Desk Company going back to 1829, Sikes Chair Company to 1859, and Hersee and Company to 1834. This line of manufacturing was destined to grow rapidly with the rising activity of the port. The production of wagon materials and other wood turning and carving operations sprang up in the 1870's and 1880's.

Production figures assembled by census takers confirm the assumption that a busy port located to make iron ore available would force heavy metallurgy ahead more rapidly than any comparable industry. From 1860 through 1890 machinery and foundry products were the star performers in the Buffalo economy, the number of employees serving such factories rising from 1,446 to 3,881—a figure which conveys nothing of the great advances in efficiency occurring at the same time. The rising state of technology made the expansion of ironmaking the expected and inevitable outcome; the steam engine simplified heavy, mass production; coal and iron made general use of such a prime mover feasible; and all three multiplied themselves into the special traits of a new age. Railroads were blossoming everywhere in the country and steamships wherever there was water to float them. These carriers forced the pace of the iron industry, stimulated by the clangorous demands of the war of 1861-65 to even greater efforts.

Comparing the 1860-90 employment figures in iron with those in other industries establishes iron's primacy. Others, equally provided with lavish supplies of raw materials, moved steadily but no more than slowly to higher levels of production or even rose and fell with no marked tendency toward a flush of goods. For example, the agricul-

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tural implements producers in 1880 had only 35 more workers than in 1860. After 1880, their products were reported in the more general category of foundry and machine products. The numbers of those making boots and shoes decreased from 365 in 1860 to only 302 in 1890, while employment in men's clothing, which rose from 313 in 1860 to 1,550 in 1880, dwindled swiftly to 534 in 1890. Flour milling hardly increased at all in employment but this reflected a revolutionary acceleration in rates of production as spinning steel rollers replaced the leisurely rumbling mill stones; the value of the product doubled in this period as wheat flowed down the Lakes and Buffalo's potential began to be realized. Cooperage fell off sharply as boxes came more extensively into use. The numbers of furniture and carriage makers increased steadily as the growing city itself absorbed more goods (nor did malt liquors fall behind) while wood products and sheet metalware first tripled and then doubled before the three decades were out.

Equally instructive as to the County's growth were the new trades that joined the census lists during this time. The 1860 list was interesting enough in that firms could be found making glass hot-houses, cheeseboxes, gas, gold pens, mathematical and philosophical instruments, locomotive lamps, and washing machines. Scales and balances, leather belts and hose, and cheese particularly catch the eye in the 1870 list, for that year was an early one for production of these items as factory products, thus demonstrating Erie County's industrial readiness. A spate of new products was felt by 1880; among them printers' type, canned foods, fertilizers, wood engravings, brick, tile, clay pipe, iron bridges, and linseed oil. After that year it began to be hard to find additions, although in 1890 taxidermy and surgical appliances seem to qualify as novelties.

By 1870 there was no lack of transport facilities, from the enlarged Erie Canal to railroads and

lake vessels. The New York Central and Hudson River (consolidated 1854), the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern (later Michigan Central) 1869, the Grand Trunk, the Erie, the Buffalo Creek, and the Canada Southern Railroads were all operating in Buffalo by this time. In 1868 competition for the coal trade heightened. The Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad had sent George Dakin to Buffalo in 1861 to establish a yard on the Erie Basin, terminal of the Canal, from whence its cars were to carry coal to the west. A new trend was set by J. Langdon & Company's contract in 1868 for coal to be delivered in Buffalo by the New York Central Railroad. Docks were already operating to transfer coal from canal boat to lake vessel. Eric Hedstrom, who handled coal shipments on the Lehigh (whose tracks were laid on the Erie right-of-way), in 1871 erected a trestle to simplify transfer of coal from rail to vessel.

With the conclusion of the Civil War the Republican Party's control was felt in its policy of vigorous encouragement to business. This meant that harbor facilities were immediately enlarged by Federal initiative to handle normal operations and a generous plan for a seawall was at last agreed to, only to be lost again as the engineers decided to work to a still larger and more practical scale. They started in 1868 one of the great breakwaters of the world for what in a few decades was to be one of the world's busiest ports. Within it could safely operate the terminal of a great carrying trade.

The Republican hegemony likewise promised the maintenance of a high tariff behind which industry could develop without fear of excessive foreign competition, and there were other encouragements to business in the political fact. Banking was the better for the national bank system, authorized in 1863, and railroads were encouraged by land grants. Such subventions had also been provided for colleges which were to specialize in agriculture and engineering, but however hopeful this proposition might appear to the optimists, no one was yet thinking of research as the basis for great industrial expansion. Although still a token and a hope, it was far from discouraging. All signs were therefore favorable for the expansion of

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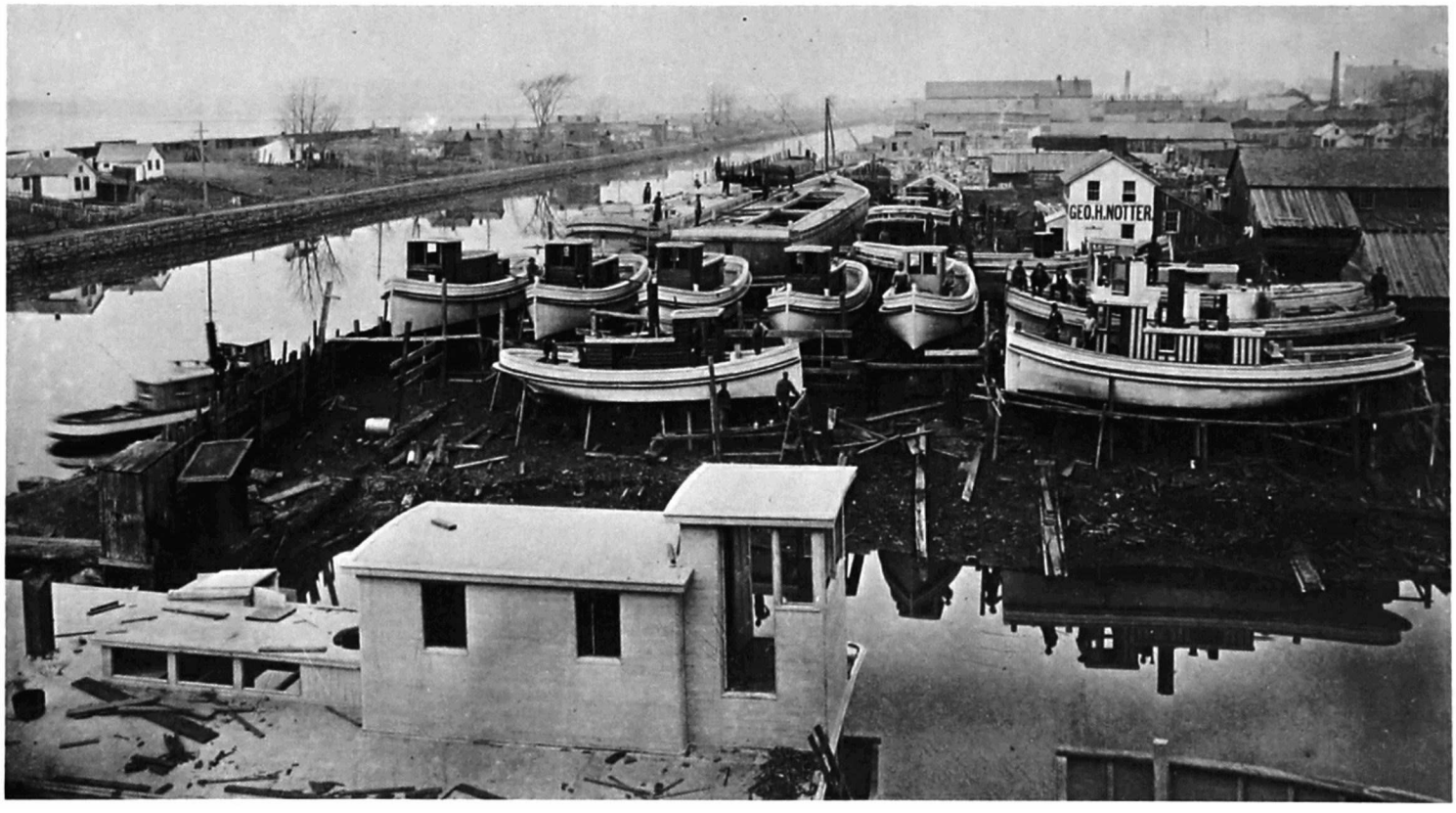
Buffalo's manufacturing industries.

Since metallurgy has been noted as one of the most expansive industries, iron production should be carefully examined as its base. But here is a surprise, for pig iron production only very hesitantly became important after 1870. The blast furnaces of the Union Iron Works actually shut down in 1870 or the following year when the firm failed. Revived as the Union Iron Company in 1873 just in time to be closed by the panic of that year, it remained closed until Frank Baird made it the cornerstone of his successful iron ventures in 1890; by that time, however, the furnaces had long been cold. In the meantime, a company including Pratt, Jewett, Root, Keating, and Hayes set up a smelting operation. Its furnace was lighted in 1875, only to shut down after a year. Like the Union furnace, it remained cold until Baird interested himself in it. He later sold it to Rogers, Brown & Company of Cincinnati, which did a thriving business in pig iron. In 1904, it absorbed the Goodyears' Buffalo & Susquehanna Iron Company.

By the mid-nineties, then, there was pig capacity of a modest kind, the Rogers firm making about 165,000 tons per year, the Union perhaps somewhat more. Neither were big by contemporary standards, or by those about to be set by a new works already being planned for Lackawanna, but they provided plenty of raw material, for the operations of the time in making wagons, tools, bridges, and the like did not gulp iron supplies on the scale required in the rolling of steel rails. Some of the specialists also provided for themselves. Pascal Paoli Pratt's Buffalo Iron and Nail Company employed its own blast furnace from 1864 and added another in 1874. Iron of the correct grade was processed in the firm's puddling furnaces, and high grade steel was added to the Frontier's metal resources when the firm of Pratt and Letchworth in 1876 began operating two open-hearth furnaces, again chiefly for its own further processing of large steel castings.

The modest scale of iron making suggests that the mere presence of raw materials, in no matter how great a flood, will not automatically produce bustling industries. Only a small fraction of the ores pouring down the Lakes from the Superior mines even reached Buffalo before the turn of the century. That fraction nevertheless was well employed in laying the foundations for many flourishing firms and several broad industries. The ships and trains that brought the materials were themselves, as noted, a source of considerable demand to machine industries. The Bidwell shipbuilding firm of 1809 was Union Dry Dock Company in 1870 and quite prepared to assemble iron hulls in which the huge engines made by Farrar and Trefts could be installed. David Bell's shipyard was just commencing operations and his shops produced marine engines as well, as did the King Iron Works that succeeded the prewar Shepard Works. Railroads needed less spectacular products, but the steady demand for bridges, rails, track, fittings, and rolling stock was appreciated. The Buffalo Car Wheel Works of the Scoville brothers was long settled (1853) in East Buffalo, where they



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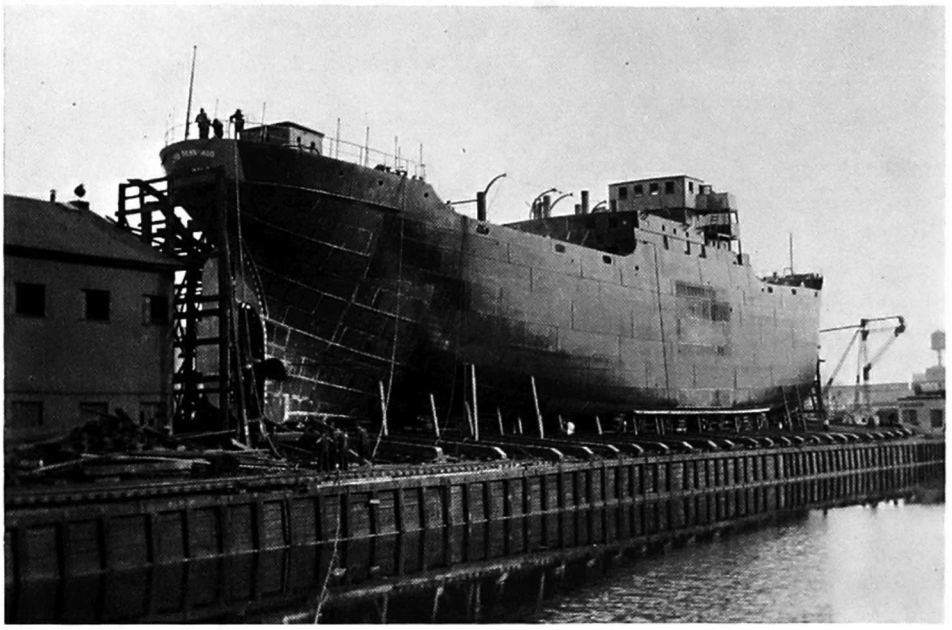
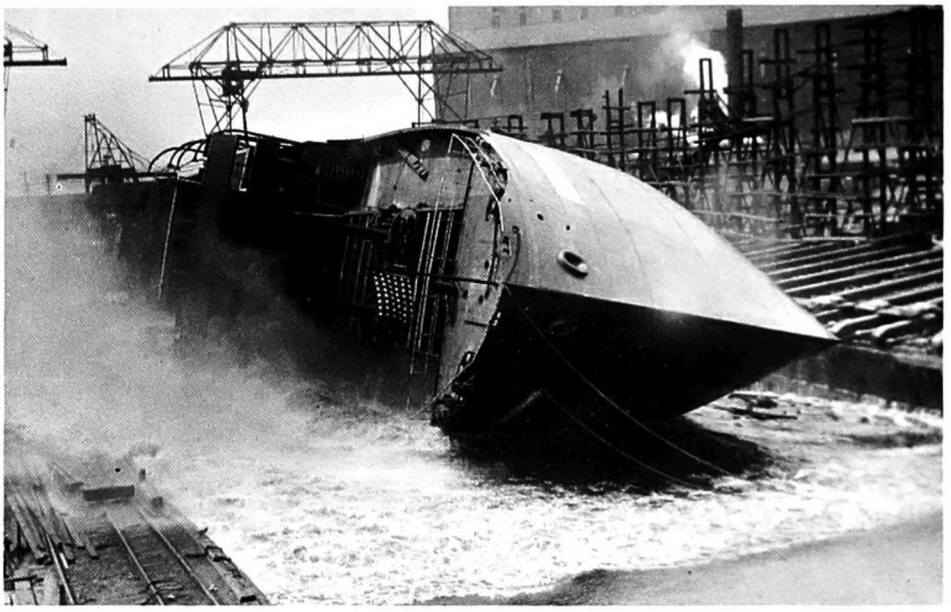
were joined by Rood and Brown Company, allied with Farrar and Trefts to manage the heavy production of the East Buffalo Iron Works. David Bell's shop produced locomotives.

Famous for rolling stock was the Wagner Palace Car Company, an early producer of sleeping cars which built a new plant along Broadway in 1886. It was eventually absorbed by its long-time competitor, the Pullman Company. Buffalo was also center of operations of the Union Bridge Company that kept two to three hundred skilled workers active in Buffalo to fashion the materials necessary to the erection of steel bridges in many places around the world. Repair operations both to ships and to railroad rolling stock became important industries.

Metals, most particularly iron, were the basis for many other industries. Farm implements suddenly had become power tools with the invention of the McCormick reaper, which went into serious production in the 1840's. This was promptly echoed in Buffalo by twin brothers, John A. and Hiram Pitts, who in 1837 invented and patented a successful combined grain thresher and separator. In 1840 they came to Buffalo and erected a shop at Fourth and Carolina Streets to manufacture this new machine. Pitts Agricultural Works, incorporated in 1877, was renamed Buffalo Pitts Company in 1897. The company remained active through the 1920's. At its peak it was one of the world's largest producers of heavy agricultural and road building machinery, in 1888 making 800 threshers and 400 engines. Associated in the basic food industry was the John T. Noye Company. Noye had been apprentice to a miller who also made millstones; this became his chief business, Noye acquiring it in 1850. By the time of his death in 1881 he was employing about 350 men in the manufacture of flour milling equipment. More closely resembling Pitt's line of farm machinery was the business begun by William F. Ketchum. This shop quickly branched off into many other lines, the capa-





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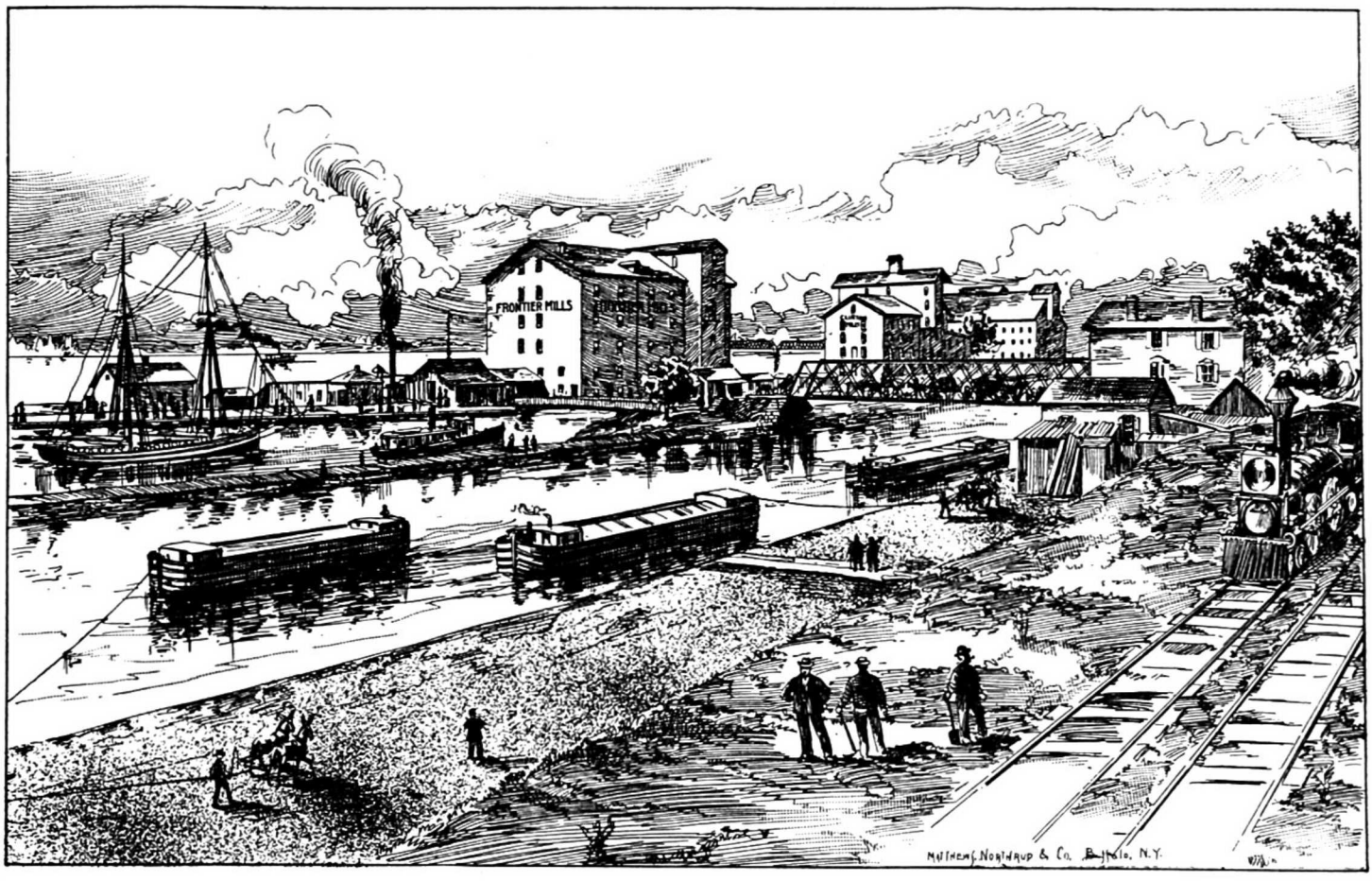
bility of such shops being broad indeed. Howard's made paper-cutting and bookbinding machines, and elevators, among other things. It remained into the 1920's a distinct entity called the Howard Iron Works but had been purchased in 1905 by the Otis Elevator Company.

Most ironworking companies found a variety of things to do although there were some that were content with a specialty; Buffalo Bolt Company began with George C. Bell's North Tonawanda shop in 1859, became Bell & Plumb in 1869, finally taking its later form under Joseph J. Albright's hand in 1897. The success of William and Henry Wendt in making forges led to a complete line of blacksmith's equipment, then heating and ventilating machinery, engines, and (through mergers) plantation machines and steam pumps. From 1877 to the present a succession of efforts has made Buffalo Forge Company masters of a broad empire with time left over to encourage one of its engineers, Willis H. Carrier, to start the air conditioning industry.

The Crosby Company began with the invention in 1892 of stamped metal parts for bicycles, which revolutionized that industry. The company incorporated in 1896, and since then has undertaken a vast variety of stamping operations. The Worthington Pump and Machinery Corporation, the Buffalo Pressed Steel Corporation, and many others seemed to have been delighted to master both mass production techniques and the conquest of new lines. Of other early foundations in this field American Radiator Company (1881), Buffalo Scale Company (1860), United States Cast Iron Pipe and Foundry Company (1868), and Jewett & Company have clung to their specialties.

Grain and lumber were the other great streams of commerce tapped by Buffalo businessmen eager to develop manufacturing. Wheat was always the first business of a farming settlement but Buffalo in the early day was hardly the place for grinding wheat into flour, as we have seen. The absence of waterpower sites sent millers to the foothills or to the Niagara escarpment where mill-sites had been found and exploited, although some used canal waters at Black Rock. But by 1870 things were different within the city itself, for the steam-and-iron economy had arrived, and the great technical changes in the grinding and refining process were beginning.

Steam power was being generously applied by existing mills, those of Thornton & Chester (1845), of George Urban, Sr. (who started with a flour jobbing firm in 1846). and of Jacob Schoellkopf (1857). The last-named bought a second mill at Black Rock in 1870 and, in partnership with George B. Matthews, built a large mill (1878) on the hydraulic canal at Niagara Falls—which was to lead to vast



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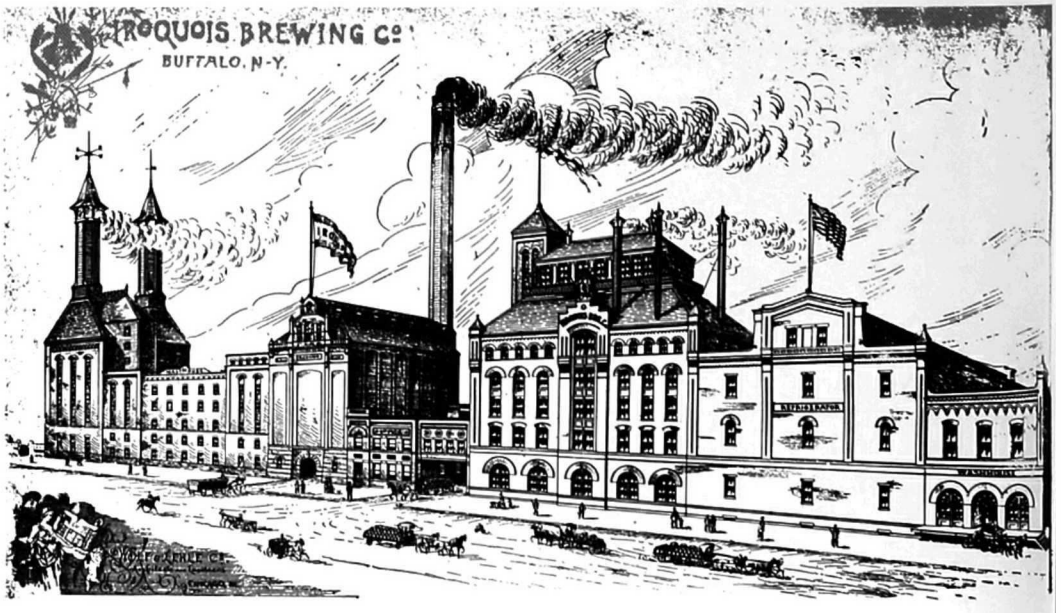
direct consequences to Buffalo itself in less than two decades. They built further mill capacity in Niagara Falls and then constructed the Banner Mill in Buffalo's Ohio Street. This mill closed in 1917. George Urban shook the millers by erecting in 1881 a mill with steel rollers (it may have been his first mill) and a new day began to dawn. Buffalo's capacity began to rise rapidly and to be measured in thousands of barrels daily instead of hundreds yearly, and the convention of millers held here in 1888 heard Pillsbury, head of a gigantic Minneapolis mill, declare that Buffalo would someday be the center of the industry.

Continuing to do business in a very ancient way, the brewing industry was tapping a stupendous store of barley held in Buffalo elevators—at times amounting to a third of the national supply—to produce the malt that was either promptly turned into beer locally or marketed elsewhere for that purpose. The beer drinking tradition of the English population had been vigorously reinforced by the coming of a great mass of German immigrants, among whom the brewers of the future were to be found. Most of Buffalo's well-known breweries or their predecessor firms were operating with complete success in 1870 so this story is merely one of healthy growth. The million-dollar 1860 product of the malt liquor industry (and $600,000 worth of malt) became $4,250,000 (and $2,000,000 of malt) in 1900, produced by 18 breweries and 16 malthouses.



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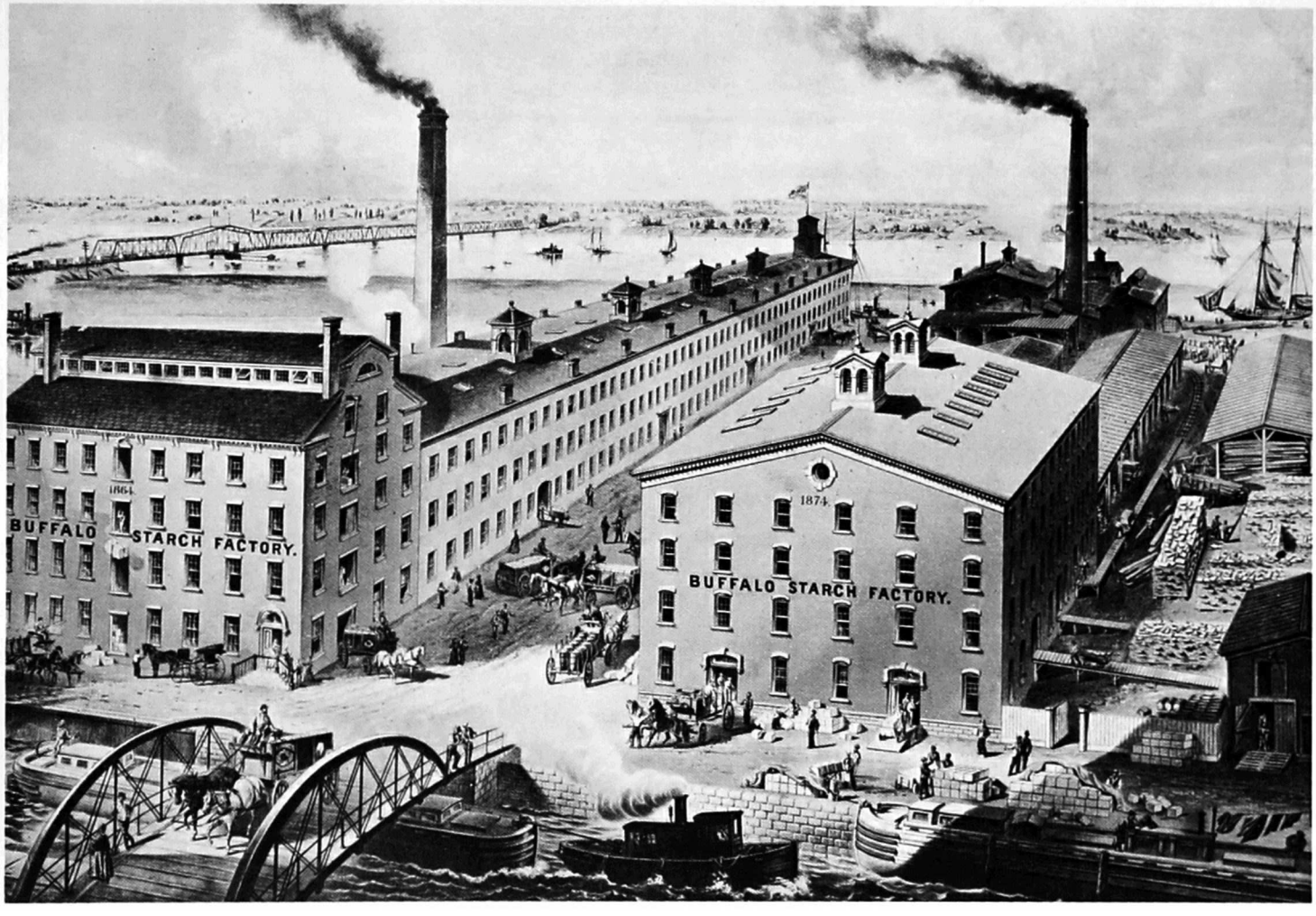
The manufacture of glucose was as old as brewing was new. This sugar was still not completely understood by chemists, but makers of syrups, jellies, confections, and beer had discovered that it was not only cheap but efficacious—as a sweetener and as a quick producer of alcohol in brewing. Again the great stores of grain in Buffalo elevators actuated alert industrialists to exploit a new process. Corn starch boiled with acid yielded glucose, or grape sugar, and C. J. Hamlin and others were soon operating huge plants. The American Grape Sugar Company had a capital value of $500,000, as did Joseph Firmenich's plant, and were exceeded by the Buffalo Grape Sugar Company at $750,000. The three together in 1880 produced over $3,000,000 of this sugar. Perhaps the three makers of corn starch were closely related to this industry. The Gilbert Company, International Starch Works, and Niagara Starch Works together made $600,000 worth of the basic material, which might also have been marketed directly as a foodstuff.

From agricultural oils came two notable firms during this latter end of the nineteenth century. One was the linseed oil business of Kellogg & McDougall (1879), later to be Spencer Kellogg & Sons and a vigorous sponsor of chemical research. For the present it should be noted that it built the largest linseed crushing plant in the country in 1893. The cattle trade had long before given rise to a thriving meat packing industry, and thence in turn to several large soap-boiling plants.

In 1875 another soap factory was set up by John D. Larkin that was to prove quite different. The soap went well enough, but after a decade Larkin and two associates, Elbert Hubbard and Darwin Martin, turned a fine but prosaic business into a merchandising adventure. With the greatest success the Larkin Company promoted direct sales to customers by offering premiums, the supplying of premiums in itself becoming an industry with its own factories such as the Buffalo Pottery Company, and its own chain of stores. In 40 years the main factory expanded to a building with 64 acres of floor space. Elbert Hubbard had by then long since left to create his own industry in East Aurora with the name of Roycroft. There were other great names in the Buffalo soap business like Lautz, but they were through this period showing steady growth in companies founded earlier.

Similarly the great tanning indus-



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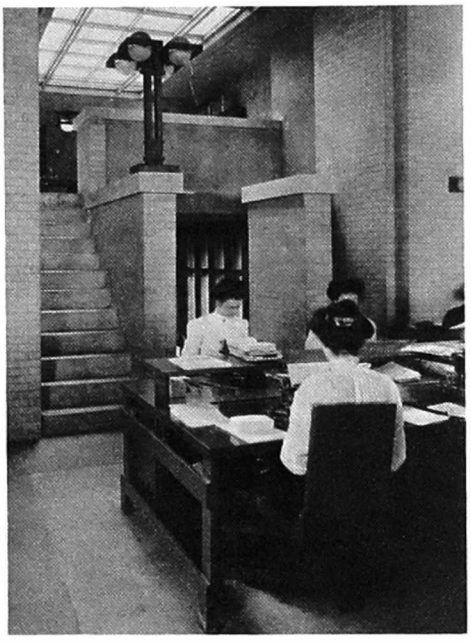

try, in which he had made his start, was dominated by Schoellkopf and the Rumsey firm which preceded his. Before 1870, these firms had been joined by M. Strauss, George L. Williams, Moffat Brothers, and Laub & Zeller. This was the most flourishing time for this industry, as it apparently was for a number of meat packing firms.

The lumber trade, which was growing at a staggering rate, offered equal opportunities, and the product of Buffalo furniture factories more than tripled in the three decades 1870-1900. Of the furniture makers the largest were earlier foundations, Cutler dating from 1829 and Sikes Chair Company from 1859. Of those that were to distinguish themselves the Kittinger Company grew from the Colie firm that began in 1870, while the famous manufacturer of billiard tables, Brunswick-Balke-Collender, was operating in the 1880's. The products of planing mills, including doors and windows, rose similarly, but little record has been made of the firms belonging to this period. The 1880 Census of Industry showed Colie somewhat larger than earlier surmised. It ranked in capital among the top ten reported, employing 23 people, and sold $70,000 of products. The largest was Weller, Brown & Mesmer (capital, $225,000) and the old firms of Hersee & Company and Sikes and Company followed at $60,000 and $35,000 respectively. There were also six upholsterers. Even the fashioning of wooden packing boxes and barrels aggregated a product not to be dismissed lightly, reaching $1,162,000 in 1900, boxes overtaking kegs and barrels rapidly in popularity; but only E. & B. Holmes have won much notice, and that for their production of cooperage machinery. They also had an extensive lumber trade and a large sash and door plant.

It is curious that the very largest single plant listed in the 1880 industrial census was related to none of these major lines of commerce. It was the World's Medical Dispensary and its capital was as spread-eagled as its name, being listed at a round $1 million. There is no way of knowing how that figure was arrived at, but it may be justified if the sales really were the $498,000 reported, of which the greater part was in value added by the firm's 77 employees. The Foster-Milburn proprietary drug company lasted better, but in 1880 claimed a modest $30,000 in capital value.

Perhaps equally strange is the absence of any items in the census to account for the maintaining of lake shipping. The enumerators could find but one shipsmith and one sparmaker in the city—surely somewhat short of the reality.

By 1900 Buffalo had every reason

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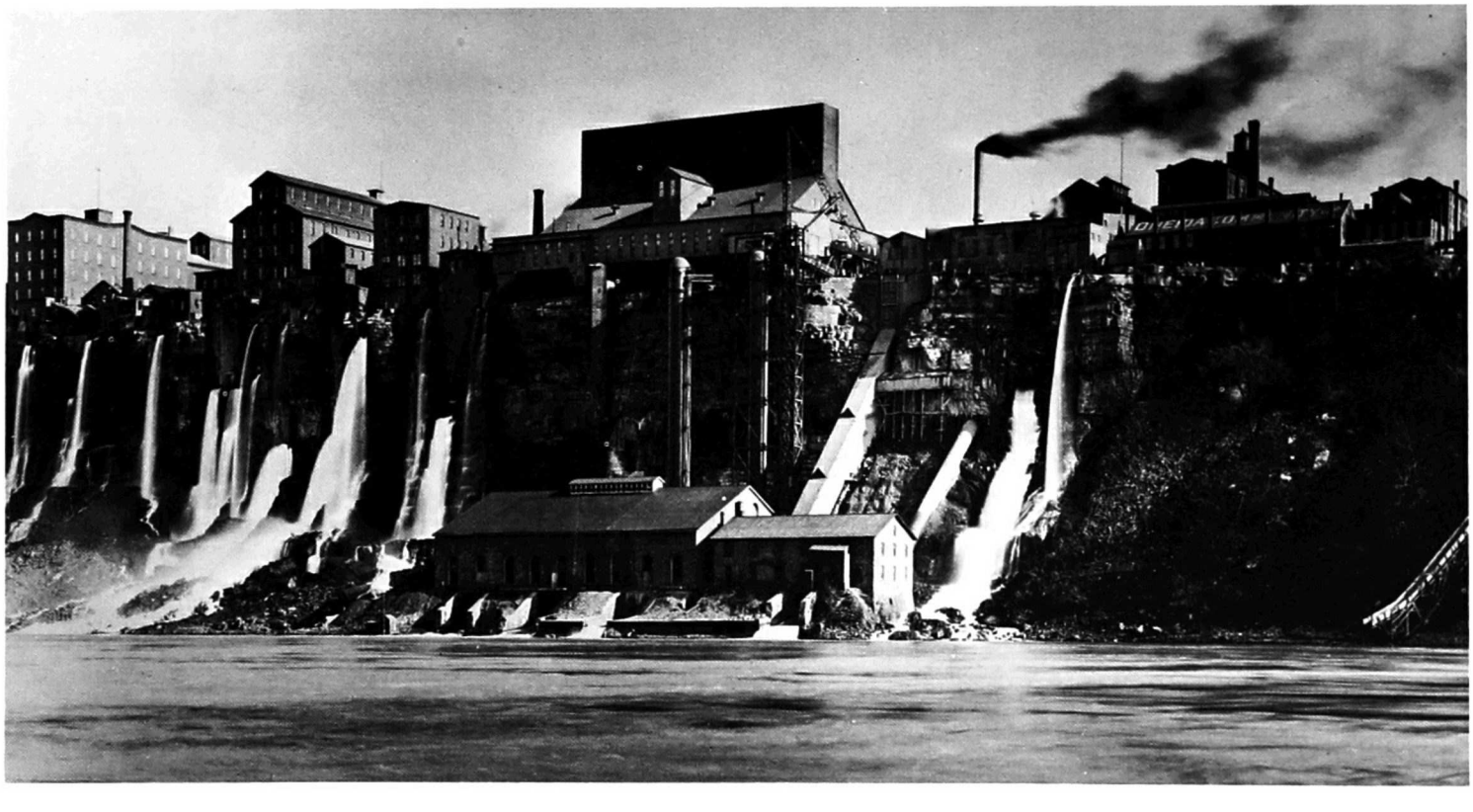
to admit to an optimism that was reflected brightly in its newspapers as well as official and semi-official publications. Wherever opportunities had been grasped, achievement had followed and it occurred to no one that the periodically renewed determination to develop more and greater industries would not be completely successful or that Buffalo might not justify its claim to be Queen City of the Lakes. Reporters from organs like the *New York Times* joined foreign visitors and local observers in praise of the potential as well as the success already achieved in exploiting the opportunities in basic industries like grain, coal, and lumber. The 1897 *Manual* published by the Common Council proudly related Buffalo's progress, not neglecting the fact that its port was greater than London's, was the fourth in size among the world's ports, and was closing with Liverpool in tonnages. That Cleveland had crept ahead in population according to the 1890 census (261,353 to 225,664) was not admitted to be significant of a permanent trend.

If the future did not hold quite what these confident men expected this could not be laid to their risking too much on one basic industry alone. Repeatedly business leaders organized efforts to expand and diversify, with a committee in 1860, with the Bureau of Conventions and Industry of the Merchants' Exchange in 1899, and with the Industrial Bureau of the Chamber of Commerce in 1910. In the 1890's these efforts were given a great push by the arrival in Buffalo of a new form of energy, and in which the Niagara Frontier was a most notable pioneer, electric power.

Once Jacob Schoellkopf had gained a foothold in Niagara Falls as owner of the hydraulic canal, which he bought in 1878, events began to move steadily toward the full employment of this tremendous source of power. Late in 1896 energy began to flow from huge generators at the Falls to Buffalo and its streetcars. At the time this now commonplace transaction was anything but ordinary, indeed, it was the first movement of massive power to a distant place of employment to be achieved anywhere in the world. In fact the story is of the wildest chance-taking or of the completest faith, as one regards the technicians of our age, for the people who decided to harness the power of Niagara Falls at enormous expense had no clear idea as to how it was to be transmitted to Buffalo where its abundance might be used, when they began to construct the immense works needed to produce it. Engineers employed by the company ransacked Europe and America for the answers and in the nick of time found that the mystery of alternating current had been penetrated, so that it was available as the media for economical transmission of power. Not only had the problems of power for Buffalo industry been solved, but the electric age had begun in earnest.

The agent of generation was the Niagara Falls Power Company, which broke ground for its epoch-making plant in 1890. The transmission was the business of the Cataract Power and Conduit Company, of which George Urban, Jr., the innovative miller, was president.



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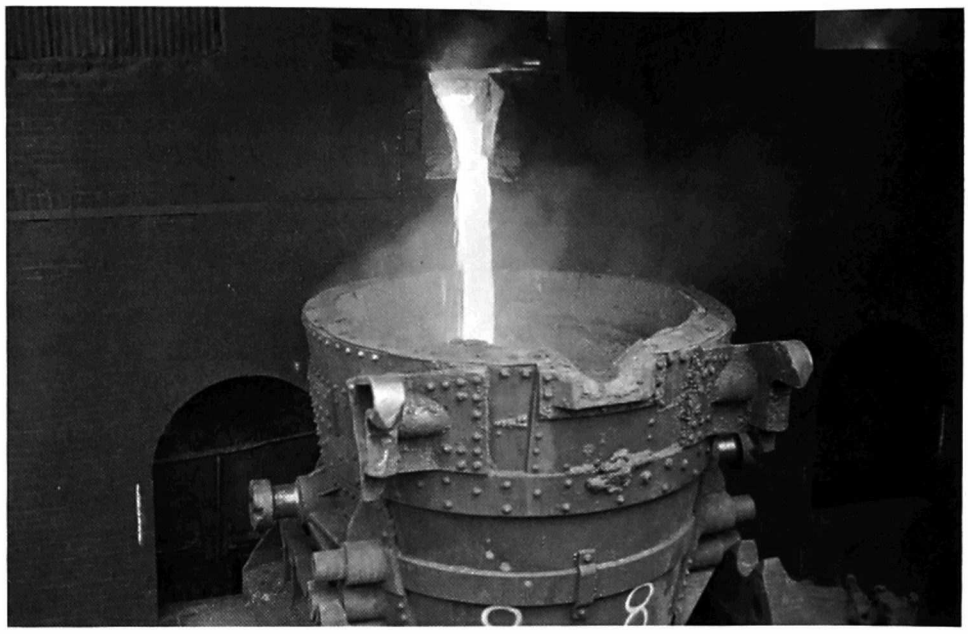
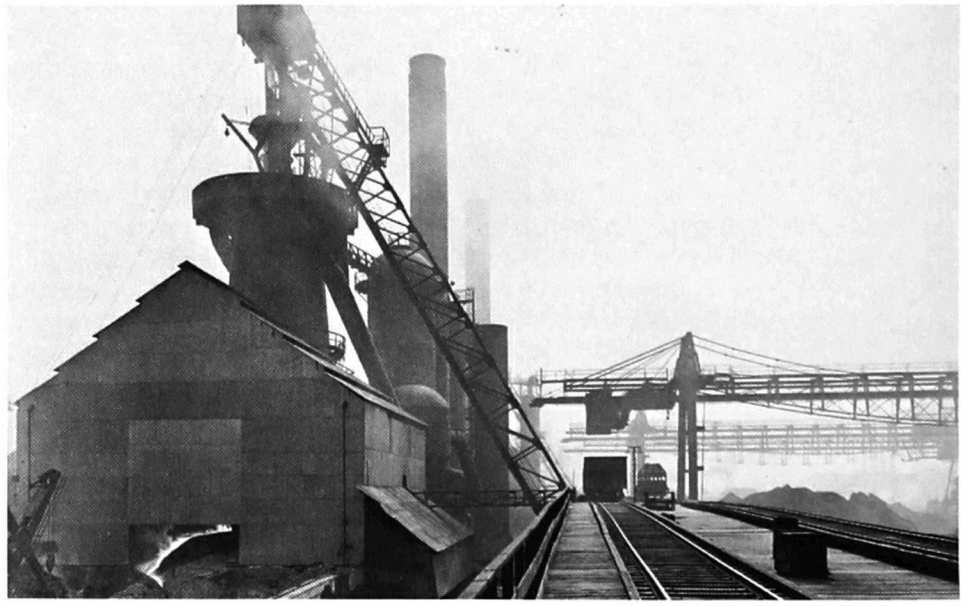
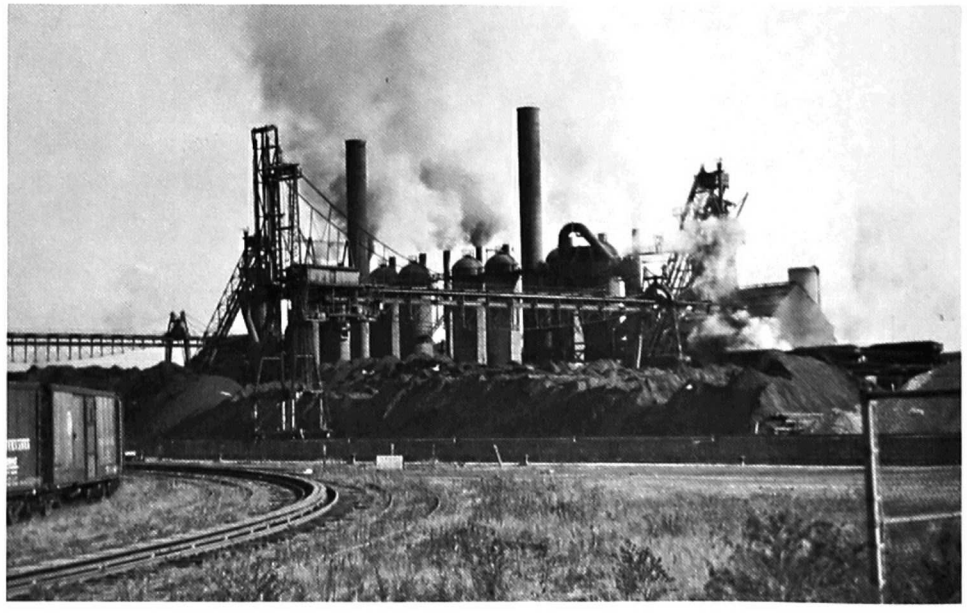
The Buffalo Railway Company contracted for a thousand horsepower and the occasion of throwing the switch was largely ignored, only a few officials standing by. The Buffalo General Electric Company, an offshoot of Brush Electric Light and Thomson-Houston companies, soon was also relying on Falls power, as might be expected of a manufacturer of electric equipment.

Plentiful electric power eased the problems of many manufacturers and also made possible entirely new processes, chiefly in producing chemicals. The latter line was not new to the area, since Jacob Schoellkopf had begun production of dyestuffs in 1879, using German chemical processes. Jacob Schoellkopf, Jr. and other members of the family applied themselves to the science of chemistry, necessarily studying it in Germany, and soon were making progress not only in finishing dyestuffs from purchased components but in developing and patenting their own procedures. They were unable to achieve complete independence of the established German primary producers, whose low prices were at the time unbeatable. Nevertheless progress was made. They organized production units in New York City and Philadelphia (1887 and 1896) as well as the Buffalo Schoellkopf Aniline and Chemical Works, consolidating them in 1899 as Schoellkopf, Hartford & Hanna Company. This firm organized its trade throughout the country and built a great plant in Buffalo for basic production.

By 1907 this plant was selling $4 million in dyes per year. On the way to this massive success continuous production of the needed acids was developed and incorporated as the Contact Process Company in 1904. When 1914 arrived, and the supply of primary materials from Germany was cut off, Schoellkopf's were still far from completely prepared to furnish dyes for the many industries demanding them, but by great efforts the necessary facilities were erected and put into operation. The skills needed had to be acquired







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as the work went on, but by 1917 this Buffalo plant was producing half of the dyes used in the United States. Shortly afterwards the corporation was reorganized as National Aniline and Chemical Company.

As petroleum was known in Buffalo before the Pennsylvania oil strike of 1858, and refining here began about 15 years after that, this essentially chemical process also enriched the city's technological resources. Perhaps even more important, a Buffalo business man, Charles B. Matthews, withstood the competitive ruthlessness of the Standard Oil Company to operate the Buffalo Lubricating Oil Company (1881) and then the Buffalo Refining Company (1888). Lautz, Holmes & Adams produced $100,000 and F. S. Pease $300,000 in petroleum derivatives in 1880. These were the only oil firms listed in the census of that year. Another firm, the Atlas Works, remained independent until Standard Oil applied irresistible competitive pressure and acquired possession in 1892.

The characteristic development of the chemical industry along the Niagara Frontier has, apart from these, been in most instances closely associated with the lavish supply of electric power. The Hooker Electro-Chemical Company of 1908 has since added to itself such firms as Durez Plastics & Chemicals (1903) and Niagara Alkali Company (1910). Linde Air Products Company began in Buffalo in 1907 and joined the great merger that formed Union Carbide in 1917. Numerous subsidiaries' factories now operate in this area, most of them in Niagara Falls close to the power source. More than 120 chemical companies have located facilities in the metropolitan district, and from their laboratories have come such new products as moisture-proof cellophane, electrolytic caustic soda and chlorine, high-strength rayon, various detergents, silicon carbide abrasives, ferroalloys, polyester fibers, high-strength peroxide, silicones, and molecular sieves.

What else Niagara power did, acting directly, to encourage manufacturing is hard to estimate. Ultimately the steel industry greatly benefited as electric furnaces were introduced, but there is not necessarily any immediate and pressing connection with the new steel plant that put the Buffalo industry into the big leagues. This was the Lackawanna Steel Company, developed by a number of Buffalo business men. Among them were Franklin D. Locke, John G. Milburn, John J. Albright, Edmund Hayes, and Sullivan A. Rogers. They persuaded Walter Scranton that his family's already ancient (1840) Lackawanna Iron and Coal Company (since 1891 Lackawanna Iron and Steel Company) should be placed more advantageously. Since the Scranton family were already looking about for such a spot they were amenable. The decision to move was made in 1899 and in 1903 steel was being poured in buildings on the new site, a thousand acres and three miles of Lake front, just south of the city of Buffalo.

This new grant, capitalized at $60 million, was soon joined by two other large firms. The New York State Steel Company, incorporated in 1905, was promoted by Spencer Kellogg, but was soon in financial troubles when the panic of 1907 caught them at the beginning of their operations. They continued with some difficulties, and in 1915, the Donner Steel Company took over the plant. Expanding demand ended embarrassments, the company added furnaces and mills and found stability in its reputation for quality plates and bars. Shortly after this start the Wickwire Steel Company of Cortland in 1908 built mills along the Niagara River to the north of the city to produce pig iron, steel billets, rod, wire, and netting. In 1920 this corporation had been merged by purchase in Wickwire-Spencer Steel Corporation, a Massachusetts firm of long standing in wire production.

These were the giants of the period through the First World War. Among them they commanded the action of thirteen blast furnaces, 38 open hearth furnaces, and twenty rolling mills. In them sixteen thousand men produced nearly 2 million tons of steel per year: Lackawanna 1,250,000, Donner 500,000, and Wickwire 180,000.

But they were not, of course, all that were active in steel production. Frank B. Baird's Union Furnace Company and the Pratt furnaces, purchased by Roger, Brown & Company and called Tonawanda Iron & Steel Company, continued, the latter finally becoming a division of American Standard. The Goodyears with characteristic energy started their Buffalo & Susquehanna Iron Company in 1910 that was purchased by Hanna Furnace Company in 1927 and swept into the National Steel Corporation in 1929. The Buffalo Union Furnace

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Company had been leased by M. A. Hanna & Company in 1908.

Other metals became important to Buffalo in these years, illustrated by the Buffalo Copper and Brass Rolling Mill Company of 1906 and the Metal and Alloy Specialties Company somewhat later. Other means of working likewise began to appear, as when Ogden P. Letchworth entirely electrified the Pratt and Letchworth plant with excellent results. Drop-forge shaping of steel became a great business with the General Railway Signal Company which came to Buffalo in 1899 and changed into the General Drop Forge Company. U. S. Hame Company, Otis Elevator, J. H. Williams & Company (1911), and Barcalo Manufacturing Company were among those most using this process.

A city that spawned carriage works by the dozen and developed engineers in scores inevitably experimented with automobiles. The first automobiles were carriages very slightly modified to include steering gear and a gasoline engine, which soon migrated to the front of the new vehicle. The first modifications were slight indeed as a glance at a carriage collection and a visit to one of the frequent displays of antique cars will convince any observer. Carriages which had by 1900 become light and graceful as well as tough with the development of forged steel running gear, and such parts, as well as wheels and bodies stoutly built and protected by a dozen well-rubbed coats of varnish, were available cheaply from many manufacturers. A mechanic of ingenuity and pertinacity could become a manufacturer of automobiles with an investment of a few thousand dollars. Henry Ford was among these, and Buffalo's great carmaker, George K. Birge, is said to have once dismissed him after an interview as "that crazy inventor from Detroit." This may have been an admissible characterization as far as it went, but it proved unfortunate since the inventor later demonstrated a considerable business capacity as well.

At least 15 Buffalo shops produced well-known automobiles and trucks, beginning with the Kensington Bicycle Company in 1900 and ending with "Playboy" in 1947. Four of these tried to develop a steam-driven car (as did Pierce): Kensington 1900-03, Conrad 1900-04, Brooks 1923-26, and Lutz 1917. There were two manufacturers of electric cars: Buffalo Electric Vehicle Company 1900-07, and the Clark 1900-12 built by Brunn Carriage Manufacturing Company, which from 1921 to 1941 was to make bodies for Lincoln. Other companies, now less known, were Babcock 1906-12, Centaur 1902-03, Spaulding 1900-03, and Parenti 1920-23.

This sad list adequately conveys the difficulty of winning a place in the automotive field, but several won modest success nevertheless. The Stewart Motor Corporation's trucks had a wide distribution 1913-23, as did the Atterbury. The latter company, begun in 1903, apparently was firmly established, but was forced to stop production as the Depression touched bottom in 1933, and to liquidate in 1939 just as hope was reappearing. The E. R. Thomas Company possibly deserves its own history, but its success appears now to have been far more in public relations than in engineering. The company's Buffalo production began in 1900, working from parts made in the Covert shop in Lockport, and that year reached the dizzy heights (for that time) of 100. Roy D. Chapin and Howard E. Coffin joined the staff in 1906 and much might have come from those stars of the industry had they not withdrawn in 1909 to form the Hudson Company, now a part of American Motors. Financial difficulties led to the promotion of the round-the-world race of 1908, which the Thomas won on points. But a $2 million debt to bankers remained (indicating that the banks were far from refusing to take the industry seriously) and de-

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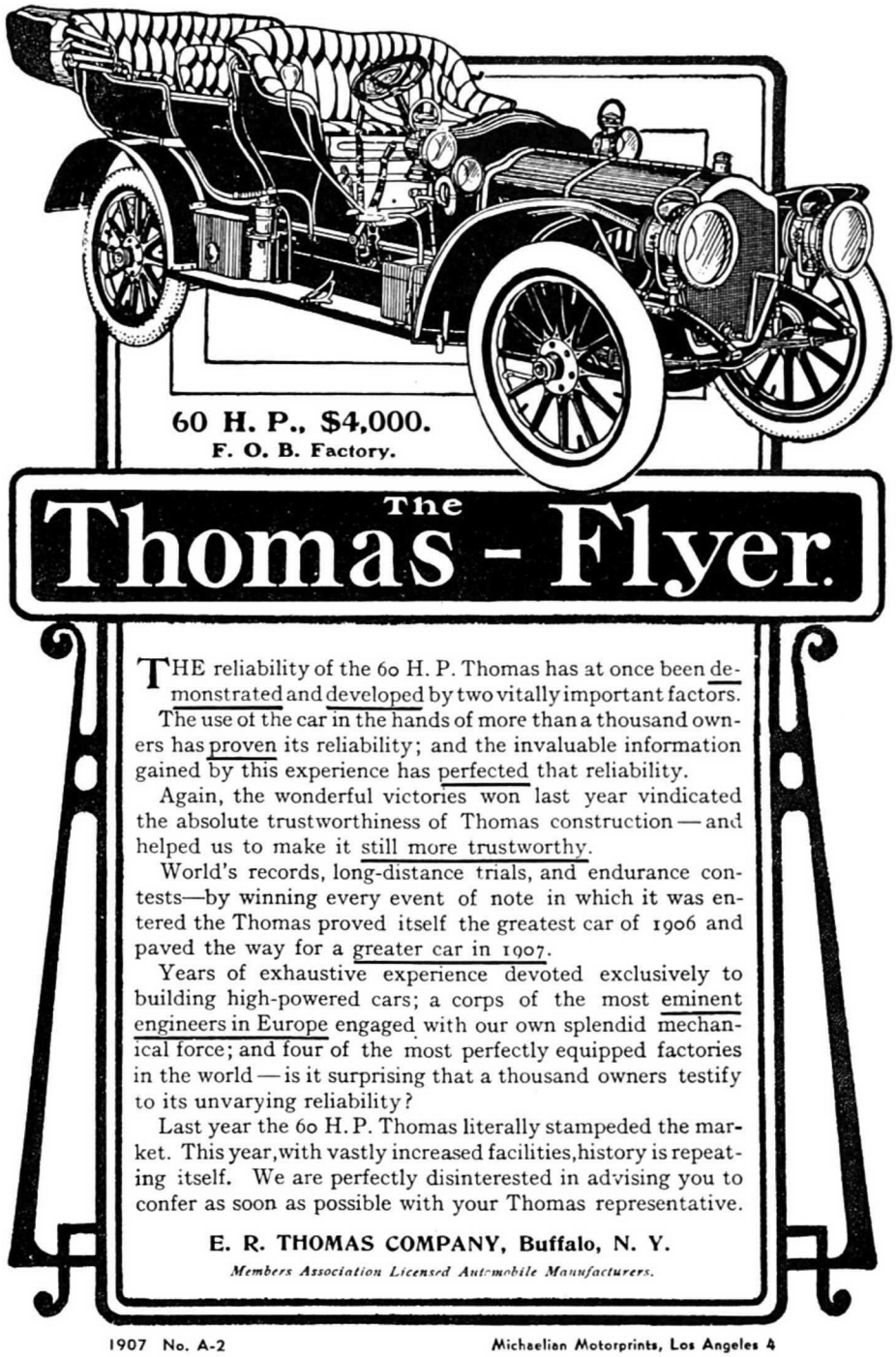
sign problems finished the enterprise 1908-10. The New York City bank of Eugene Meyer tried once more but liquidated in 1912.

This recital hardly prepares one for the spectacular success of the Pierce Arrow. George N. Pierce in 1880 was a maker of refrigerators and iron oddments with a capital of $30,000 and sales of $80,000. In 1891 he began manufacturing bicycles, experimenting with cars soon after that. The great good fortune of the company occurred when George K. Birge and some of his friends invested in Pierce. Two years later, in 1898, Birge reorganized it and brought in a Scottish engineer, David Fergusson. Steam power was quickly abandoned and in 1900 the gas-powered Motorette was running. In two more years the company was making its own engines and in another was selling the 15-horsepower Arrow and the 24-horsepower Great Arrow. The taxing Glidden Tour was won in 1905 and the Elmwood plant occupied in 1906. Pierce withdrew from management in 1908 after a disagreement over a trivial matter but the company went on to wealth and fame. It was named Pierce-Arrow in 1909, with Birge, Charles Clifton, William H. Gardner, and William D. Hoyt the chief officers. When Birge retired in 1917 he withdrew a half of his share which amounted to $7 million.

Its triumphs included achievement of so high a quality that sales to the great were commonplace. Truck production 1910-32 added to prestige and profits, employment rose to 10,000 and labor relations were peaceful and friendly, reinforced by free medical service, good lunches, and free buses from downtown. Athletics were organized, bands entertained at lunch time, and a library was maintained. If this seemed too good to last, the feeling was justified by the sequel. World War I caused sudden readjustments including the production of the Hispano-Suiza engine, and at the same time George K. Birge retired, having developed not only this giant but much of the success of the Birge wallpaper concern. His withdrawal of capital was compensated by a public issue of stock, which was listed on the New York Stock Exchange. Cancellation of war contracts caught the company in the midst of enlarging its building, causing serious perturbation.

These startling changes proved too much for the remaining local managers and they concluded that they should find better management. In 1919 the Goethals Management Company took over. G. W. Goethals had honestly won a considerable reputation for his share in the construction of the Panama Canal, and his men now assumed control of Pierce-Arrow confidently if not arrogantly. They discharged a large part of the managerial staff, brought out a new car, and were astonished that it did not sell. The Pierce-Arrow had not been much changed since the lights were built into the front fenders and a 60-horsepower engine installed in 1914, and something more decisive in design seems to have been popularly expected.


60 H. P., $4,000.
F. O. B. Factory.
The
Thomas - Flyer.
THE reliability of the 60 H. P. Thomas has at once been demonstrated and developed by two vitally important factors.
The use of the car in the hands of more than a thousand owners has proven its reliability; and the invaluable information gained by this experience has perfected that reliability.
Again, the wonderful victories won last year vindicated the absolute trustworthiness of Thomas construction — and helped us to make it still more trustworthy.
World's records, long-distance trials, and endurance contests—by winning every event of note in which it was entered the Thomas proved itself the greatest car of 1906 and paved the way for a greater car in 1907.
Years of exhaustive experience devoted exclusively to building high-powered cars; a corps of the most eminent engineers in Europe engaged with our own splendid mechanical force; and four of the most perfectly equipped factories in the world — is it surprising that a thousand owners testify to its unvarying reliability?
Last year the 60 H. P. Thomas literally stampeded the market. This year, with vastly increased facilities, history is repeating itself. We are perfectly disinterested in advising you to confer as soon as possible with your Thomas representative.
E. R. THOMAS COMPANY, Buffalo, N. Y.
Members Association Licensed Automobile Manufacturers.
1907 No. A-2
Michaelian Motorprints, Los Angeles 4

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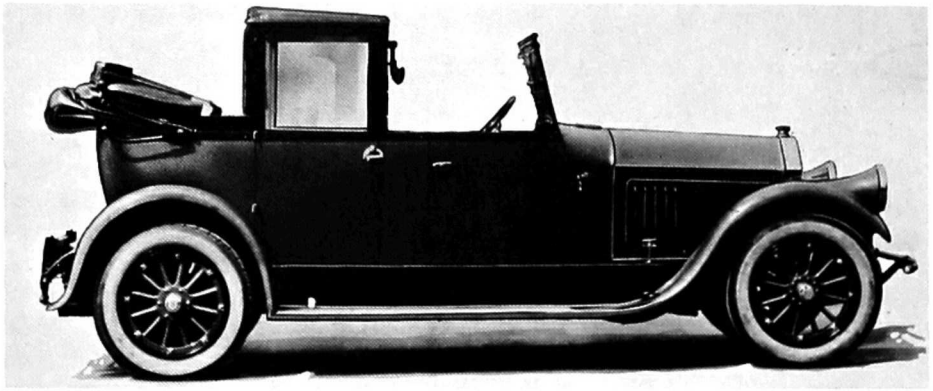

Pierce-Arrow Landau Town Car

So another new president was sent to Buffalo. He resigned in 1921 and the local management, headed by Clifton, resumed direction. Some revival followed as business conditions improved, and the company tried a lower priced car as well as making a more powerful engine available in one series.

Continued uncertainty resulted in the sale in 1928 of the control of Pierce-Arrow to Studebaker for $2 million—not a great price for a company whose annual net profits before the war had been $5 million. Studebaker achieved a prompt success, featuring large engines and great speed, but the Depression ended that effort and by 1932 sales had declined to disastrous levels, which another effort at inexpensive cars failed to help. Studebaker went into receivership in 1934, a Buffalo group bought Pierce-Arrow for $1 million and found Depression sales resistance insurmountable. After an idle year in 1935 another group tried again with a car produced with a remarkable list of very advanced specifications including an aluminum engine. This also failed to sell, efforts to refinance in 1937 were unsuccessful, and in 1938 Pierce-Arrow, certainly America's finest car, came to an end. The company had assets of $1.2 million, liabilities of $1.9 million. The Marine Trust Company and the Federal Reserve Bank of New York were the chief creditors and may be credited as having scored a most honorable failure with this account.

The Ford Motor Company, in spite of Ford's lack of success in procuring aid and comfort in Buffalo at the beginning of his enterprise, has become one of our modern giants. Ford opened a retail branch here in 1906 and in 1910 began manufacturing in the J. R. Klein steel plant with William S. Knudsen as director. This shortly became an assembly plant and increasing demand necessitated building another at Main and Rodney Streets, a building now occupied by Trico. Ford's Fuhrmann Boulevard plant was begun in 1930, closing as an assembly plant in 1958, after the company had turned out nearly two million cars in Buffalo. Local disappointment in this loss was soon changed to amazement at the growth of another Ford unit. The stamping plant had opened in 1950 and was soon consuming 2,500 tons of steel daily for the bodies it fashioned on its huge presses. That these giant machines soon were identified only as a part of a larger unit gives one an idea of the plant and its scale of operations. This unit is the press line, 24 major and 14 minor lines by 1969, built in almost yearly expansion projects, and in 1969 operated by 5,000 workers paid $38 million annually. A considerable proportion of Ford stamping operations are concentrated here.

There is little of Buffalo history in this, only the amazing chronicle of huge machines run by electronic directing mechanisms that report directly to Detroit and perhaps by this time are actually controlled from company headquarters there. The same is also true of the largest automobile maker in Buffalo, Chevrolet. In 1922 William S. Knudsen selected the East Delavan Street site and started the building of an assembly and body plant, beginning another story of steady expansion, interrupted only by the Depression. Axles and other parts have been added to this plant's products. In 1937 another plant was begun on River Road to make Chevrolet engines and this has grown with the industry, producing over a million engines in 1965. The two employ together over 10,000 hands.

In addition to these, three other companies have large manufacturing operations in Buffalo, one of them originating here. This is the Trico Products Corporation, which began in 1917 with John R. Oishei's realization of the need for windshield wipers for automobiles. He produced first a simple improvisation and then developed a satisfactory automatic wiper that has built

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the company's sales to more than $50 million annually, and furnishing employment to more than 5,000 in the Main Street plant (formerly Ford's), and in Washington and Elk Street plants.

Dunlop Tire Company, which opened its plant here in 1923, has become one of the ten largest tire plants in the country. The Harrison Radiator Company of General Motors began in Lockport in 1910 and in 1946 opened its plant in Buffalo.

Nor was the spirit of enterprise so strongly expressed in Buffalo manufacturing plants any less strong in the villages of Erie County. Quick surveys will at any time show that the spirit bubbling up in their establishments tended to outrun by far any conceivable local need. This sort of enterprise has been referred to in Chapter I in the case of the village of Springville which illustrates the interaction of manufacturing and farming. The story makes clear the way industrial enterprise makes possible advanced agriculture and so claimed for the farmer returns unknown to the man with the hoe. Springville was typical in giving opportunity to a vigorous and capable enterpriser like C. J. Shuttleworth, machinist and builder. The census reports of 1880 give estimates of over $80,000 invested in Springville shops, about half of it in Shuttleworth's foundry and machine shop and in the canning factory. The remainder was scattered among service industries to be found in every rural village, such as blacksmithing, wheelwrighting, harnessmaking, and milling.

To this list of rural industries certain other crafts were often added. In Springville there was a cabinet shop, a sheet metal shop, and some unusually capable blacksmiths, and any of these might have expanded into plants equipped with sales facilities to claim wide markets. How this might happen was illustrated in other neighboring villages. In East Aurora the east branch of the Cazenovia Creek turned the wheels of several such shops. While the six blacksmiths were still all single proprietorships the four wheelwrights

had taken on extra help, and there was a corresponding wagonmaker who had five employees. In addition, the well known firm of Darbee and Peek made agricultural implements (shovel plows, cheesemakers' presses, and road scrapers) with eight employees. As in Springville, there was a canning factory that in harvest time employed as many as 60. Akron did even greater business, one of its four cooper shops employing a dozen hands, and it boasted the unusual specialty of a hub shop, which demanded a very wide market indeed. Its cigarmaker employed eight hands. Akron also had an implement factory.

Hamburg must be specially mentioned if only for its cowbell factory - an item important in the days preceding the omnipresent barbed wire fence. There were two shops producing the bells, with a total of seven hands. It had also a blacksmith who claimed the distinction of the ability to produce the iron work for carriages—but where was the carriagemaker to employ him? Perhaps

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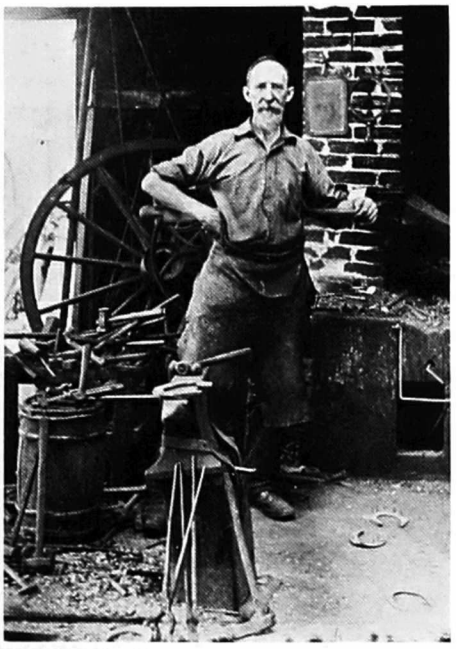


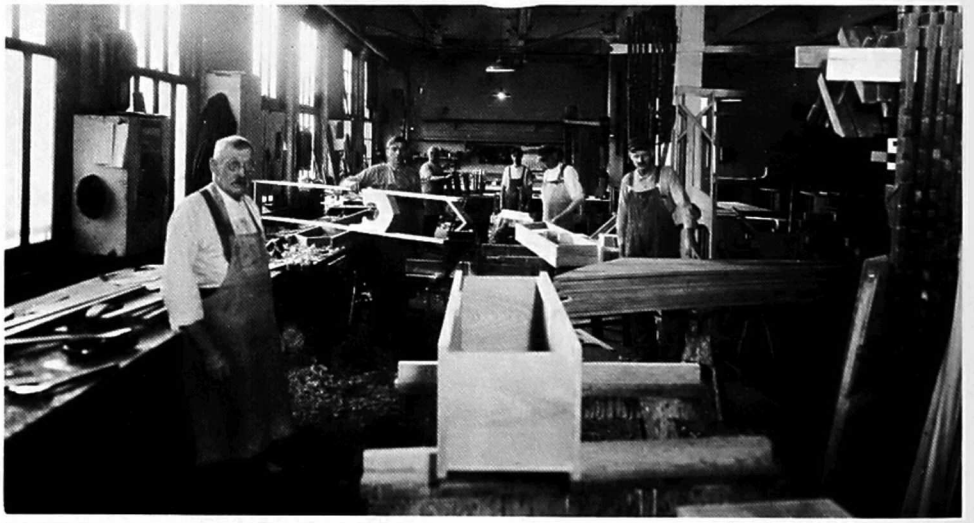
wrapped up in the four wheelwrights, for the census takers were constantly being corrected for reporting small wagon shops as anything but wheelwrights. And as in Tonawanda, there were makers of men's clothing, three of them employing a total of 15. The Hamburg account cannot be closed without recording a pivotal fact of social history: there was a maker of "pop beer," so the product of the popular soda fountain had by 1880 found its way into bottles.

Tonawanda showed the consequences of its position on the Erie Canal in its manufactories of canal boats and its drydock. It also had large lumber enterprises, though most were in North Tonawanda, Niagara County. West Seneca harbored the most unusual factory complex, the St. John's Catholic Protectory Industries comprising chair, broom, and shoe factories, and an electrotyping and printing shop. Altogether these employed 34, represented nearly $30,000 in capital, and judging from the figures given the census enumerator, were profitably managed. The Protectory later came to be known as the Father Baker institutions.

At least one major enterprise belongs to the villages in the early days: The Lancaster Glass Works. This began in 1849 with a group of glassblowers brought from Pittsburgh and was promoted by Charles Reed. Burned and rebuilt in 1859, it passed through the hands of several owners, Dr. Frank H. James prominent among them. He retired in 1881 and the work was continued by the workmen as the Lancaster Cooperative Glass Works until 1904. Glassmaking was resumed in Lancaster in 1907 and was continued until 1965 by various corporations, Continental Can and Brockway Glass among them. Not only was this product a profitable item to Erie County, but its early flask designs are much prized by collectors, and its workers produced for themselves and their friends many novelty items from paperweights to canes, that were equally admired.

Several towns never developed extensive industries, as their historians occasionally lamented, but most made attempts, sometimes in unusual industries. In cordage, there was Cheektowaga; in pumps, Cheektowaga, North Collins, and Gowanda; in agricultural implements, Holland, Lancaster, Clarence, Hamburg, Brant, Gowanda, and West Seneca; in dried fruit, Brant, Orchard Park, and Marilla; in canning, besides Springville, there were Brant and Orchard Park; in cheeseboxes and charcoal, Colden; in brewing and malting, Colden, Gowanda, and Lancaster; in vinegar, Orchard Park and Elma; in tanning, Colden; in edge tools, Gowanda; in baskets, Lancaster; in wagons there were large shops in Elma and Lancaster. Lancaster also joined Akron in cigarmaking.

Within Erie County outside Buffalo there were, in addition to at least 50 cheese factories, 24 meat



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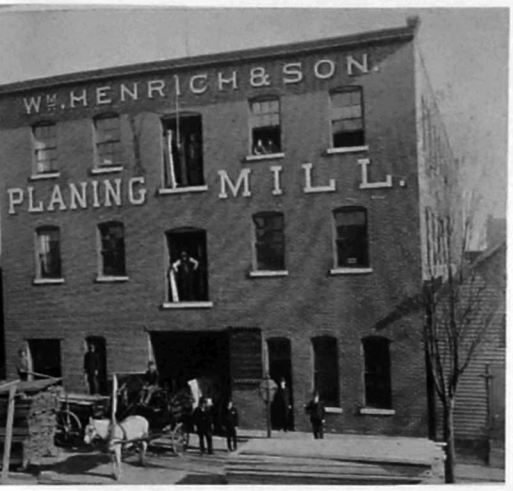

packers, 54 millers (flour and feed), 68 sawmills, and scores of shoemakers. These plants, it must be noted, hardly compared with the large factories already established in Buffalo. In flour milling the city plant of Thornton & Chester with its 200 horsepower steam engine and the Buffalo City Flour Mills with 100 equalled in value the product of all 50 country mills. Nevertheless the country mill was not negligible. Leonard Dodge in Williamsville sold $107,000 in flour from his Ellicott Creek mill (Thornton & Chester: $525,000) in 1880, and Reist, half his size at the time of the census, became even larger, complete with steam power, shares of a lake freight line, a harbor elevator, and Detroit brokerage connections to handle wheat supplies. Alexander Burns had a comparable operation in Clarence and E. J. Newman & Company in Akron was largest of all. The Williamsville mills closed around 1900, suggesting that the transport and electric power advantages of the city had at last set up insurmountable competition.

The conditions of industrial production ran strongly toward centralization of manufacture for some time, even the coming of electrical power encouraging the locating of factories in the city. Early power applications were in direct current that could not easily be conducted to great distances, which is one reason why such villages as Collins did not enjoy the advantages of electrical power until about the close of World War I. The present tendencies are toward wide decentralization of both production and housing. Truck transportation, telephone communications, ubiquity of electrical power lines, and extensive water and sewer facilities make factories in rural settings, like the Moog Valve Company (1951) in Elma, a commonplace.

On the whole, however, there has not been such a reversal as to restore the days of 1900 and before when places now almost entirely decayed were the location of mills that operated on local initiative, to process lumber, grain, and wool. Around them were clustered stores and residences to complete the economic unit. East Aurora, however, has not succumbed. It still has its woodworking plant and feed mills, plus a giant in the Fisher-Price toy factory. There are as well other factories such as Forsyth Industries (metal specialties) and Delevan Electronics.

Eden has its maker of kazoos and Williamsville its Chalmers Gelatine, but both villages are inclined to admire chiefly their unobtrusiveness since both prefer their own largely residential qualities. A recent business directory of Elma reveals, in addition to a full complement of local service industries, one toolmaker and a producer of dog foods. A similar review in Collins shows another interesting specialty in the American Wire Tie Company. This was formed by H. A. Smith in 1935 and makes its useful product in the hundreds of millions yearly, employing 17 hands and selling in an international market. There also is found the National Sales System, an organization with representatives in 33 states to handle special sales efforts of all kinds. This, with two precision machinists, strongly suggest that the spirit of enterprise has by no means disappeared, the village industries tending toward those based upon sales and other highly developed skills, and leaving industries depending upon the handling of great masses of materials or requiring heavy transport facilities to the city.

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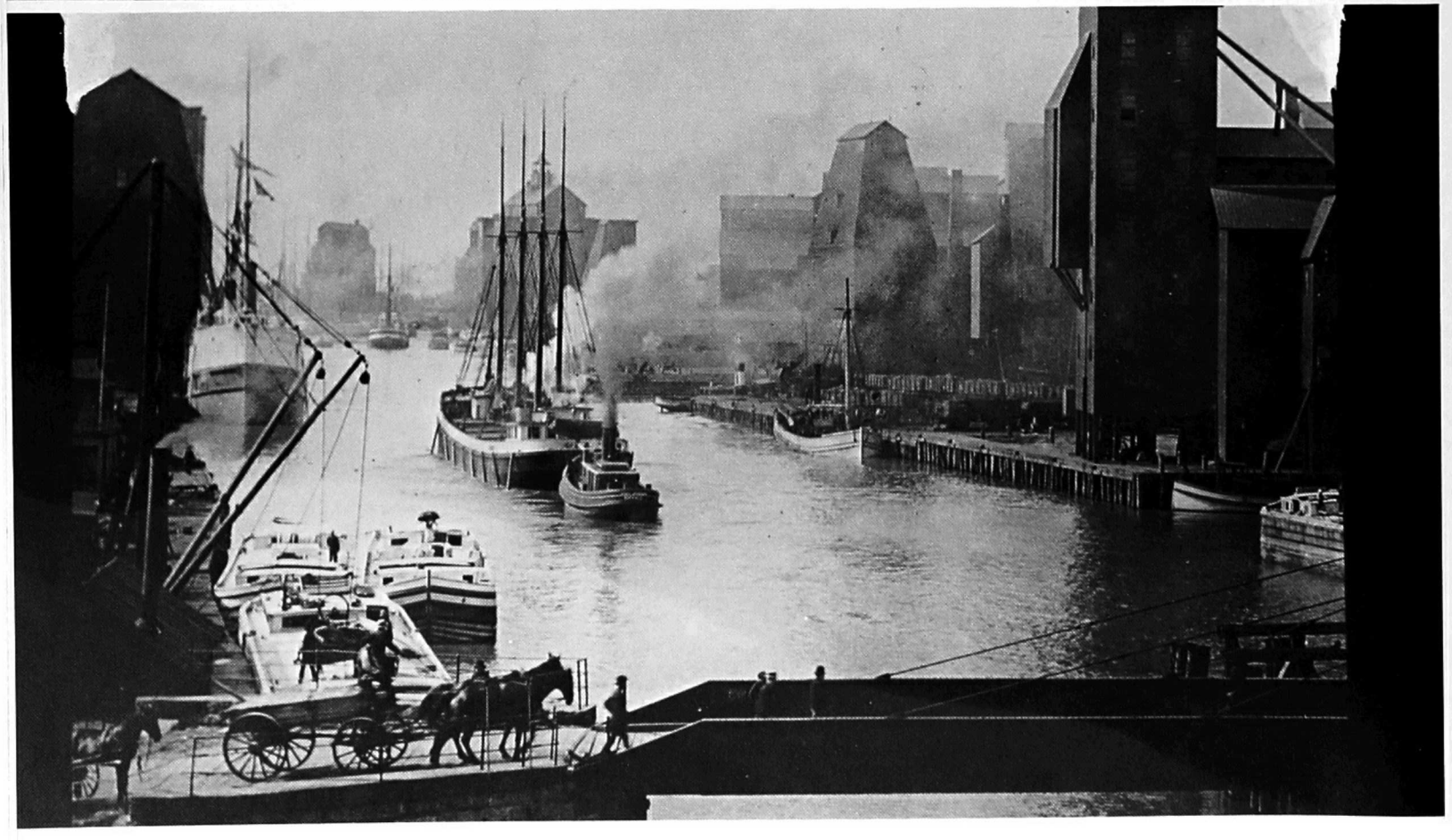

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III. Creation of Systematic Markets

The people of Buffalo in 1870 thought of business as commerce first and foremost, with industry something that was bound to emerge from the opportunities and habits of trade. By that time the busy Erie Canal, already once nearly completely rebuilt, in the western end to the seven-foot depth authorized by the Legislature, was regarded as Buffalo's fortune in conjunction with the equally active shipping industry of the Great Lakes. The complacent habit of regarding Buffalo's location as a sort of guarantee of prosperity had already begun to grow toward a height of optimism that was to produce, decades later, a crushing sense of disappointment.

Businessmen did not, however, sit back and wait, since they understood that opportunity was no more than a spur to ambitions. The immediate flow of grain down the Lakes had aroused Joseph Dart and others to develop elevators as storage and transshipping facilities; others had found that the canal waters could be diverted to mills, and other sources of hydraulic power were devised. Merchants had set up a trading room for millers, speculators, and traders; the Board of Trade had then adopted standards of measurements and grading. By 1870 they were beginning to think of a call board for the Board of Trade's Room—by now familiarly and jauntily referred to as 'Change—so that traders could have knowledge of all transactions as they occurred. This final touch was applied in 1877, and management of this market remained a principal function of the Merchants' Exchange, an organization begun in 1844 that was to become the Chamber of Commerce in 1903. Commerce was still so distinctly thought of as its true function as to allow a Manufactures' Club to pursue a separate existence until 1910 when the modern Chamber with all business as its field was created by merging with the club. By then the grain trade had been for a half-dozen years separately organized as the Corn Exchange.

Such trade connected Buffalo with producers having a basic commodity to sell, and with processors and distributors who were thinking of the final sale to the ultimate consumer. Grain as the basic foodstuff, the material for bread, porridge, and beer, was an unrivalled stimulant to industrial activity, and the ultimate emergence of a tremendous milling industry is elsewhere recounted. But the time was not yet, for this was the heyday of waterpower and in this resource Minneapolis to the west and Rochester to the east excelled, for they had abundant waterpower. Even the ship canal to the Tonawandas along the Niagara River could not be drawn on freely, for it was found at this time that the mills' lavish use of water actually lowered levels to the point of impeding canal traffic. Buffalo had to wait for power.

But if power were needed, what of coal? And we learn that the coal trade was in 1870 only just becoming adequate to furnish cheap fuel freely. Like grain, it tended to be important as a commodity to be carried and exchanged, its handling affording work and profit for many. This market developed quickly, as did that in another commodity that overshadowed all—lumber. The lumbermen of Buffalo and Tonawanda won primacy by their organization of a market that they furnished completely with the facilities needed to assemble, prepare, and transship timber and its products on an enormous scale. Around 1900 they were able to claim that this was the greatest lumber market in the world. Their achievements broadly illustrate the vigor and ingenuity of the Buffalo merchants of this time.

In this trade also sound beginnings had been made by 1870. Lumber buyers had discovered the possibilities of marketing via the Erie Canal and were also aware of the enormous supplies of fine white pine easily available at Ontario and Michigan ports along the Great Lakes. Economical delivery and transshipment at Buffalo assured our merchants of a great market to the east, and the delivery had already been accomplished by an invention of J. S. Noyes. He had become a lumber buyer in 1852 when he had just reached his majority and could sign contracts. In 1861 he created a practical lake barge by dismasting a lake schooner and removing its deck. He soon found that a steam tug could in fifteen days tow a string of four or five such hulks to Saginaw and back to Buffalo filled with rough lumber.

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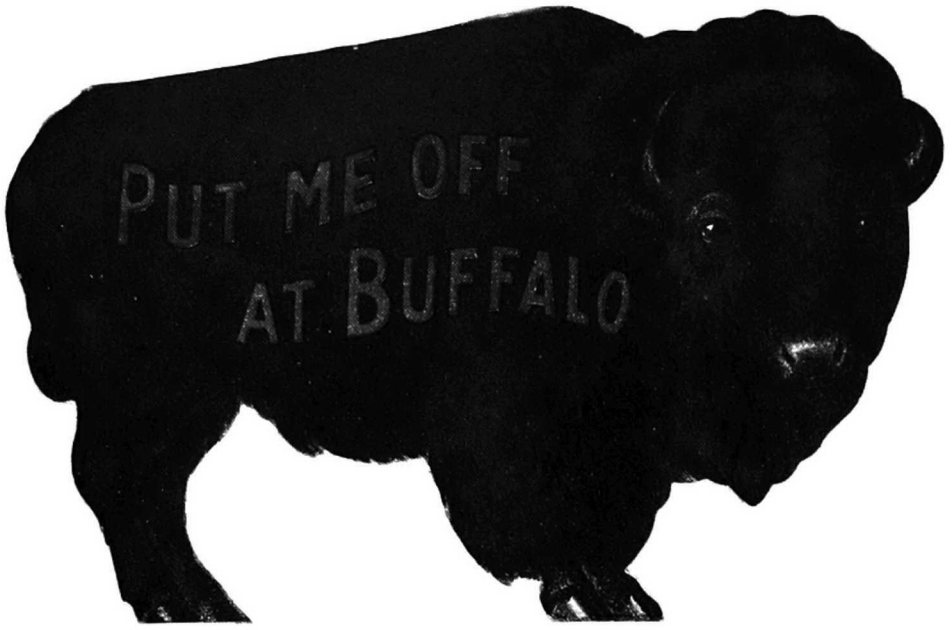

Libby advertisement from Pan American Exposition

Within a decade hundreds of such barges plied the Lakes, carrying an aggregate of many millions of feet of lumber in every round trip. Noyes owned one giant which carried over a million feet. In 1880 over 250 million feet of lumber came to Niagara Frontier ports by this means.

Lumber barges did not entirely supersede the rafting of logs to Buffalo for sawing, and before many years the competition of railroad supplies came to be felt. It was, nevertheless, the basis for the Buffalo market's growth. Noyes himself remained in business for over 50 years, handling personally five to ten million of board feet annually while forwarding for others as much as 100 million. He owned timber lands on a vast scale, venturing to buy California redwood stands as early as 1882.

Managing the market that operated on such a scale soon became a problem. Noyes had formidable competitors by the dozen. E. & B. Holmes (started 1852), Mixer & Co. (1857), Laycock (1862), Hazard (1865), Haines & Co. (1867), W.R. Burt (1879), Hurd Bros., Hurd and Hauenstein, John Booth, Cornell & Mason, and Scatcherd & Belton were the most famous of them, and most were named in the Buffalo *Directory* of 1870 as active firms. By 1880 supplies of hemlock lumber were streaming in from Pennsylvania, F.H. Goodyear and the Allegheny Lumber Company the largest of many cutters. These dealers were aided by railroad companies, the Lehigh Valley's 1881 purchase of the Tifft farm and erection of two miles of docks in the area along its own extension of the City Ship Canal giving massive encouragement. Within a few years the area, now the location of the Republic Steel Company, was the site of 29 lumber yards. Within the district were tracks of the New York Central, Nickel Plate, Grand Trunk, Michigan Central, Buffalo, Rochester and Pittsburgh, Erie, Lackawanna, and Buffalo Creek railroads. Nothing was spared to increase the market's efficiency and in 1881 the *Express* proudly described its brilliant electric lighting system.

The wholesale dealers found themselves unable to deal singly with the problem of discriminatory freight rates. Carriers could not be relied upon to set equitable rates, being themselves beset with destructive competition in one area (to the advantage of their patrons there) and so inevitably recouping by means of high rates that bore hard on those in less favored spots. Such discriminations moved the Buffalo dealers in 1880 to form the Buffalo Lumber and Stave Exchange, a name later simplified by omitting the stave reference, with James N. Scatcherd as president. It immediately attacked the problem of freight rates in cooperation with the Board of Trade and asked the Common Council to assist by requiring equitable agreements from railroads that applied for city franchises. The Exchanges also employed an experienced freight agent, costs being assessed to members in proportion to the volume of their trade. Freight costs were by no means the only concern of the Buffalo Lumber Exchange. Reporting of prices and rates, establishment and maintenance of uniform grades of lumber through a system of inspection, labor agreements, and organizing systems of unloading were also acute necessities. Before long regulatory actions of federal authorities required attention. The Sherman Antitrust Act of 1883 and the Interstate Commerce Commission Act of 1887 considerably altered business conditions.

The matter of inspection was settled with dispatch. The Exchange and the Tonawanda Lumbermen's Association united in protesting the great variations in quality of shipments, which at times descended to the very poor, and painstakingly set to work to adjust the matter. By 1884 they had standards and procedures to propose, final ratification of which was noted in a lumbermen's convention in Buffalo in 1887. By this time the merchants of the Lake Erie ports had reached unanimity and the system has been maintained since. This was a great accomplishment, and it was duplicated in 1900 for the hardwood trade after Buffalo had become the center for this commodity as well.

Freight rates provided an unremitting preoccupation for the Exchange officers. They approached the railroad companies as confidently as they had undertaken an inspection system, but agreements were elusive and when procured

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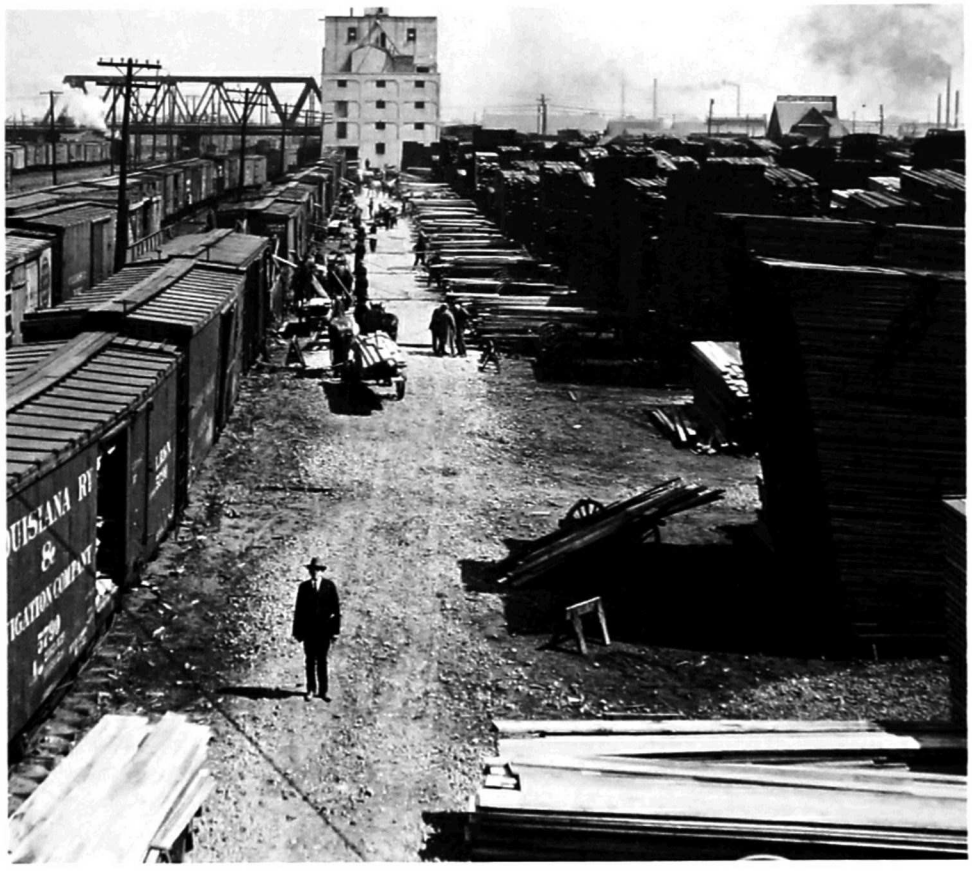
were illusory. Hearings in New York City before the Joint Executive Committee of the railroad companies in 1885 resulted in gentlemanly agreements that all discriminations against Buffalo were to cease. Buffalo's case was strenghtened by data gathered by the Transportation Committee of the Buffalo Merchants' Exchange, which observed that the penalties on Buffalo traders varied from $8 to $28 per carload of lumber as compared to rates to the seaboard from Detroit and Chicago. A year later it was acknowledged that these explicit and detailed agreements were not being honored. Further meetings achieved as little and it was not long before the Exchange was making regular representations to the new Interstate Commerce Commission; but it was more than twenty years before satisfactory arrangements could be established.

Buffalo's difficulty may have originated with its amphibious procedures. It both received and dispatched lumber by water, and no doubt the railroads tended to prefer the western shippers who shipped entirely by rail and so gave them longer hauls. Buffalo's lakeborne supplies were often unloaded to be planed and trimmed on their way to the eastern markets, and its dealers needed this privilege when railroad hauling began to supersede lake vessels and canal barges. The ultimate compromise allowed stopoffs for sorting and grading but fees for milling privileges were exacted.

Buffalo dealers not only did not consider surrendering their advantage in the variety of transport but seized every opportunity to develop the lake and canal facilities. The strong movement that appeared in 1895 to enlarge the Erie so that it could handle large power-driven barges naturally received full support from the Lumber Exchange, which joined with the Lake Carriers Association in 1890 and on many other occasions to ask for harbor improvements. It could hardly pretend an exclusive devotion to the railroads in arguing for favorable rates.



Atlantic Lumber Co., 1915

Inadequacies in the local situation were attacked with equal firmness. The tangle of roads, tracks, docks, and waterways in the commercial areas of the city proved to be not only hazardous to life and limb but also capable of defeating their own purposes. By 1887 it was clear that street and rail traffic would choke transport operations unless they were separated, and the Lumber Exchange initiated the effort to eliminate grade crossing. Its committee quickly produced a study that convinced the community leaders that this must be done, leading to the establishment of the municipal commission that in the course of a few years cleared the worst of the jam and ultimately eliminated the problem completely here and throughout the city.

Other problems proved more intractable. Laborers and manufacturers had to be appeased on occasion but how to achieve this was not always clear. By 1890 hard competition resulted in heavy pressures on the wage of the workers who unloaded the lake vessels and stacked the lumber on the docks. The Exchange set up a system of authorized gangs headed by stevedores who bossed the operation and paid wages according to the specified rates. The lumber shovers dealt with the stevedores but the system broke down under pressure from competing gangs who dealt directly with the captains of the lake vessels. These were not susceptible to discipline from the Exchange and the matter was adjusted in 1902 with an agreement between it, the Lake Carriers' Association, and the International Longshoreman's Association, Local Number 127.

The Exchange itself was the dissident partner in the failure to arrive at an agreement as to the market privileges proper to wholesalers, retailers, manufacturers, plan-

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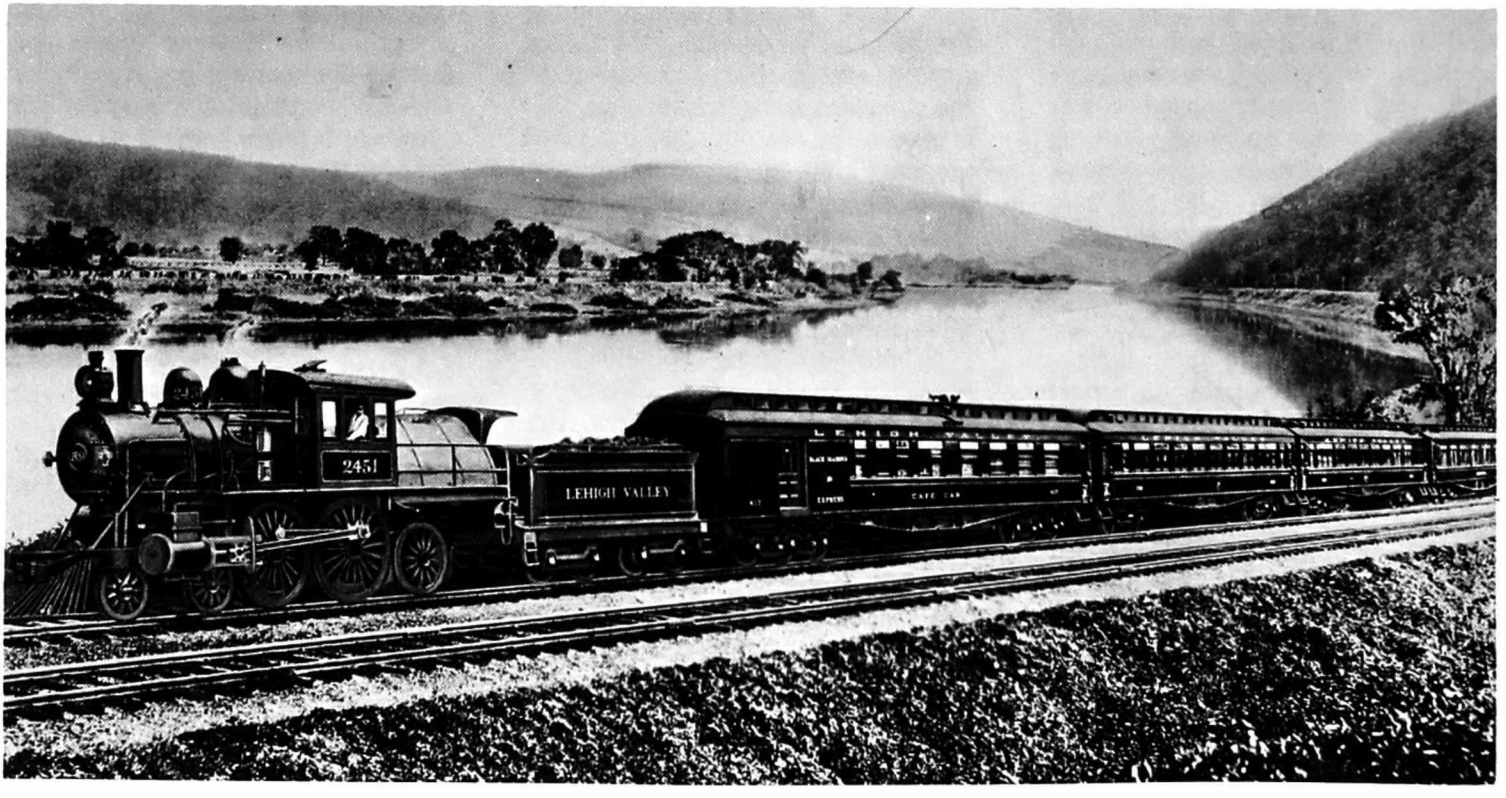
ing mill operators, building contractors, and industrial users. The Planing Mill & Wood Workers Association asked Exchange members not to sell to their customers, and to restrict selling practices to retail quantities. The retail dealers agreed that the market should be more orderly and put pressure on the wholesalers who invaded their own customer market by selling also at retail. It was with the greatest difficulty that tentative agreements were reached as to who properly operated in each separate category, and when a sudden heavy pressure on prices appeared as a consequence of the panic of 1893 the Exchange itself withdrew from all such agreements. They declared that wholesalers had to sell freely to stay in business and that only Buffalo was trying to regulate sales in this way —but while claiming complete freedom for themselves they condemned manufacturers who retailed their products. Efforts to set prices failed in the same way, achieving only a great orderliness in quotations.

Development of the hardwood market proceeded along these established lines, where it did not actually anticipate them, for Buffalo's first hardwood dealer, and largest, was Scatcherd & Son (1857-1904). Taylor and Crate followed in 1864 and, before selling out to Mixer in 1944, became the largest in New York State with its thirteen acres of piles at Elk Street and the Ohio Basin, sometimes carrying stocks as great as ten million feet. G. Elias and Brother (1881), Buffalo Hardwood Lumber Co. (1890), and Yeager Lumber Co. (1900) were other large operators. Theirs was a considerable contribution in sorting and trimming of much poorly handled lumber from the hills to the south of Buffalo, for at first the many small lumbermen had little skill at their command.

It was the energy and expertise of the merchants that created the order of such markets and the wealth they yielded. How much this may have been can be broadly guessed when it is observed that two million tons of forest products passed down the Erie Canal as early as 1870 and that 94 million board feet were handled in Buffalo alone at the peak of the trade in 1907, to which we must add at least ten times that figure for the Tonawanda trade. Exhaustion of forests has changed the course of the trade, leaving to Erie County active industries, a modest trade, and the lessons of organization.

Anthracite coal was the basis for a trade of considerable volume without demanding comparable initiative from its local manager. The nature of mining with its requirements of great capital dictated a different sort of a system of distribution. Mining companies provided most of the skill in distributing coal, often being united with a railroad company in the enterprise. E. L. Hedstrom was one of the first in Buffalo to organize large dealings in coal, starting in 1863 for the Meeker Company. The coal came by Erie Canal and most of it was transshipped to pass up the Lakes, as had been the practice for twenty years. Hedstrom operated close to the Lehigh Valley Rail-

The Lehigh Valley Railroad's "Black Diamond Express," 1896



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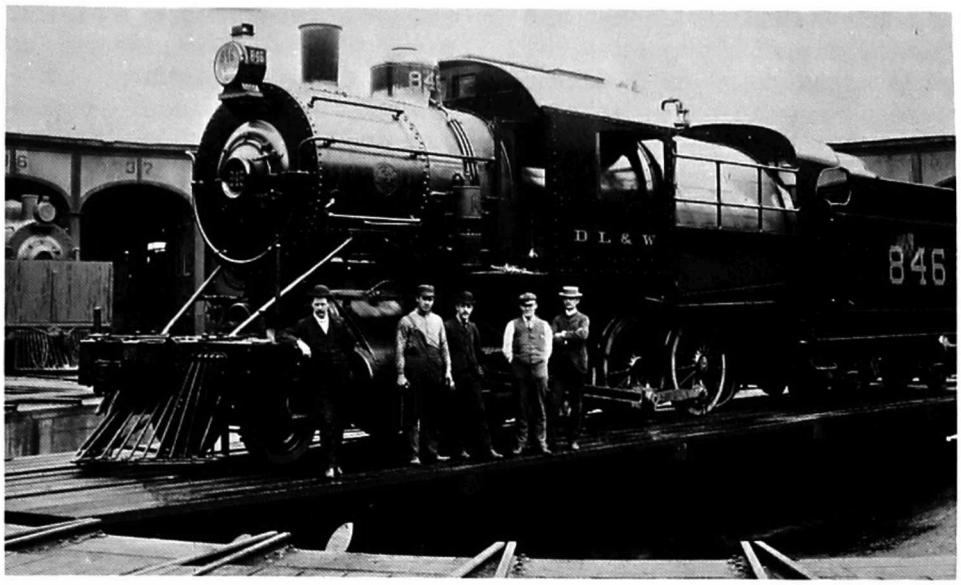

Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad roundhouse, 1930

road, helped to organize the Buffalo Creek Railroad in 1870, the Lehigh following in 1871 by building a trestle on Buffalo Creek to transfer the coal to lake vessels.

Famous Buffalo names appear in the story of the rapid growth of the hard coal trade. Jervis Langdon built facilities on the Erie Basin for the New York Central, the Erie Railroad following on City Ship Canal under Andrew Langdon. Railroad competition brought the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western into Buffalo, but its huge coal trestle, built in 1879, preceded the arrival of its tracks by three years. Its challenge aroused several of the largest mines to competitive building, among them the Pennsylvania Coal Company, the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company and the Philadelphia & Reading firm allied to New York Central, for whom T. Guilford Smith and J. J. Albright acted as local agents.

The building of railroads into the bituminous coalfields of Pennsylvania added that commodity to Buffalo resources. The new roads were the Buffalo and Washington in 1875 (later part of the Pennsylvania, now Penn Central), the Buffalo and Jamestown, also 1875 (Erie), and the Buffalo, Rochester and Pittsburgh in 1883 (Penn Central). This soft coal was locally important to furnish cheap fuel, but transshipment to the west was not even contemplated, since there were ports to the west on Lake Erie closer to the mines. Some soft coal was and still is distributed by rail from Buffalo yards, but this is incidental to railroad operations. There are of course large receipts at steel mills, generating plants, and other industrial plants.

Shipping of anthracite coal increased steadily. By 1900 five million tons were received annually in Buffalo, about half of it travelling up the Lakes, mostly to Duluth. By the end of World War I the proportion sent on was higher, aggregating about four million tons. This was the peak of its use, other fuels thereafter cutting into its market.

Equally dependent upon the transportation system of Buffalo, and almost exclusively a function of railroads, the livestock market has been until recent decades a considerable factor in local commerce. As late as 1920 it could be noticed that this market was among the half-dozen largest of its kind in the world, handling more sheep than any other in the United States and ranking second in the trade in horses. The trade has since continued its tendency to concentrate in the west, and the great Buffalo packing firms closed or declined, reducing industrial demand for stockyard services. Those services began well before 1870. By that year there were yards in the Tifft farm at Elk Street and Abbott Road, at the Erie Terminal on Elk, and at the New York Central Terminal at Chicago and Scott Streets. The tendency had been to centralize and systematize on the east side, but it was some time before the railroads agreed on transport to these yards. For many years cattle unloaded by the Grand Trunk were driven to the yards through Buffalo streets by authentic cowboys imported from Texas, an event that aroused occasional riotous local disturbances in protest as late as 1920.

These continued informalities should not obscure the fact of a large and well organized market. The East Buffalo Live Stock Association was incorporated in 1887, the Live Stock Exchange Company to provide a building was begun in 1890, and there was a regular newspaper, *The Live Stock Record,* to record prices and market activities.

The grain trade was as pervasive as the lumber trade and has proved to be the hardy perennial of Buffalo commerce. Great efforts had to be devoted to it in the 1830's, when Joseph Dart solved the problems of handling the grain with his steam powered elevator, and it still remains through many vicissitudes both active and demanding. The Merchants' Exchange and its Board of Trade were occasioned by the need to handle it, and this remained the Exchange's preoccupation for decades. In 1904 the Corn Exchange was set up from the grain trade department of the Chamber of Commerce, later constructing its own building. It continued to facilitate trading by supervising the weighing, grading, and inspecting of grain offered for sale in the port. In 1955, at its fiftieth anniversary observances, it noted that it presided over a business aggregating over a billion dollars annually.

Exceptional interest has been drawn to the trade because the grain elevator has been a building

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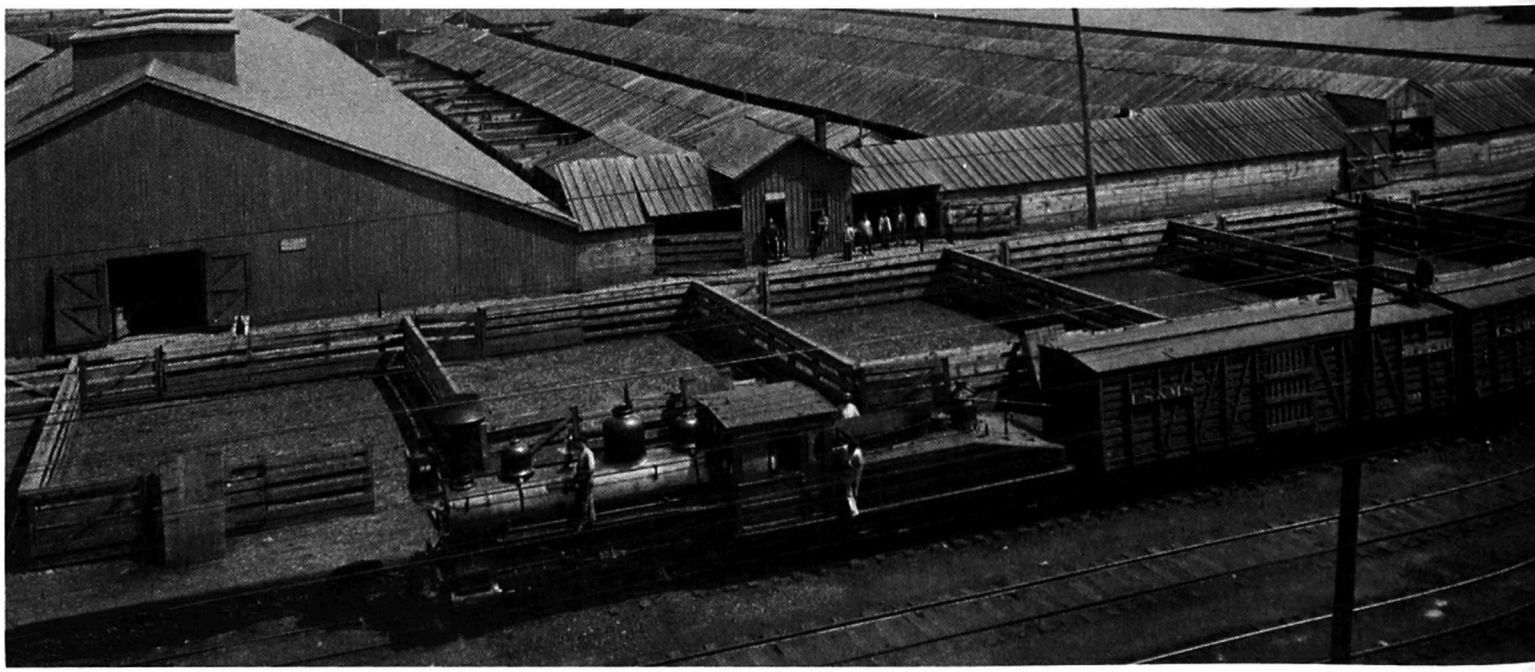
of spectacular qualities. Warehousing has been a major industry in the city as an inevitable service to traders, but even the giants among warehouse structures hardly stand out in comparison. The grain elevator achieved great height immediately, and when steel and concrete construction entered the scene in the 1890's its architecture attracted attention for its aesthetic quality as the perfection of functionalism.

Elevators have of course been much more than impressive additions to the skyline and conveniences for transshipment of grain. Their enormous storage capacity, over 50 millions of bushels in 1949, in itself attracts trade. No trader in his right mind sends grain to a port where it must be sold immediately no matter what the price. Sent to Buffalo his grain may be sold but can be stored if that seems wiser. The thoughtful examination of this trade when the Seaway was being constructed revealed that this factor, and the presence of the gigantic flour milling industry, were guarantees that the trade would be with us for some time no matter how transportation economics may vary. For three decades it has consumed an average of about 220 million bushels per year.

The key to trade on this scale, in which national supplies and national markets are matched by skillful organization, is of course far-reaching transport facilities. Buffalo had a remarkable opportunity opened to it when the Erie Canal began operations in 1825. Thereafter maintenance and development of the Canal was an article of faith in the Chamber of Commerce. The spectacular early success of the Erie made easy the procurement from the Legislature of funds for the early enlargements, but by 1870 a distinct lag was visible. Not only had financial thievery embedded itself in the administrative offices but the thieves were incapable of even carrying through the ordered enlargement. At the western end, the prescribed seven-foot depth was never reached.

At the same time (actually 1869) the railroads began serious efforts to carry bulk freight and within five years were clearly and rapidly reducing the Canal's share of grain and lumber shipments. The peak of Canal shipments was reached in 1872 with 6,670,000 tons. Thereafter preserving the Canal was a constant battle in which Buffalo merchants fought their best, all the more as they discovered how very difficult it was to maintain a trading position when railroad companies were entirely amenable to proposals to discriminate against a market, an area, or a company if unscrupulous competitors found ways of coercing or persuading them. The Canal gave Buffalo a lever to use in maintaining equitable rates.

The first great effort to prolong this beneficent competition began in 1874—so prompt was Buffalo's appreciation of its situation—with the Merchants' Exchange's demand for completion of the enlarging operation. Higher efficiency in canal boats was needed (the round trip to New York by horsedrawn boats took 30 days) and to make them bigger was the most effective way to begin. Reduction and, finally, abolition of tolls were urged, and were swiftly achieved by adoption of a constitutional amendment in 1883. In 1884 the State proposed an Albany-Buffalo ship canal and the Union for the Improvement of the Canals of the State of New York was organized with George Clinton of Buffalo as its permanent president from 1886. Lengthening of locks and deepening of the cut were soon undertaken but in 1898 further efforts were halted while Governor Theodore Roosevelt and others took a long look at the situation. From this came the victorious re-



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ferendum favoring the construction of the Barge Canal, an achievement in which Buffalo had a large role.

During the same period self-propelled boats were tested in a variety of experiments, but all came to an end in controversy and uncertainty. The larger canal was apparently needed if power boats were to be successful, but the canal advocates never slackened their efforts in 1894, even carrying constitutional amendments to protect the canals of the state. With the building of the Barge Canal (1905-18) all their theories could be tested. Most fully justified was the belief that railroad rates were susceptible to the pressure of waterway competition; in 1917 they were reduced, although the Interstate Commerce Commission had not long before denied Buffalo's hotly presented plea for relief from unfair discrimination. Power boats became the customary carriers, but the tonnage carried never approached the earlier volumes, and continually diminished as a proportion of all commerce. In 1921 the Canal carried less than a million tons as against the 2½ million of 1903. With some fluctuations this has been the tendency since that time. Controlling competition for the railroads has arisen from further extensions of lake traffic and from highway carriers.

At its peak following the First World War Buffalo harbor presented as impressive a panorama of facilities as would be expected of a harbor that in sailing and tonnages dwarfed many famous ocean ports. Grain elevators by the dozen, four coal docks, four coal trestles, five ore docks, 14 merchandise wharves, three railroad-connected flour docks, 16 bulk freight docks, three docks owned by lake carriers, and five public docks served trade in a manner considered not quite adequate. These still impressive works had come about from vigorous and unremitting efforts ever since Wilkeson created a harbor in Buffalo Creek to entice the Erie Canal toward the pioneer village of Buffalo. By 1850 this had been enlarged by Federal action to make a tolerable harbor but neglect until the close of the Civil War created a startling crush of shipping. Piers were then extended and a 14-foot channel was dredged.

Federal authorities also turned their attention immediately to developing the great breakwater that created the present harbor, leaving the continuous and considerable labor of dredging and developing the inner harbor to the city. Municipal authorities paid heavily for deepening the channel to 19 feet.

The work of the United States Government on the breakwater can hardly be criticized, however. Conceived in 1868, and based on the considerable earlier construction of protective works which the storms of Lake Erie had tested thoroughly, a detached wall was constructed in 27 feet of water 2500 feet from the end of the lighthouse pier. By 1893 a satisfactory 4000 feet of this wall had been built, and most of it already rebuilt more solidly, a portion introducing solid concrete construction to the Great Lakes. The great storm of 1893 changed the plans again; the wall was extended to the shore at Stony Point, the south end being constructed of gravel and rubble stone.

In the meantime New York State had carried the Erie Canal to the Buffalo harbor works, enclosed the Erie Basin to create a terminal, and extended this breakwater to connect with the walled waterway leading from the Lake to Black Rock harbor. A total of 22,404 feet of wall protected the harbor area from the furies of Lake Erie, most of the cost of over $12 million falling on the Federal treasury. The recent alterations, carried out since World War II, were chiefly shifting of the harbor entrance and protecting it with a detached breakwater to allow inexpensive deepening to the new Seaway depth of 27 feet. Some new pier space was also provided.

The meeting place of the Erie Canal and the Great Lakes could hardly avoid attracting railroads, and the accompanying early illustrations show Buffalo as a considerable railroad center. Construction was early initiated in Buffalo to enlarge its immediate trade area, and in the absence of acceptable roads the rails accomplished this purpose. But it was not long

Deepening the Erie Canal, 1897

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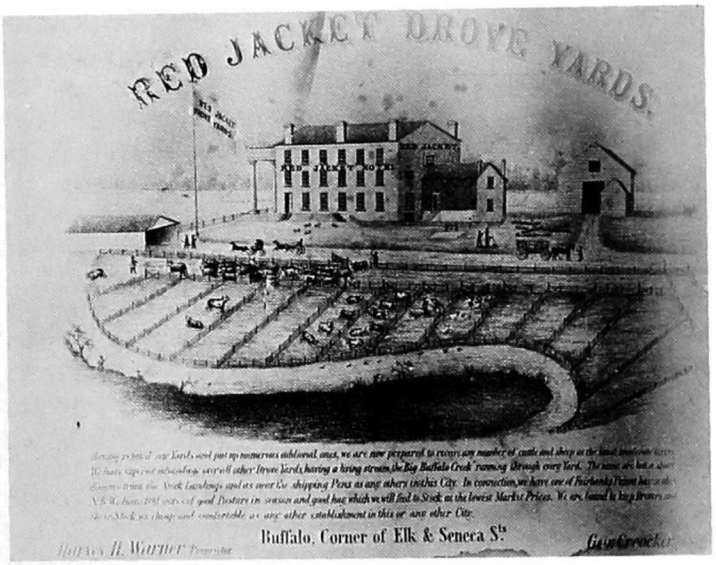

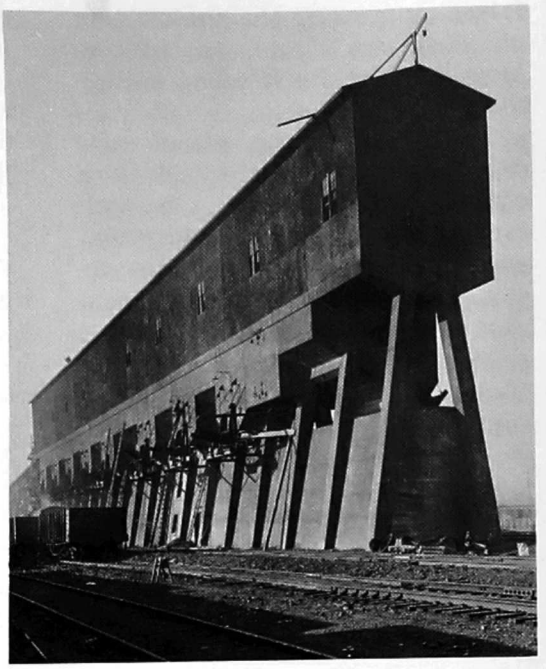

Coal trestle

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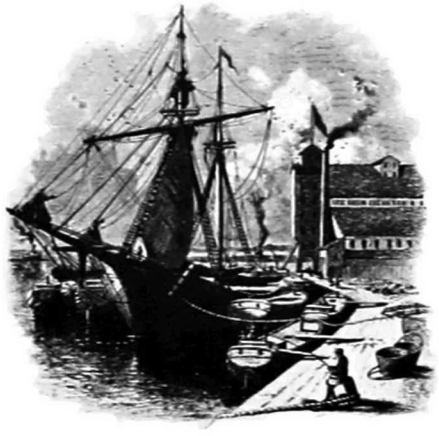
before these local rails intercepted those extending from other centers, and by the beginning of the period Buffalo was a part of a great network that reached from New York to Chicago. As early as 1854 uniform gauge roads connected Buffalo with Chicago. In 1869 the consolidation of the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad established a through route to New York, at the same time that the consolidation of the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern connected the city to Chicago. The Buffalo Creek Railroad went into operation in 1870 to provide switching facilities to various trunk lines, and during the next decade and a half Buffalo interests were active in constructing roads to the south, all four now absorbed into the Penn Central and Erie-Lackawanna systems.

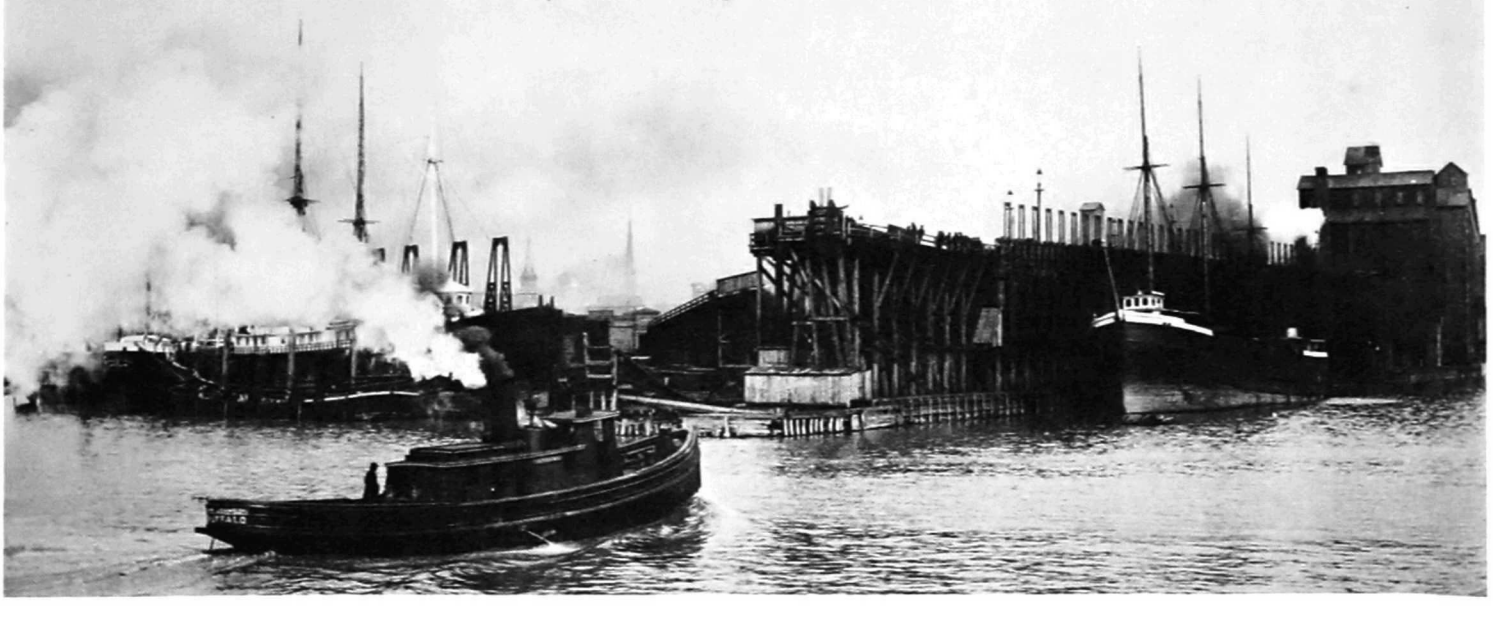
As indicated, several other trunk lines reached Buffalo, all but one before 1900. The exception was the Buffalo and Susquehanna, which was completed by the Goodyear interests in 1907 as a part of that lumber and iron empire. Buffalonians found the total result impressive and frequently quoted figures to justify their reaction. The Buffalo *Express* illustrated supplement of 1888 noted that eleven railroads terminated in the city, the shortest of them 346 miles long.



Within the city were four transfer or switching roads. By 1897, another such publication reported that Buffalo's eleven trunk lines aggregated 13,000 miles of track, while within the city proper there were 660 miles of tracks used for storage, switching, service, and the making-up of trains. A note added that while the supplement was being printed two more roads had reached the city.

The occasion for the trunk lines' approaches to Buffalo usually was for the purpose of maintaining their competitive positions, as when Jay Gould in 1882 brought the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western into Buffalo to connect with his Wabash road, thereby getting back at the Erie for their unceremoniously dumping him from his controlling position in that much abused company. It appeared that Buffalo consequently would end in a fine competitive position but the Lackawanna in 1884 joined the pool of railroads arranged so that each should have a fair share of the business and the revenues. The collaborating roads included all of Buffalo's trunk lines. This explains why the Merchants' Exchange at this time set up its transportation committee and opened the interminable struggle with the railroads for fair treatment. The railroad companies' domination of shipping lines on the Great Lakes reinforced the need to oppose any tendency to neglect Buffalo interests.

The railroad companies kept their facilities in the city well scattered, adding to shippers' trucking bills and denying convenient passenger service to residents. Only in 1929 was the dream of an adequate union passenger station realized with the opening of the Penn Central's magnificent facility on the east side. The ultimate desolate end of passenger service there was simultaneously forecast by the opening of airplane passenger service to the municipal airport in the same year. The airport's construction had for some time been the center of a campaign inspired by a determination to keep Buffalo well supplied with transport services. The city's enormous railroad outfit, 700 miles of track, 20,000 employees, and $90



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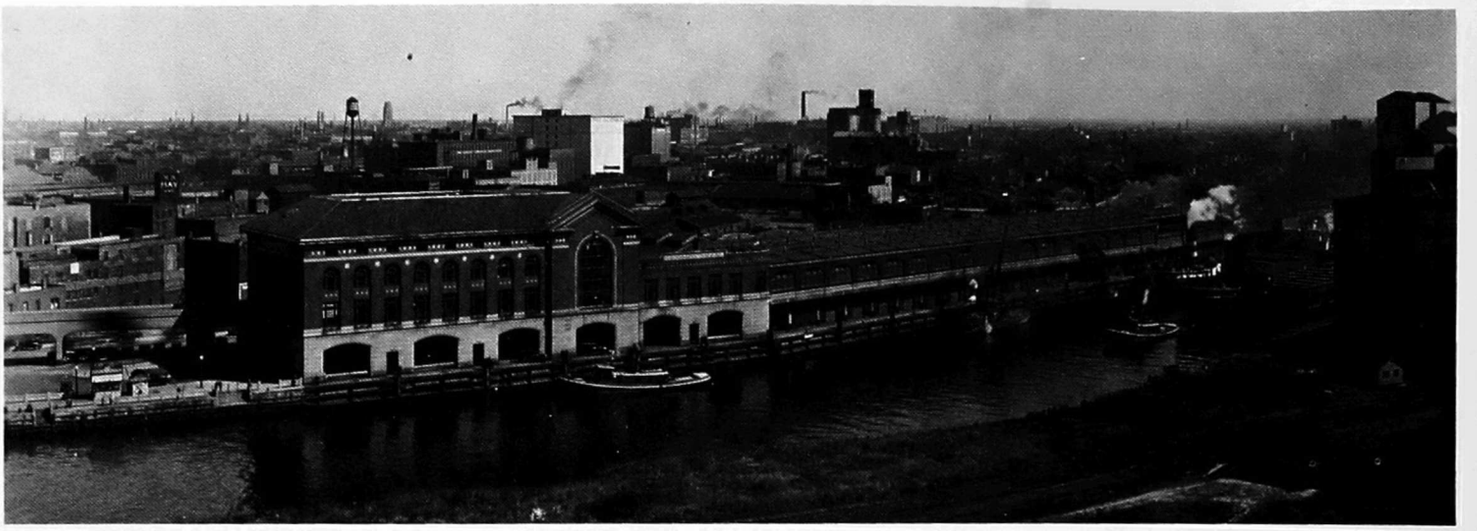
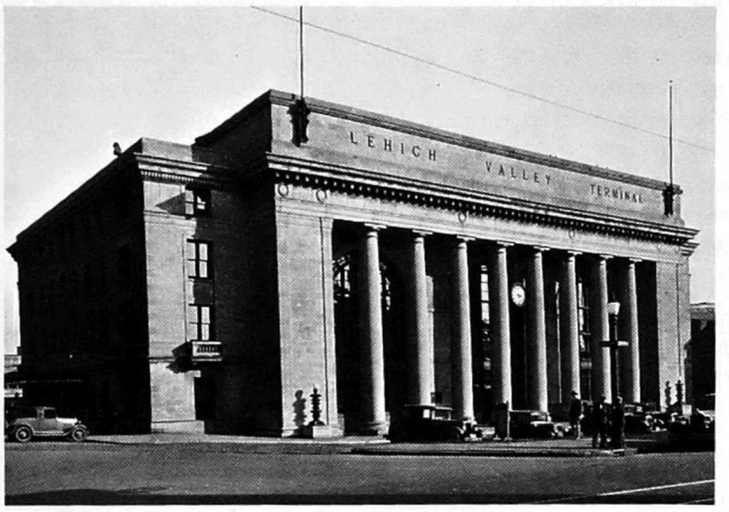


Lackawanna Terminal



New York Central Terminal, 1928-29

Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Passenger Depot, c. 1914

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million in property, increasingly turned to heavy freight operations culminating 30 years later in the development of the great automatic classification yards of the Penn Central.

Industrially Buffalo was among the early successes in aviation, as is noted in Chapter XII on recent industrial development. This did not necessarily mean that exploitation of aircraft for transport purposes was any better understood here than anywhere else; in fact, it might mean that the men who designed, built, and tested these early airplanes had a healthier regard for their shortcomings than others might. Nevertheless the enthusiasts and the truly faithful wanted to see flying become a regular part of life on the Niagara Frontier and people interested in transportation as a basis for modern business insisted that facilities should be provided for the pioneers of commercial airlines.

It was with some asperity that the Chamber of Commerce urged the project of an airport, its officers feeling that Erie County would be falling behind if the new method was not tried. The City assented and built an airfield on the present Genesee Street site, assigned responsibility for development and operation to the Parks Department, and continued to listen respectfully, if without unbridled enthusiasm, to those who demanded more and better facilities as traffic slowly grew. Since the airport was opened in 1926 it was not long before air transportation was sharply curtailed by the Great Depression. Some service was immediately provided, nonetheless, and in 1928 mail and passenger service was inaugurated to Cleveland. In 1929 Colonial Western Airways, one of American Airline's predecessors, tried regular service to Toronto in two-motored amphibious planes that landed on the Lake and used hangar services on the shore. This adventurous attempt was soon discontinued, and thereafter growth was slow.

When economic stirrings in the late 1930's aroused attention again it was easy to discover the shortcomings in Buffalo's facilities. The runways were too small for the much enlarged airplanes, their cinder pavements were regarded as ridiculous, the runways were too close to the buildings, and there was no real terminal building in which passengers and freight could be efficiently handled. With Pennsylvania Central beginning to fly regular schedules to Washington this was considered a scandal, and the five small hangars were now totally inadequate for servicing the planes. The City authorities remained uncertain of their responsibilities, no doubt noting that the advantages of the airport were shared far beyond Buffalo itself. The sudden expansion of the aircraft plants clinched that question, for now not only Curtiss-Wright, which built a huge plant adjacent to the airport in 1940, but Bell Aircraft needed extensive facilities to produce war planes.

The city's hesitation was answered by massive Federal action, anticipating the time when a regional body was created to deal with a matter that had always been far outside the scope of municipal authority. Needing a great airport for its military operations, the United States Government in 1940 appropriated money for greatly enlarged runways so that by August of 1944 16,000 feet of concrete runways had been laid and instrument landing equipment installed. The city had removed the first three buildings and replaced them with the present central structure of the terminal in 1939. Hangars were enlarged and properly placed.

But the concreting of all runways by 1951 and the construction of a huge parking lot by 1954 did not overtake the continually rising demand. *Buffalo Business* dolefully noted in October 1955 that $1.8 million had been spent and only barely adequate facilities had been created. It had also been noted that the city had consistently operated the airport at a financial loss — no one had ever said that it was supposed to be a source of profit — and this was still another reason for the creation of the Niagara Frontier Transportation Authority by the State. This locally independent body raised users' fees to balance its budget and added hangars and terminal room until by 1960 some, at least, of the wailing about sub standard facilities had been stilled. By then a new and revolutionary process had begun: planning for a jetport. Prospects for a tremendous step toward giant planes reduced all that had gone before to trivial scale. Since air transport had brilliantly avoided great increases in its rates in a period of rapid inflation, largely by constant development of greater carrying capacities in its planes, no one could reasonably criticize on economic or technological grounds. But this outcome seems to justify the

Collection of The Buffalo History Museum

Buffalo Airport

cautious attitude of local authorities in their undertakings to assist the growth of the industry, for twelve years after completing the terminal there are still many problems in this great new step forward, some of which were attacked by the building of a separate terminal for two of the airlines, just completed.

Banks were of course almost as indispensable an adjunct to commerce as were the means of transport. In very early Canal times Buffalo merchants and forwarders were often on the point of working without ready credit facilities because banks were regarded with suspicion politically and were themselves too often in the hands of speculators. The history of true banking therefore begins at a relatively late period. The Marine Bank of 1850 and the Manufacturers and Traders Bank of 1856 operated from the beginning with attention to their customers' needs and with indifference to speculative temptations. Their directors included men of business like Pascal Paoli Pratt, J. S. Ganson, George Palmer, and Bronson C. Rumsey, many of whom served for decades — Pratt for a half-century.

Savings banks of similar soundness and consequent longevity appeared at about the same time: Buffalo Savings Bank in 1846, Western Savings Bank in 1851, and Erie County Savings Bank in 1854. Their purpose was something other than smoothing the way of commerce, but the existence of their solid masses of capital assisted in maintaining the health of the financial community.

These and a few other banks were operating in 1870, and in the following decades a number of others were initiated. A considerable number of these lasted so short a time that the observer must be convinced that it was no simple thing to survive in this business. The reason was not difficult to determine. There was no adequate system of maintaining the reserves needed by all banks to meet demands for cash when large movements of goods occurred. In the United States every autumn provided a race by country banks to furnish funds needed to move crops to markets, and when this event coincided with other stresses, as with spreading industrial recessions in 1873 and 1893, banks collapsed in numbers because they were unable to procure cash. It is remarkable that of eight Buffalo banks opened in the years 1891-93 only one of them survived beyond ten years, and it was under the direction of one of the great figures of New York banking, George F. Rand, Sr. Four of the eight closed before a year was out. There were others in the preceding two decades that did no better.

What is remarkable in Buffalo banking history is the exceeding toughness of its leading banks as well as their imaginative adapting to the needs of business. The unexpected and devastating Panic of 1907 was little felt here, nor was the area crippled by the overwhelming disaster of 1933 that forced a national banking moratorium. The Buffalo banks did not approach the danger point. It was in good part because much of their business was with the largest and soundest of industrial corporations, but there is no doubt that they had armed themselves with sound growth and conservative financial policies.

Growth in our banks ended in a series of mergers, and then for the Marine Bank an immense proliferation in the Marine Midland group of banks. The original Marine Bank of 1850 joined in 1902 with the Buffalo Commercial Bank (successor to the Bank of Attica that had moved here early) switching to national status at the same time, developed close

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contact with Lackawanna Steel and other industries under Stephen M. Clement and John J. Albright, and set itself for great growth by merging with Rand's Columbia National Bank in 1913. Rand, Sr., died in 1920 in an airplane accident. His son, George F. Rand, Jr., built up his Buffalo Trust Company by merging with Merchants National and La-Fayette National Banks and promptly (1925) assuming control of the great bank formed by adding this to the Marine Trust, as it was to be known. The Marine Trust was then the 19th largest bank in the United States with resources of $247 million. Four years later its group banking company was incorporated and soon was the fourth largest such in the nation; the mature system thirty years later served 102 communities with 178 offices holding $2,314 mil lions in deposits.

The Manufacturers and Traders Bank followed the same pattern in developing its basic banking operation but at a slower tempo. As mentioned, it became a national bank in 1902 with a considerable enlargement of capital and merged with the Third National Bank of Buffalo (1865) in 1916, reflecting the trend to largeness in business and the greater confidence engendered by the formation of the Federal Reserve System in 1913. It then merged with the Fidelity Trust Company under Lewis G. Harriman in 1925, thereby becoming a trust company itself, and added the People's Bank in 1927. A further large addition to capital was made in 1929.

The Liberty Bank had led a sedate existence from its beginning in 1882 until the emotions aroused during World War I caused it to adopt its present name in place of the original German-American Bank. In 1929 it, too, arranged a major increase in resources by joining with Community National and Frontier National Banks.

Two individual banks operated through this great era of merging and continued by themselves. The Bank of Buffalo, which had its inception as a Morris Plan bank in 1916, was converted to Buffalo ownership as the Buffalo Industrial Bank in 1937 and has since broadened its name. The Lincoln National Bank opened in 1928 and suffered temporary closing in 1933, although ultimately repaying its depositors at the rate of 98.4%. During the moratorium it was joined to the East Side National Bank and has since succeeded in repaying emergency loans that kept it in operation. The historical wheel turned full circle when in 1969 a new bank opened as the Niagara Frontier Bank of New York, returning the financial community to the task of creating new banks.

So much, it is plain, is only a hint at the commerce of Buffalo, and the illustrations confirm the thought.

Erie County Savings Bank demolition, 1967

Almost every segment of transport needs a chapter, and the full story of banking would occupy the avid reader for a long time. And none of this so much as hints at the existence of great wholesale and retail activities that are felt far beyond the boundaries of the metropolitan area of the Niagara Frontier. Even so much as is well known, nevertheless, adds to the realization of the vigor of this part of America.

Western Savings Bank c. 1920

Buffalo Savings Bank

Old Buffalo Savings Bank, demolished in 1920

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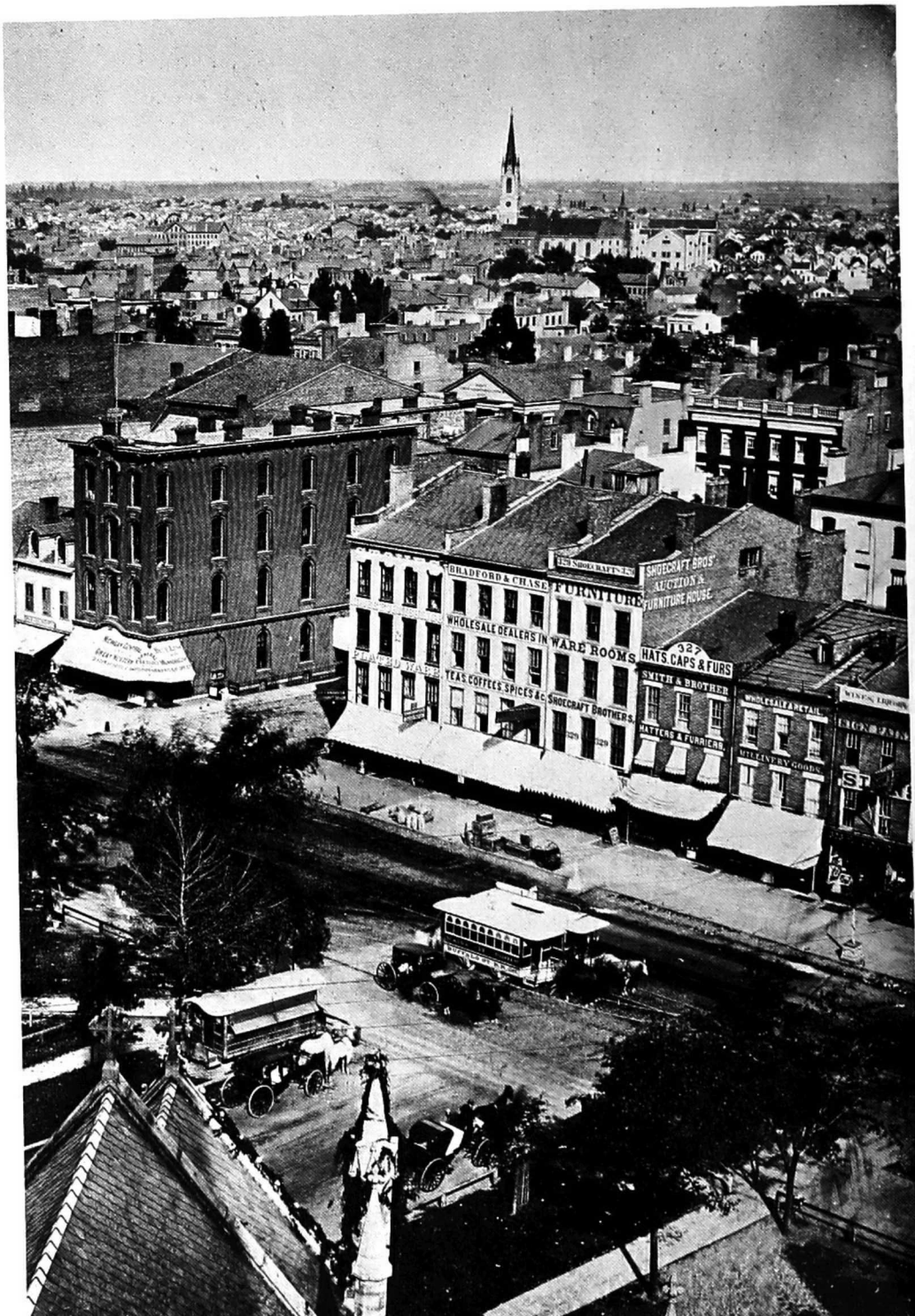
Transportation and Commerce

The period from 1870 to 1920 was marked by rapid changes in transportation and commerce. From a moderately paced life based on the speed of the horse, the tempo increased sharply in those brief fifty years to see the advent of the airplane as a commercial carrier.



Main Street in the 1870's

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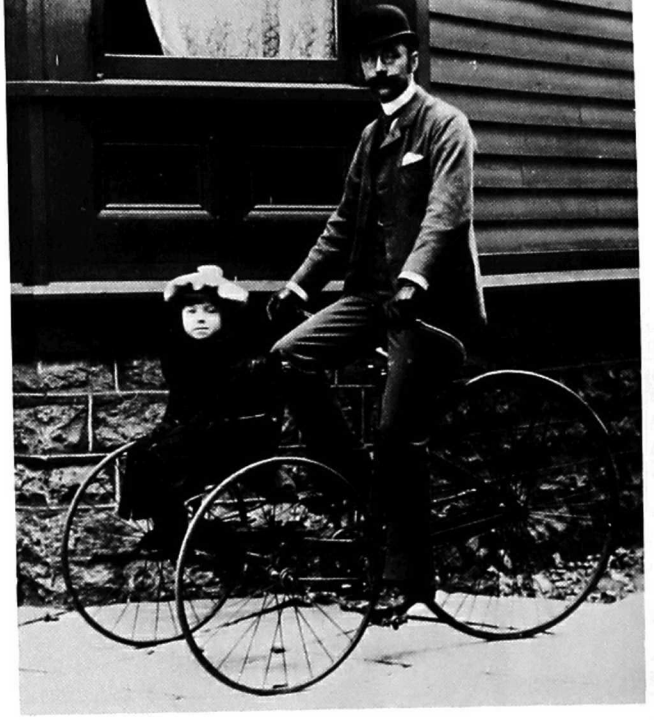

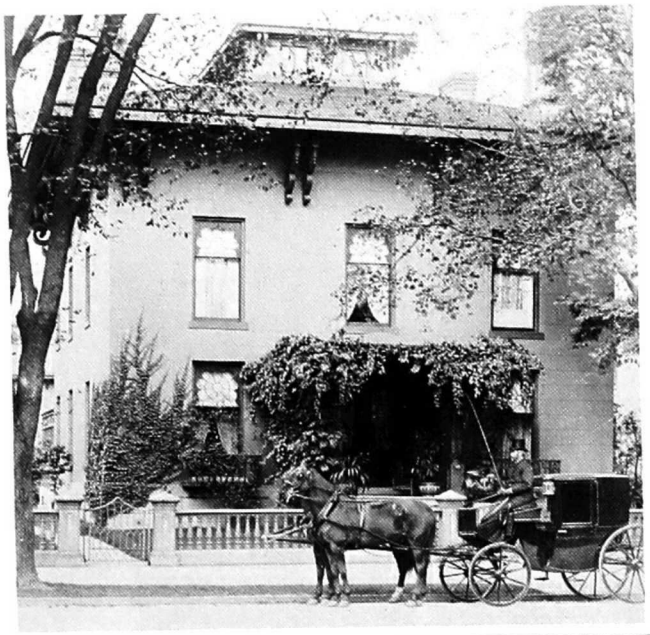

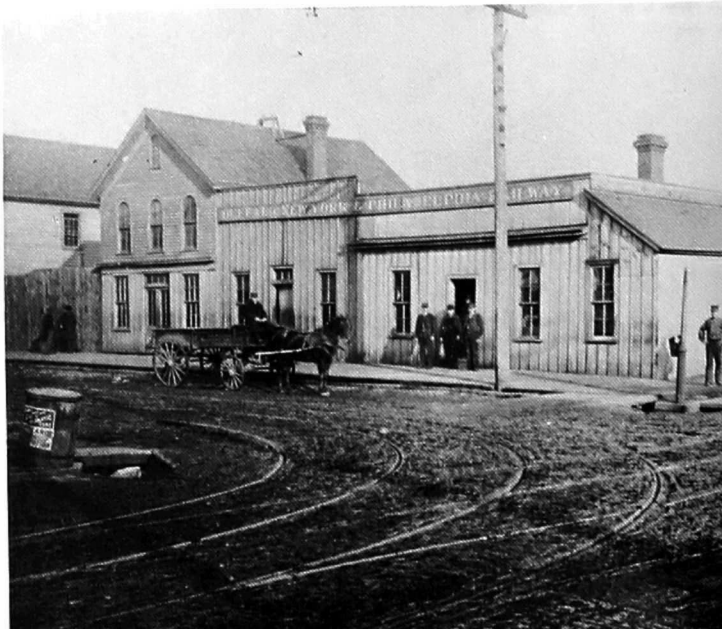

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Transportation

Collection of The Buffalo

Trolleys and Streetcars

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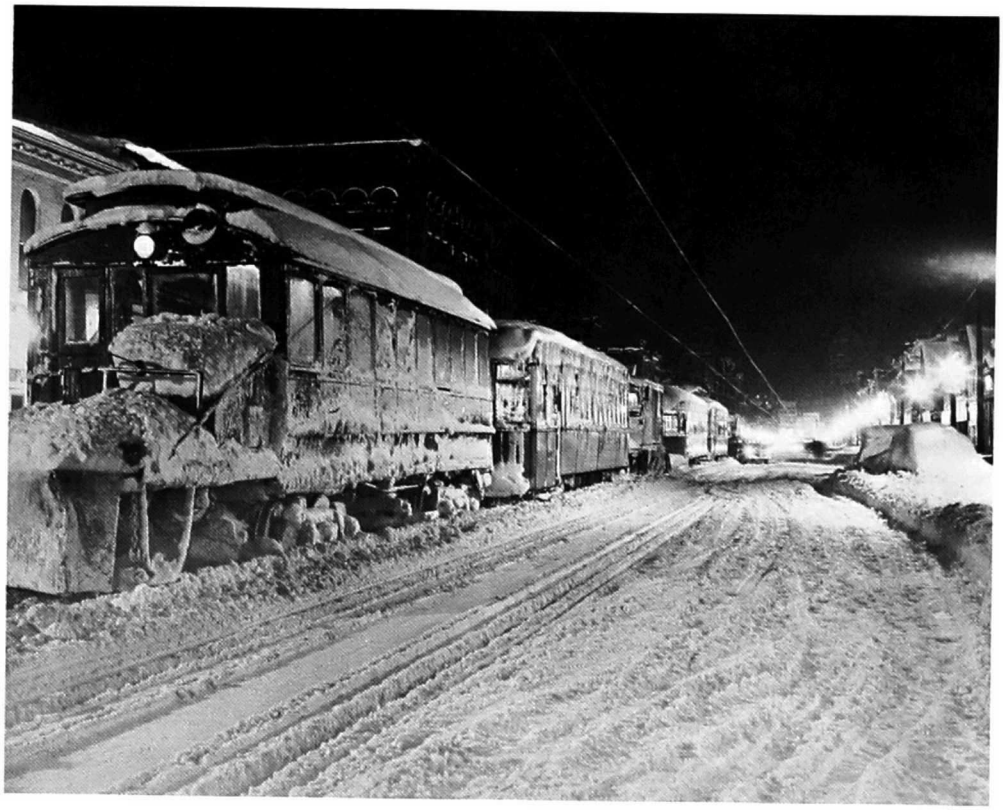

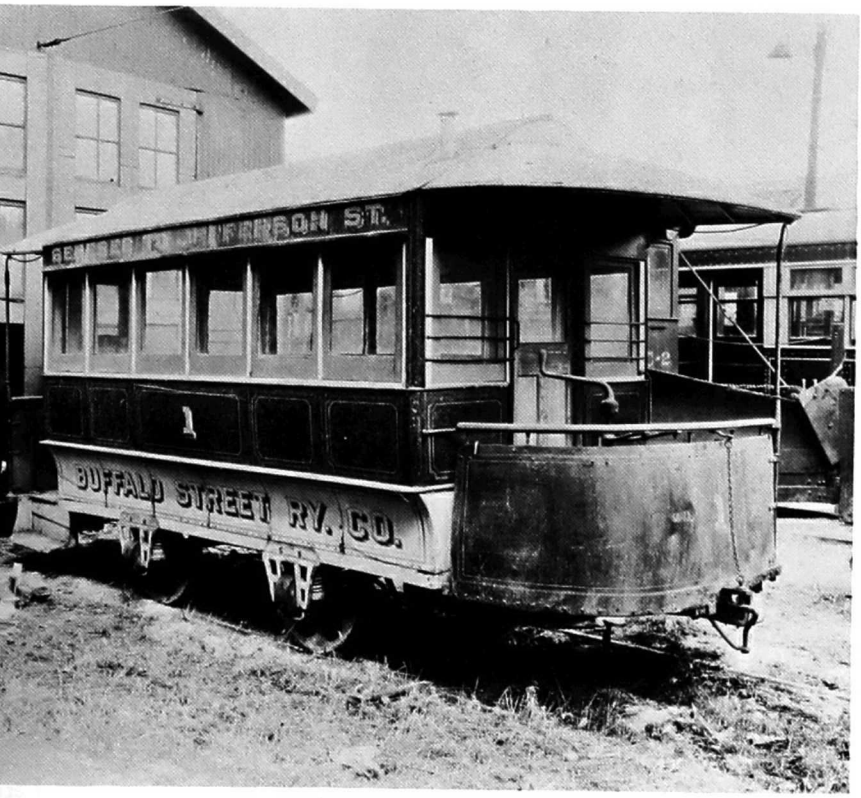

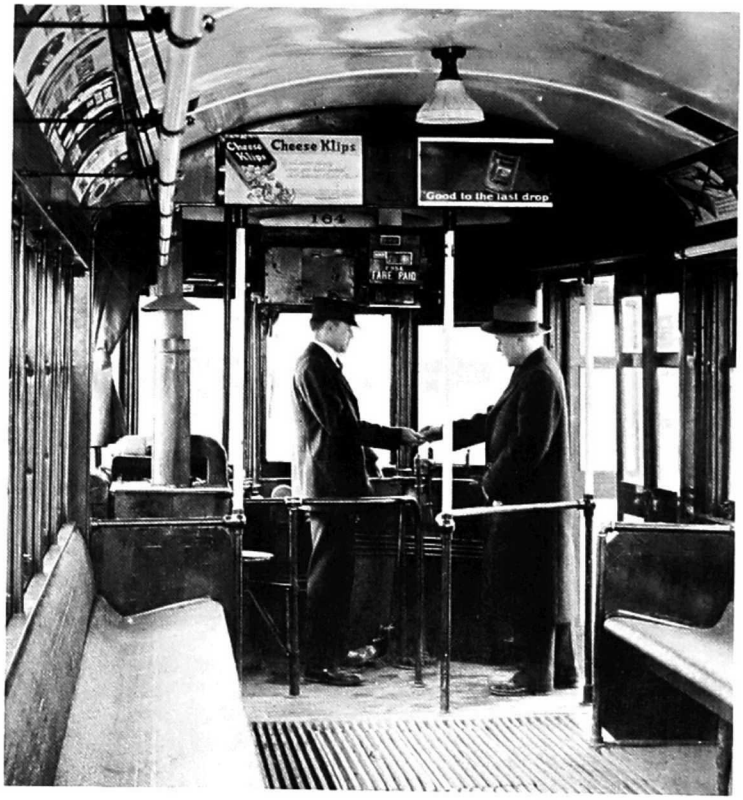

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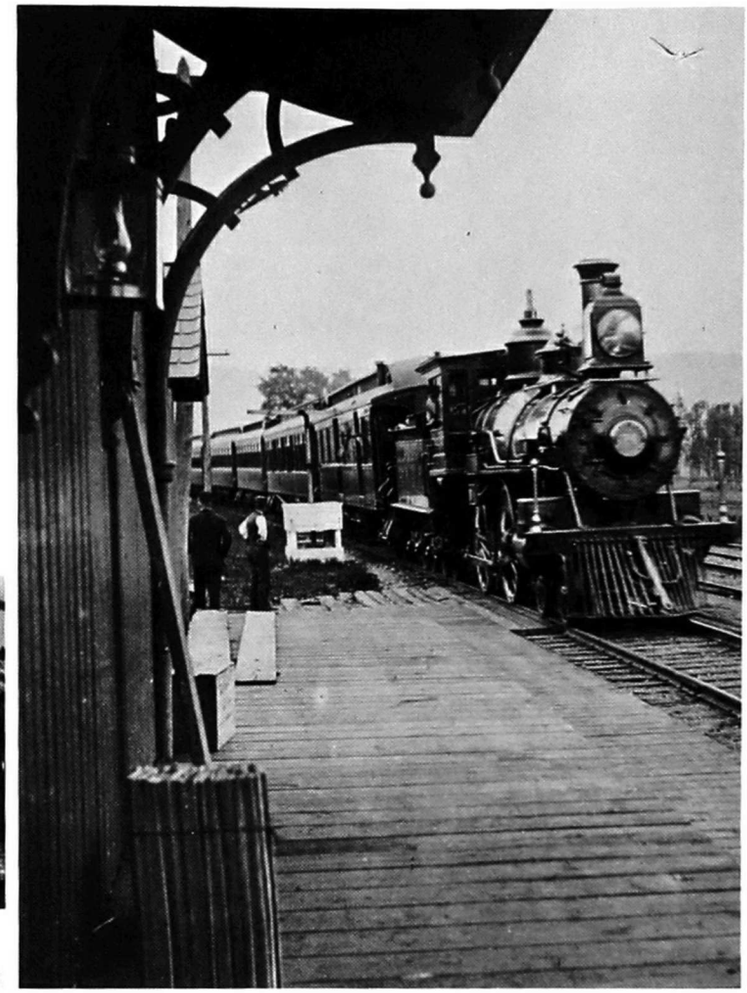
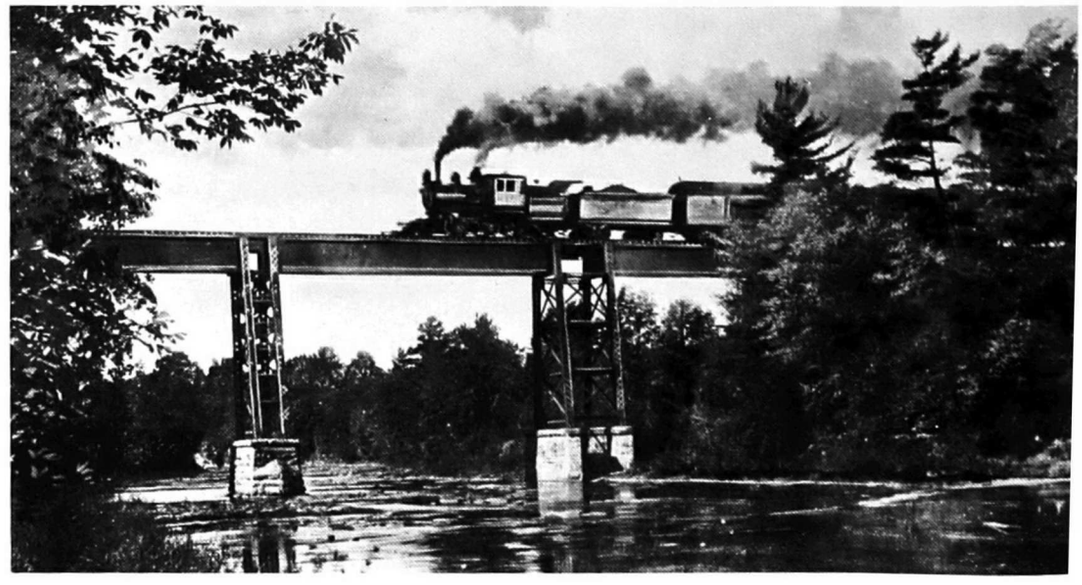
The Railroads





Water Valley bridge, Hamburg, N.Y.

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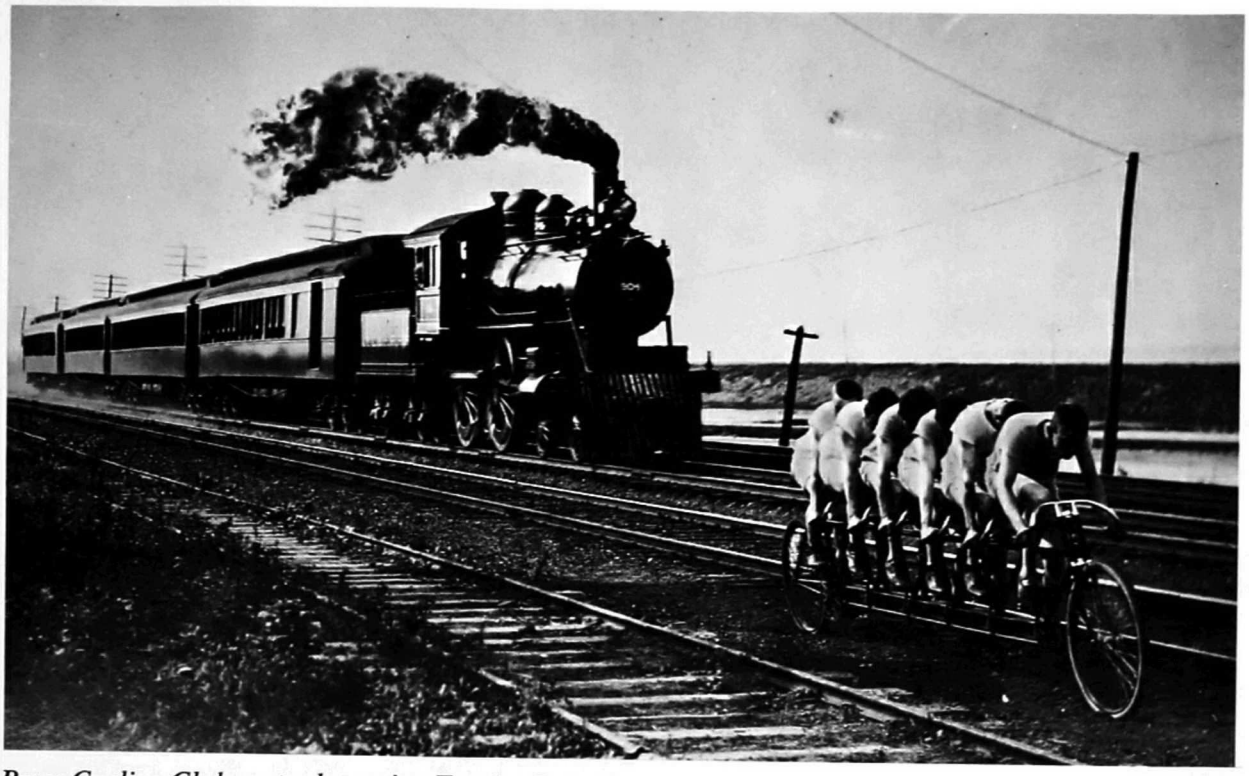
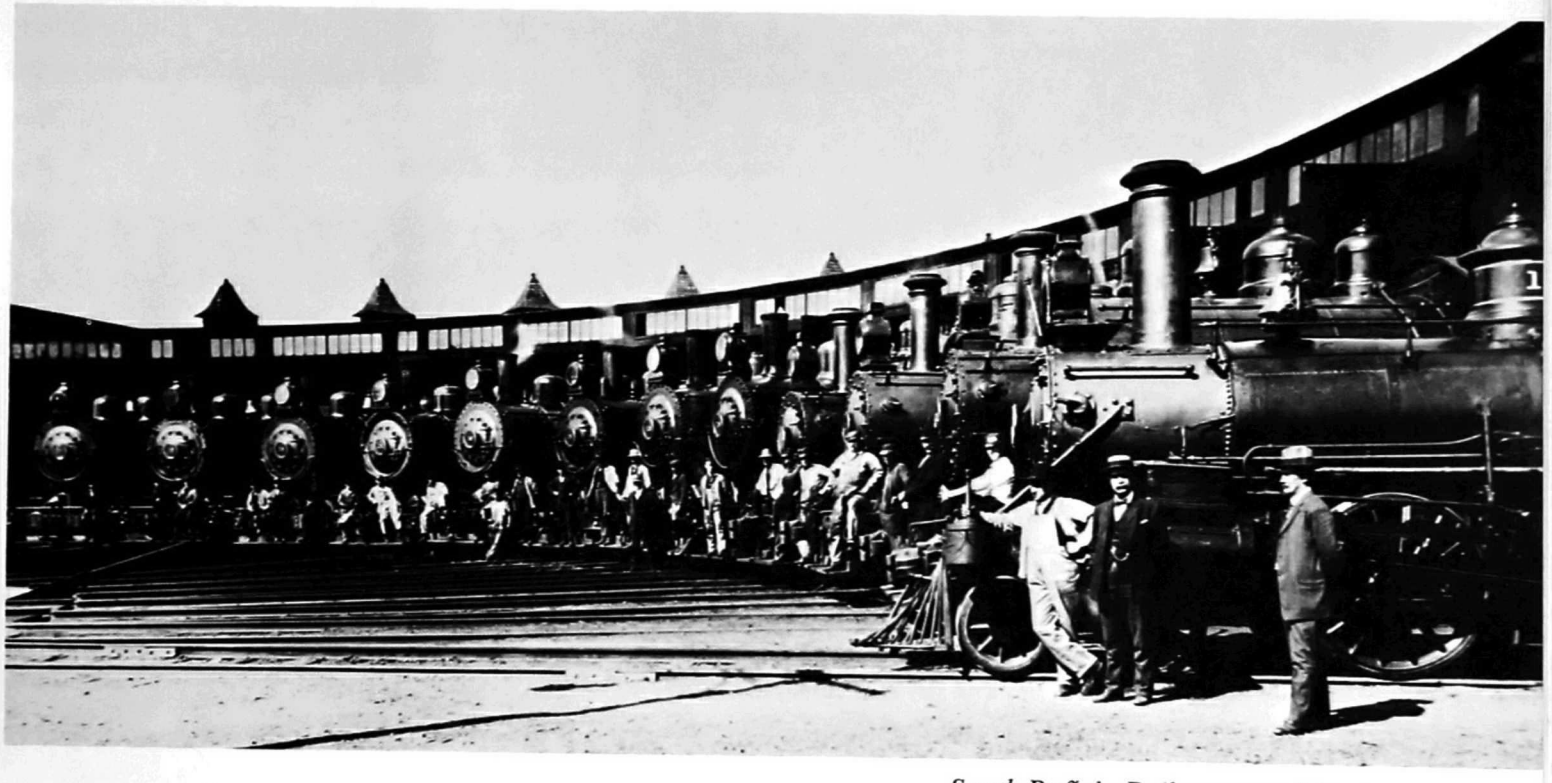


Press Cycling Club sextuplet racing Empire State Express



South Buffalo Railway round house

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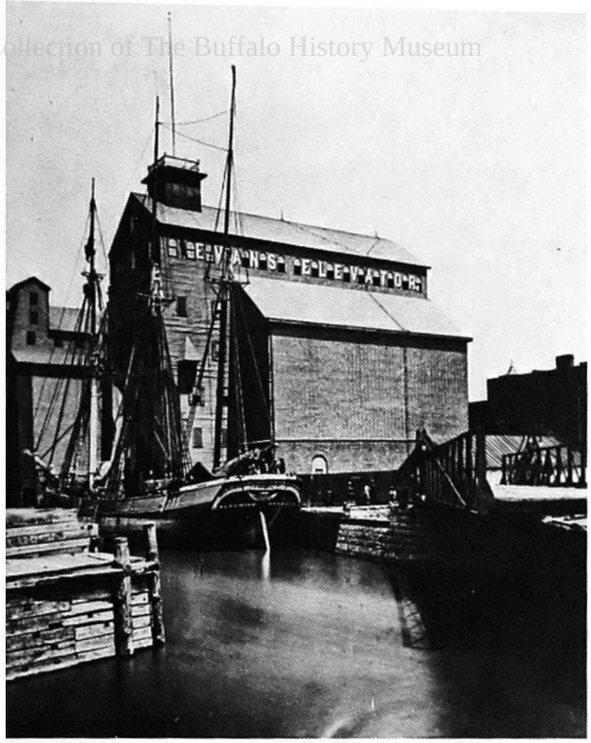
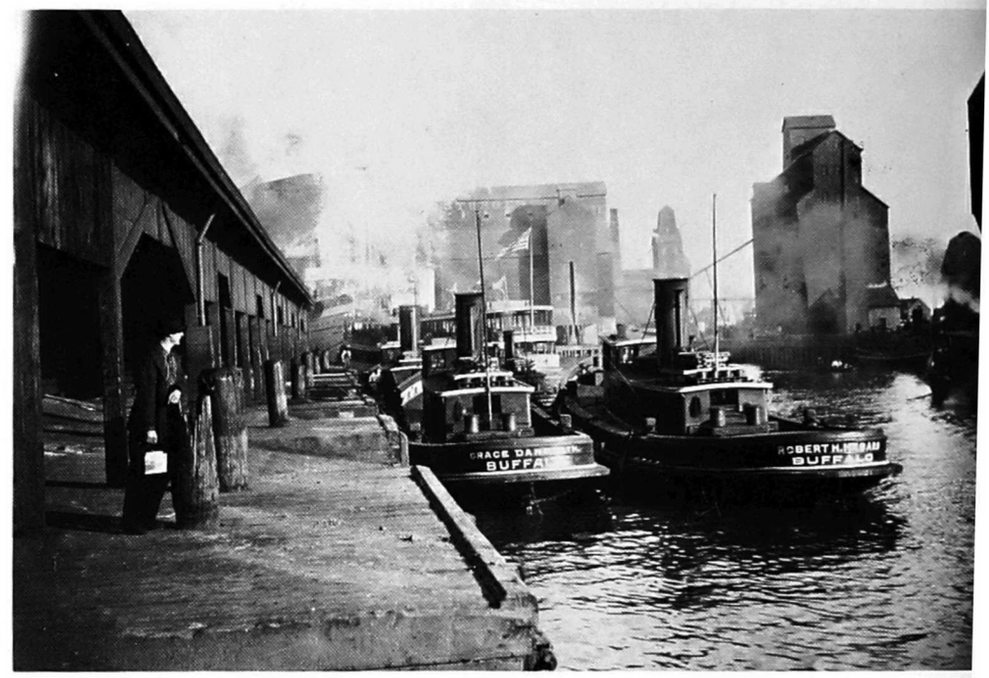
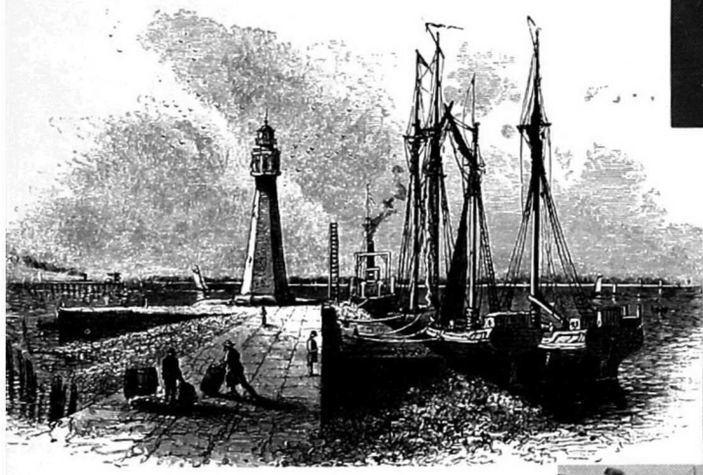
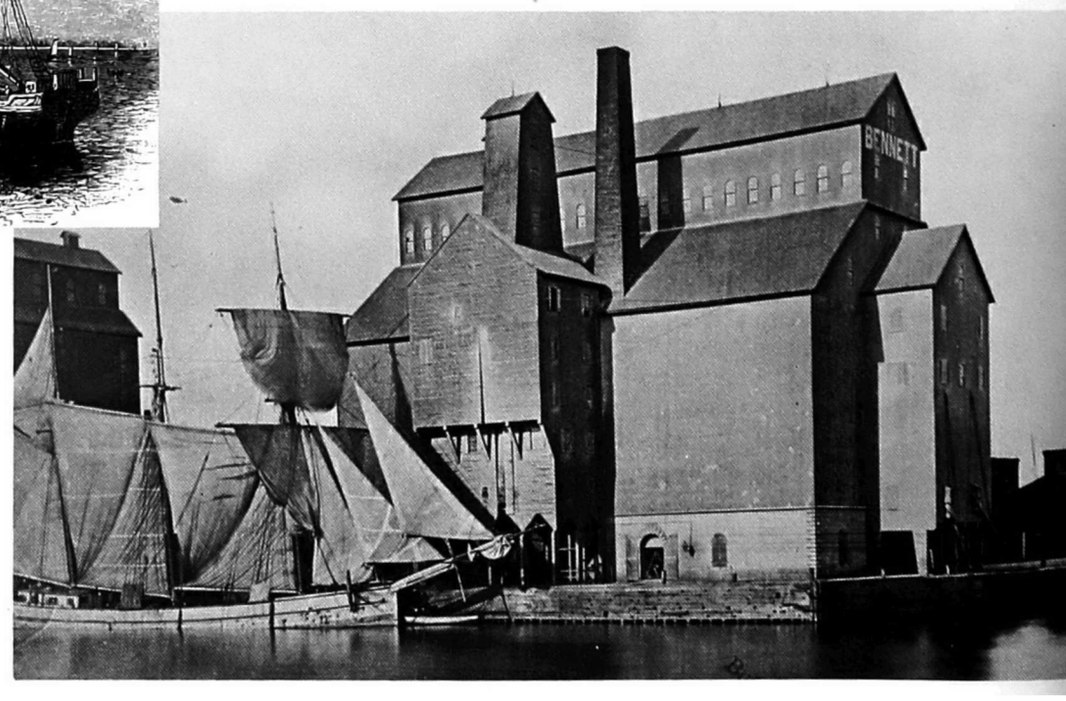


The Harbor and Grain Elevators





Buffalo Lighthouse



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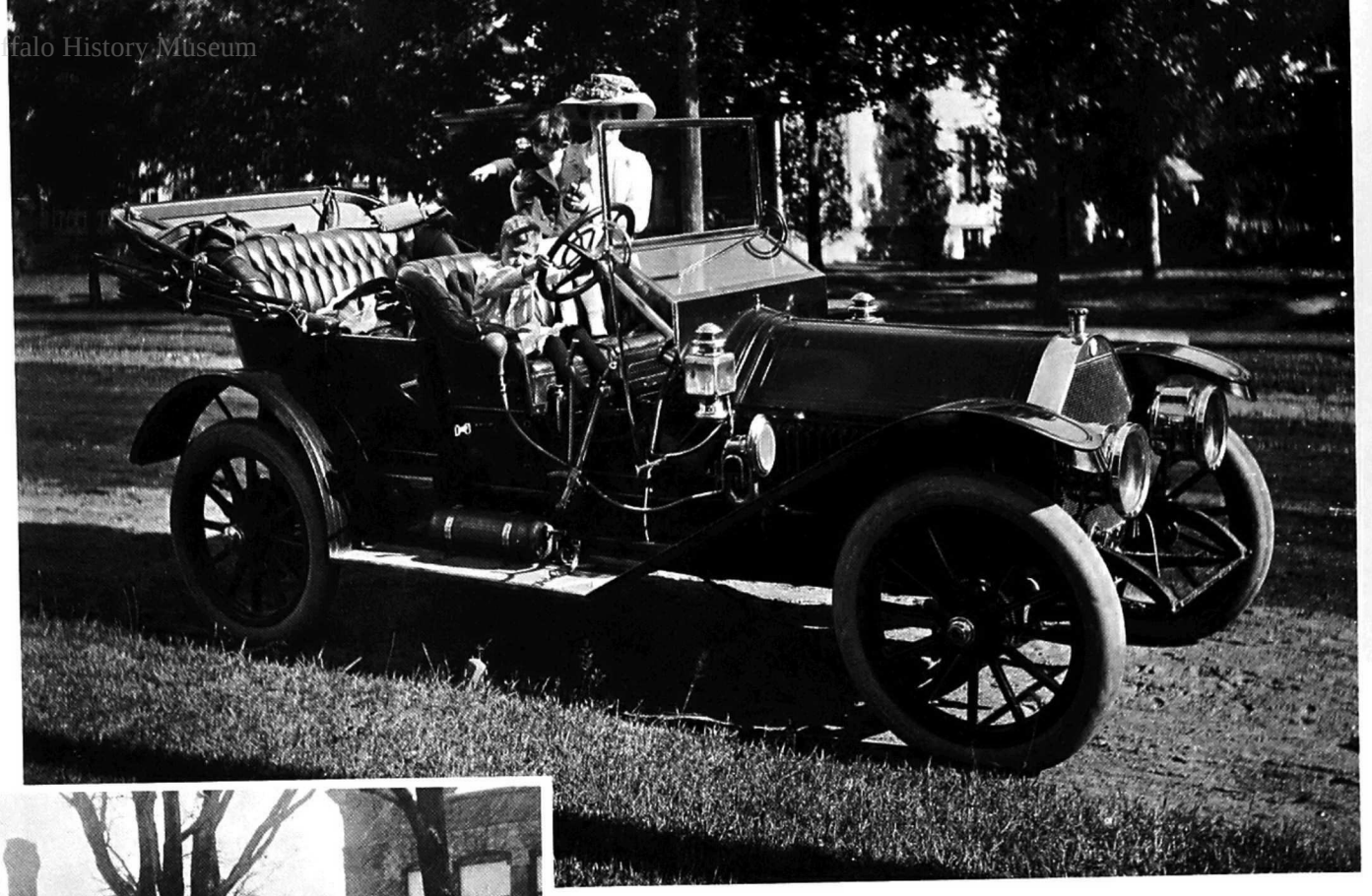
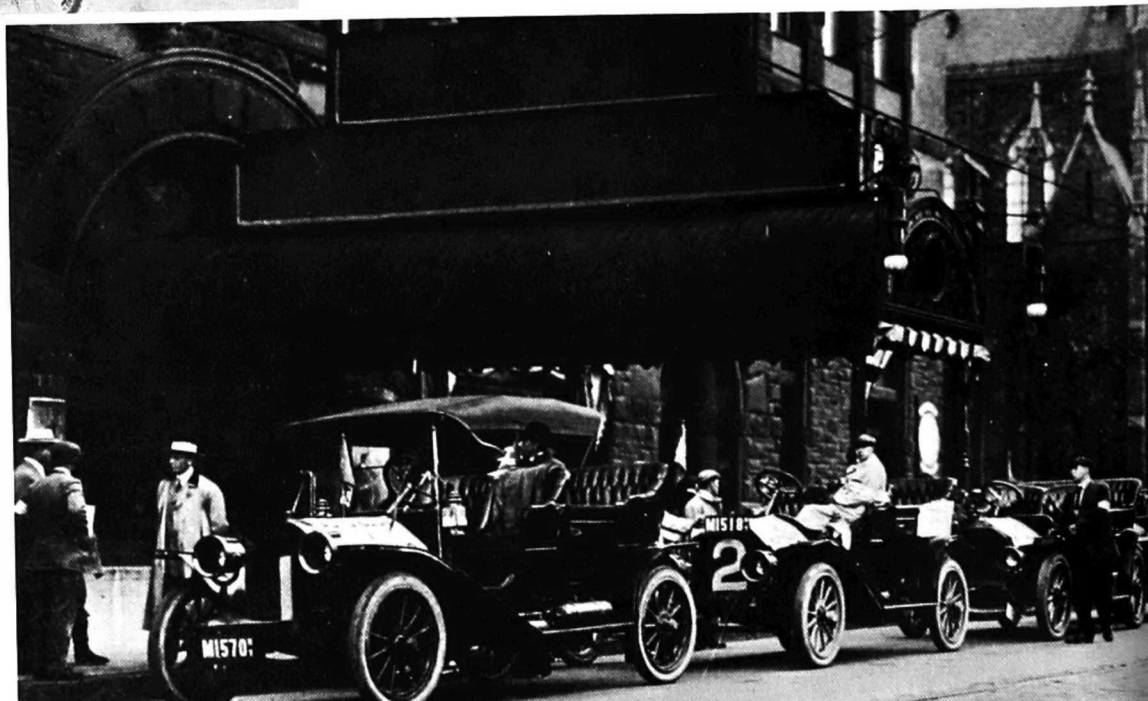
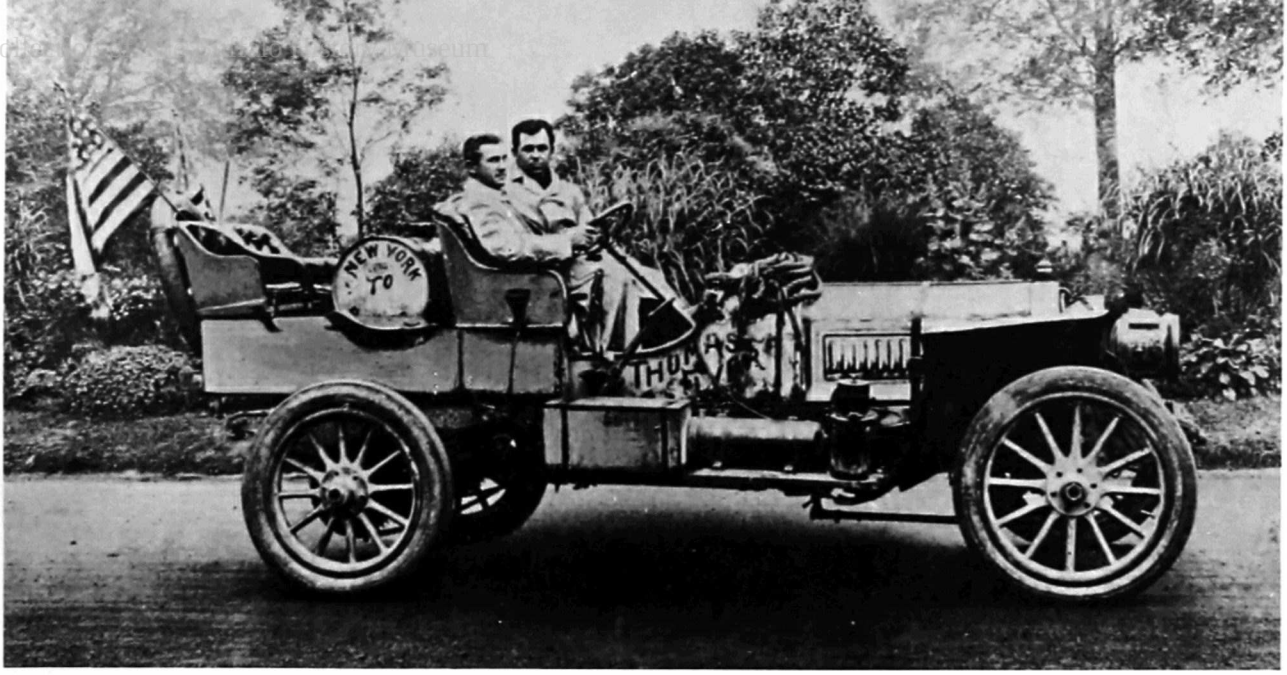


Automobiles

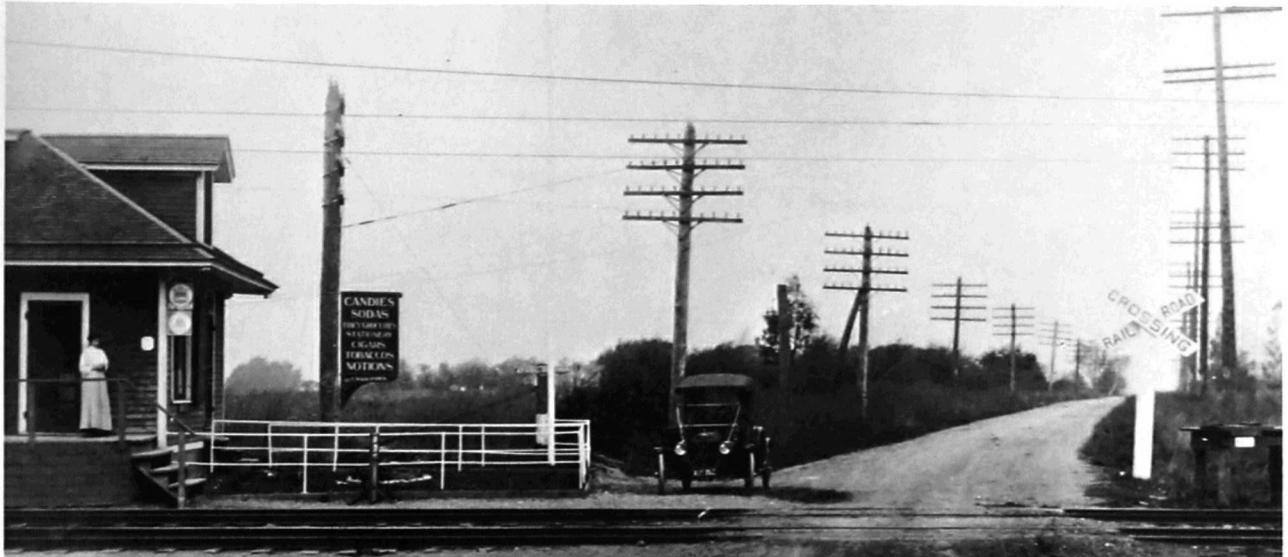
Auto Club reliability tour, 1910



Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution



"Thomas Flyer" which won the New York to Paris International Race, 1908



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IV. Parties and Bosses

The charters of 1870 and 1892 were difficult for city officers to operate for reasons noted later (Chapter V). They were complex in that a multitude of elected officers shared nearly equally in the power and responsibility of administration, which merely left questions as to who would make the decisions, and all of them were distracted by the presence of the State of New York, which could make or unmake them and all their works. The effort to fix responsibility in constitutional steadfastness must be admired while noting that such arrangements demanded some method for determining what the people actually wanted. If they were to rule through their representatives the least that must be provided is a way to nominate and elect them, and if this sort of popular scheme of election were to supply the means of continuous and sensitive estimating of popular opinion functionaries would be needed to speak to them and report what they heard. It is hardly a secret that political parties give these services. Indeed, they had already done so in England for two centuries and had for a century and a half maintained the close popular contacts that kept elected officials in a representative frame of mind. It is very difficult to imagine a democratic form of government without the services of well organized parties, although in the elation of our successful Revolution of 1776 it was imagined that they weren't needed, and Buffalo was to come back to that opinion with the commission form in the 1916 charter under the stimulus of the belief of constitutionalists that pure democracy would work if the legal forms were correctly designed.

But in 1870 the old two-party arrangement in the tradition of England was in full operation here with the special modifications forced by American idealism and gregariousness: written constitutions, and a multiplicity of conventions, caucuses, and committees acting in the city and county both to elect and to inform all members of the party, whether elected officials, party officers, or rank-and-file workers, as to the interests and state of mind of the voters. Already there was a definite community of party workers, many of whom served faithfully for many years in the performance of the tasks of gathering voters into meetings, distributing notices and ballots, and canvassing methodically to bring voters to the polls. Some have been known to serve for over fifty years.

Grover Cleveland, 1864

One of the most brilliant of such faithful workers was in 1870 about to receive the most lucrative reward in the gift of his party. For a dozen years and more Grover Cleveland had been among these workers and had not only regularly and punctually appeared on election days to watch the polls but contributed the force of a vital personality and the skills of an experienced lawyer just as faithfully. The Democrats not unreasonably wanted Cleveland to be in a position to continue his service and there were few ways by which the party could provide him with a competence so that he would not be constantly reproaching himself for failure to devote himself to his law practice. He could be elected Sheriff if he would consent to undertake the unpleasant duties demanded, and under the fee system a term in that office could provide the thrifty man with savings that would support him in case of need.

The Democrats, and Cleveland, were fortunate in 1870. The vote for Sheriff remained in doubt for nearly a week but the party put its champion into office and won a majority of Aldermanic and Supervisory contests. At this time the Republicans were more often ahead than not since they represented the faction identified with the victorious Civil War and devoted to the expanding industrial economy. This

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year found the country in its customary reaction against the usually Republican victors in the presidential elections, as it did regularly in off years. Cleveland profited this time, but the Democratic *Courier* acknowledged that Erie County was a Republican stronghold and ruefully admitted that campaigning against that party's money and organization was nearly hopeless — but it still asserted that good work could defeat them. The losers in elections swept by national feelings often regretted that local affairs were at the mercy of quite irrelevant forces in these cases. Ultimately most local elections were scheduled in odd years, when national officers were not to be chosen.

The party battle held few surprises throughout the decade 1870-1880. Depression and financial panic in 1873 and after gave some encouragement to the Democrats, but their sweep in 1874 was immediately followed by renewed Republican successes. A major national issue developed on the subject of currency and the resumption of the gold standard but the Democrats divided, Grover Cleveland proving in time to be one of the staunchest of conservatives on the matter of money. Those who felt that the steady deflation, presided over by Republican national administrations, was grossly unfair to farmers and laborers could only attempt a third party. This they did in 1878, sedulously imitating the arrangements of the established parties, but in Buffalo they made no difference in the voting that fall. An even wilder effort to associate "reform" elements of both parties as a Democratic-Republican party in 1873 had not gotten beyond the invention of the name.

Reading the annals of these years in the newspapers reveals the reason for the failure of what were vigorous and earnest efforts to punish corruption in party activity and make an ideal of social justice operative in national fiscal policy. It was nothing more than the fact that to win an election a party needed just the elaborate sort of organization that has been hinted at above. A full description of parties and their operations clinches the matter. The number of political meetings will astonish any reader who imagines that national issues are to be settled by newspaper debates, campaigns, a few committee meetings, and some great, noisy conventions. In 1870 the political season began in September (there was a special season for town politics in March when farm duties slackened). From the beginning of September to a few weeks after election voters were constantly being called into ward meetings for a variety of purposes. They were to choose delegates to the Assembly District Conventions of which there were five each including parts of the city. In mid-October another round chose delegates to the city convention. Shortly before the November elections they would assemble again to nominate ward officers — aldermen, constables, and others as before noted. If there were judicial vacancies, one of these, or a special meeting, chose delegates for a separate judicial convention. And this jolly, if perhaps at times tiring, round of ward meetings of the party came to an end with final gatherings to choose the party's ward officers for the following year.

This routine seems unnecessarily burdensome. Even in a day in which there was little free entertainment partisan activity was not regarded universally as mere diversion. There was pleasure for the socially minded in the meetings, but for everyone there was satisfaction in public duties discharged, concrete rewards to be claimed by the most useful or most needy, and the prestige of association with the great men of the party. When these meetings were actively caucusing to choose nominees there was the thrill of power being exerted. This might have seemed small, but Buffalo had already seen one of its responsible party men become President, and 1870 actually placed another in a position from which he moved toward it even though few might have had the imagination at that time to conceive of "Big Steve," as Cleveland was familiarly known, clambering those heights. Both parties followed this practice of frequent ward meetings during the political season of the two fall months and were fully appreciative of the power of these homely neighborhood meetings, for from them their workers went to "large and enthusiastic" caucuses held in houses ("large", is a relative term) and to the election canvass from saloon to saloon for "there was no other kind." It was this thorough congenial, and perva-

Board of Supervisors, 1910

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sive organization that made it impossible for single-minded charlatans to seize control of a party at any level.

Still, the protracted round was wearying, the tiredness of party members was exploited by party leaders who had personal advantage in mind, and a change from this apparently pure democracy in spite of its apparent margin of safety was soon indicated. The disgusting scandal of the Tweed Ring in control of Tammany Hall and the Democratic Party in New York City in the 1870's kept the issue alive for decades.

The campaigns of the decade occasionally exposed some dubious elements in both parties as the passions of the competition drove disappointed partisans to blame poor choice of candidates or selfish neglect of campaign managers for election defeats. It was of course expected that the *Courier* should complain of the Republican ring centering on the *Commercial Advertiser* as Buffalo's equivalent of Tammany Hall, but when it said the same thing about Democratic nominations the accusation carried more force, although battles within a party could generate violence and mendacity as efficiently as those between the two parties. For the most part condemnatory talk was avoided in the various conventions in which the ward delegates chose candidates for state and local offices. Such meetings were far less wordy than might be expected from the examples of state and national conventions now familiar to us. There was less oratory, fewer resolutions, and much more time devoted to negotiations between rival factions as well as consideration of the fitness of candidates. The behavior was that of people who knew and understood each other, trying to arrive at reasonable actions, rather than of forensic occasions calculated to arouse multitudes by means of shrewdly contrived histrionics. Indeed the conventions right up to the county gatherings were secret because business had to be done. Delegates had probably already devoted several evenings to the party business so that delegates chosen on Thursday evening were convened on Saturday afternoon — things were done quickly and without needless delay — to finish up a ticket for an election barely three weeks away.

Another impediment to a thorough airing of party affairs was the feeling that these occasions were to be conducted with dignity. Fair, knowing, and direct-spoken presid-

WELCOME !
WELCOME !
Democrats from the City of New York, Tammany Hall, County Democracy and Irving Hall,
ALL ARE WELCOME to BUFFALO
"Democracy is a sentiment not to be appalled, corrupted or compromised. It knows no baseness; it cowers to no danger; it oppresses no weakness; it is destructive of despotism; it is the sole conservator of liberty, labor and property; it is the sentiment of equal rights, of equal obligations, the very law of Nature itself pervading the land."
EXILE McBRIDE is out with the FOLLOWING TICKET for the DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION:
Secretary of State:
WILLIAM PURCELL, of Monroe.
Attorney General:
R. A. PARMENTER, of Rennselaer.
Treasurer:
R. A. MAXWELL, of Genesee.
Engineer:
THOMAS EVERSHED, of Orleans.
CLEVELAND FOR PRESIDENT.
SCOVILLE FOR MAYOR.
"THE EXILE" DOESN'T LAMENT
But Goes Around and Gets a Big List of Subscribers to Judge Barker's Picture.
Following are the names of the friends of Hon. GEORGE BARKER, Justice of the Supreme Court, who have subscribed for a copy of Exile JOHN J. McBRIDE'S Lithograph of the distinguished judge,
Hon. Grover Cleveland.
Hon. John B. Manning.
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Chas. W. Goodyear.
E. H. Butler.
E. W. Hatch, Dist. Attorney.
Henry W. Box.
James F. Gluck.
Harry H. Koch.
Michael Newell.
Charles A. Pooley.
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Joseph E. Barnard.
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M. Doll.
John Laughlin.
L. M. Baker.
S. N. Baker.
C. W. Hinson.
Geo. T. Quinby, Asst. Dist. Att'y.
G. E. Stillwell.
Louis Witter.
Wm. W. Lawson.
H. R. Jones.
W. P. Burns.
Joseph Ball.
O. C. DeWitt.
W. G. C. Kilhoffer.
T. J. Mahony.
Jno. A. Bodamer.
Joseph Scnmidt.
F. J. Streich.
Samuel H. Warren.
C. A. Orr.
Marcus Bartlett,
Tracy C. Becker.
A. C. Calkins.
Frank Strassel.
Henry S. Kraft.
A. B. Tanner.
W. F. Worthington.
T. W. Toye.
F. B. Wall.
H. W. Dranger.
Jacob Stern.
R. R. Hefford.
Fred. Busch.
J. C. Fullerton.
C. F. Streich
J. H. Carmichael.
R. W. English.
Geo. W. Wheeler.
EXILE J. J. McBRIDE, U. S. A. C. C. B. M
Read the EVENING NEWS. Circulation over 20,000 a day.

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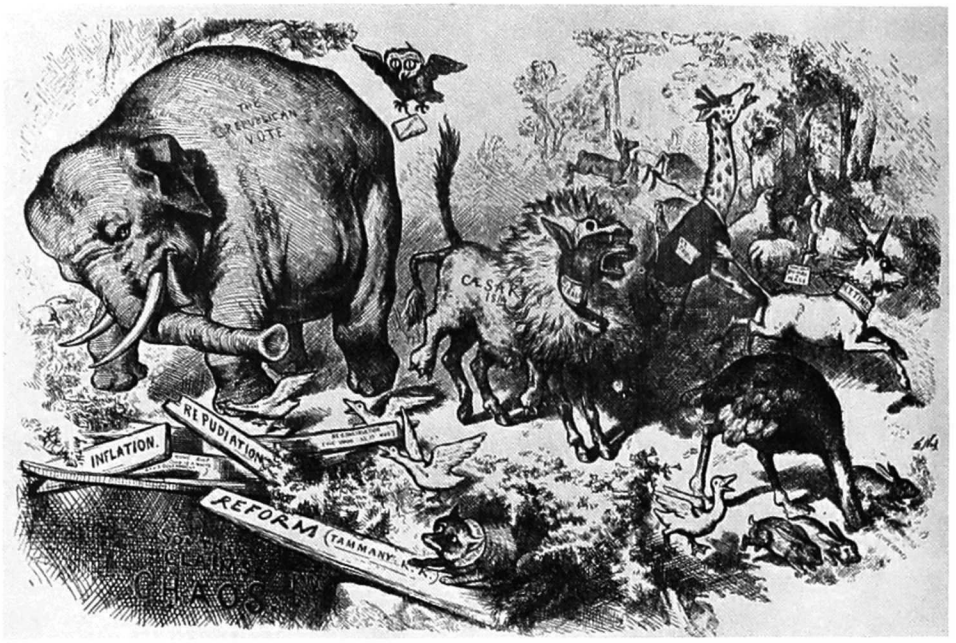

First appearance of the Republican elephant, November 1874
Cartoon by Thomas Nast, courtesy of Harper & Brothers

ing officers were sought and their capabilities were favorably reported. It did not matter that the business of a City Convention might be to nominate candidates for a police justice, an assessor, and a Justice of the Peace: it was to be done correctly, with credit to democratic institutions. This correct brevity also points out another essential in the scheme of parties: it was dependent upon newspapers to spread the word of meetings and to make available party doctrine regularly and cheaply. Notice above as to the pivotal position of J. D. Warren's *Commercial Advertiser* in the Republican high command adds testimony of the fact that they were indeed important. The Warren family was by no means the last to prosper on the combination of politics and journalism.

During this decade another characteristic began to be apparent even against the bitterest denials and the most pious hopes. There were bosses in these parties, and they were at last acknowledging the fact of their existence and their function. In the last analysis someone had to issue calls, recruit workers, and raise money. The purely democratic bodies such as conventions and committees could as groups perform such functions, but not efficiently. It had long been observed that in campaign time a secretary working at the job was an essential, if only to keep the General Committee's rooms open so that work might be done. These General Committees, covering the county were slowly developing a life of their own complete with a functioning secretariat. For a time they were simply appointed by the Chairman of the County Convention, but in 1875 the Republicans concluded that something more was needed. A committee recommended that the General Committee be elected in conventions, two members from each Assembly District, and that it be given power to fill vacancies in its own ranks or in the party ticket. The latter power sounds innocent, but unscrupulous leaders could use it to name their own tickets, and sometimes did. To do this they supported an attractive candidate in Convention, put him on the ticket, and then persuaded him to withdraw to open the way for the man they really wanted. But this was only incidental, the changes led to more efficient management, and from that time the General Committee moved steadily toward the present County Committee with its professional staff and formidable Chairman.

But finally partisan hints exploded into passionate accusations that parties were being used corruptly for individual gain on a large scale. Back of the neighborhood caucuses were clever manipulators who were invading democratic institutions at every level, that from the unscrupulous usurpation of an election official's job the dishonest politician soon was bold enough to attempt to influence the President of the United States himself. The assassination of Garfield brought conscientious citizens face-to-face with the possibility that such corruption could make efficient and honest government impossible. Within the Republican party a division occurred, a reform element "Half Breeds" against the regular "Stalwarts." As election time in 1881 approached Garfield's assassin, a disappointed office-seeker, was still to be tried. Both factions pointed an accusing finger, blaming the other's immoderate statements on party matters for inspiring the deed. There was little justice in this, but the statements show how very seriously the thought of political corruption was taken. In Buffalo the party of reform suddenly recruited a large group from both of the established parties and the two independent papers, the *Courier,* with a Democratic bias, and the *Express* which leaned strongly Republican, were emboldened to attack their own and the opposition party's leadership on the ground that they had ceased to be responsive to the public interest.

It is thus that for the first time we are able to look critically at what the politicians had been about in developing parties. Bosses, machines, and rings ceased to be merely epithets aimed at opponents and became very real powers in the Buffalo scene. Investigators empowered by the Common Council had before them the Republican Street

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Street Railway Company repairing tracks

Tearing up the stone pavement

Passing stone blocks through crusher

Laying concrete with crushed stone blocks

Main Street finished

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Commissioner under suspension, accused of making inaccurate records of work done by contractors. Thoroughly angry, he retorted that it was established custom to report six days' work done for every one performed and blamed the "ring" organized by Alderman Jack White of the First Ward for his troubles. We can imagine an Alderman giving such instructions and then allowing the official to fight his way out of the consequent troubles as best as he could.

But the Street Commissioner connects us to another organization: he had formerly been employed by the *Commercial Advertiser,* whose owner, J. D. Warren, was now called "Boss" with deadly intent by his opponents. Jack White, also Republican, was at the same time connected in another direction to business giants who were demanding and getting special privileges from the city. These were the great glucose manufacturers, the two largest single industrialists in the city. They needed quantities of water and the freedom to make large areas uninhabitable by their emission of smoke and fumes. The city had spent heavily on water mains to deliver the water and made over street space for smoke-control apparatus that failed. Now more street space was needed for them to lay their own water mains. They got all they asked, and the *Express* noted maliciously that Alderman Jack White was for them. Suddenly the business-conspiracy theory of politics seems reasonable.

But the Republicans also had some nice, old-fashioned officials who took money in a straightforward fashion merely for their own advantage. The *Express* and the *Commercial* burst into violent controversy over the behavior of William Sirret, candidate for reelection as County Treasurer on the Republican ticket. The *Courier* precipitated this by accusing Sirret of not only pocketing the interest paid by banks on county funds deposited with them but of turning such funds to his own use temporarily. The *Advertiser* printed a blanket defense of these practices since all that was asked of him was to keep the money safely. When the issue of his compensation arose his enemies took advantage of this brazen attitude to uncover the fact that it took a bit of "legislative smuggling" to increase his salary to its current high level, which was large enough to suggest that dishonesty could hardly be attributed to one so prosperous. The *Express,* gleefully joining the exposure, found the Erie County member of the Assembly committee

William B. Sirret

that acted on Sirret's salary bill, and he declared himself as surprised as anyone that the increase had been voted. It had been to his satisfaction as a Democrat that the increase was struck out of the original bill, and he had had the added pleasure of refusing to change it when approached by a Republican Assemblyman who was Sirret's friend. But it was changed nevertheless and no one familiar with legislative proceedings imagined that it was anything but a smuggling job by Sirret's friend that could account for it. Many more details of the operation of the Republican machine were revealed in the inquiry.

Things were not run with a cautious formalism in the Democratic party, either. A flurry within the party in 1875 elicited some curious facts, at least to those who have taken at all seriously the standard biographies of Grover Cleveland, where he is represented as far above and indifferent to the usual practices of party politics. It was his friends and at times law partners Albert P. Laning and Wilson S. Bissell who fought to renominate the former for State Senator and who were beaten 57-56 in the County Convention. Before the loss was inflicted the Convention had been forced to note an unusual number of city politicians sitting as substitutes for delegates from distant rural spots. This Convention rejected a proposal to elect the General Committee. Laning was bitterly attacked as a servant of the Ring and the Boss was summoned to try to stave off defeat, but nothing availed. The *Commercial Advertiser* smugly noted the *Courier's* regret and added that it was the *Courier's* machine that had been broken. Cleveland later presided at the City Convention that tried to retrieve Laning's fortunes by advancing him as candidate for Mayor, but the Republicans defeated any such effort by winning the final election. The *Advertiser* may have been misrepresenting the Democratic organization for propagandist reasons, but Cleveland certainly understood that body and may have then acquired some doubts of its probity.

Within a few years a further development in underhand political control had become evident and Cleveland was among those who were aware of it and who determined to destroy it. This was a bipartisan ring centering in the old First Ward. One of the managers of the ring was Jack White, a Republican who mysteriously won year after year in an overpoweringly Democratic district. The other was John C. Sheehan, a man who rose to the very top in the profession of party manager, easily making the

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startling jump from Buffalo's First Ward to the chieftainship of Tammany Hall in New York City. His immense talents and the equal abilities of his younger brother, William F. Sheehan, account for much of the character of Buffalo politics and government during the period 1880-1895, and their amazing accomplishments must be detailed in treating it. In 1881 John C. Sheehan was locked in combat with one of the few men capable of dealing with him, Grover Cleveland. Cleveland was quite plainly offended at the utter perversion of the party system that Sheehan and Jack White had developed between them. They had a system of exchanging favors that included re-election of White without serious opposition — and White's success in finding jobs and doing other favors for his constituents assisted in keeping him in a powerful position. How far this "ring" extended and how deeply it cut in the taking of loot no one could be sure. Cleveland never accused Sheehan of thievery, and no doubt he would have if he had had proof. But he ridiculed Sheehan's Democrat followers by calling them "Jack White Republicans" and associated himself with the independent group that was determined to end this perverse system. If there is no way to get an unworthy administration out of their offices by voting for the other party, what virtue is there in the two-party system?

Cleveland could easily see what must be done. He had no hope that any minds would be changed in the Republican convention where there would be found little but complacent leaders and satisfied followers after consecutive victories for several years. He knew that the office of mayor could be won by a strong Democratic candidate, and a strong candidate might even be chosen since there was real hunger for victories among the Democrats. This may be conjectured with entire confidence, since Cleveland was by no means a tyro politically. One further fact was surely apparent to him, however little he may have liked it: he was that strong candidate.

There is a charming little yarn in some books that tells of a committee of citizens hunting over the city for a strong candidate for Mayor among businessmen. Exhausted, they stopped in a bar for a regenerating glass of beer, which led them straight to Grover Cleveland. Naturally they then thought of him, and he straightway became Mayor, Governor, and President in rapid succession. This may not be completely unfounded but surely no such group would seriously have influenced Cleveland.

The Democratic City Convention met at the end of October, two weeks before the election in the brisk tempo of politics in those days, and by that time an Independent movement had been organized in an Erie County convention in which the city and nine of the towns were represented. Officers had been elected and resolutions adopted condemning corrupt caucusing and favoring efficiency and a referendum on prohibition. The Independents openly declared that the votes of its members would be thrown to honest and capable candidates. The County Convention of the Democratic Party chose nominees that would win Independent approval, working under the eye of Chairman Cleveland. The open commendation of the *Express* made it evident that there would be much Republican support of Cleveland as Mayor. Bitter condemnation of the nominees of the Republican City Convention followed. The *Express* remarked on the insolence, corruption, and dishonesty of Republican candidates with one exception. If Cleveland were willing, the way was open.

But he made one condition to the Democratic bosses: he would not run if John C. Sheehan were renominated for Comptroller. When the Convention opened that had been agreed to. But Sheehan wanted to make sure that everyone understood that he still retained control of the city organization; he had his name proposed, at which Cleveland promptly withdrew. The voting on the nomination proceeded to the end and it was plain that Sheehan had a large majority, but before the vote could be announced Sheehan withdrew. There was no further hitch in the plans and Cleveland became the candidate. The brief campaign that followed was equally perfunctory, the *Commercial Advertiser* filled its columns with complaints about disloyal party members and predicted disaster to state and nation from the treachery of those who failed in their obligations to their party. Words of censure such as mongrel, shirker, disunity, bolting, and treason were hopelessly flung at the independents to no avail. The Democrats won the city, the independent Republicans the county, and Cleveland was 15,000 to 11,000 over his opponent. The Assemblyman who may have given the surreptitious help to Sirret in the Legislature was thoroughly beaten and Sirret lost 23,000 to 14,000. The Republicans still held

William F. Sheehan caricature

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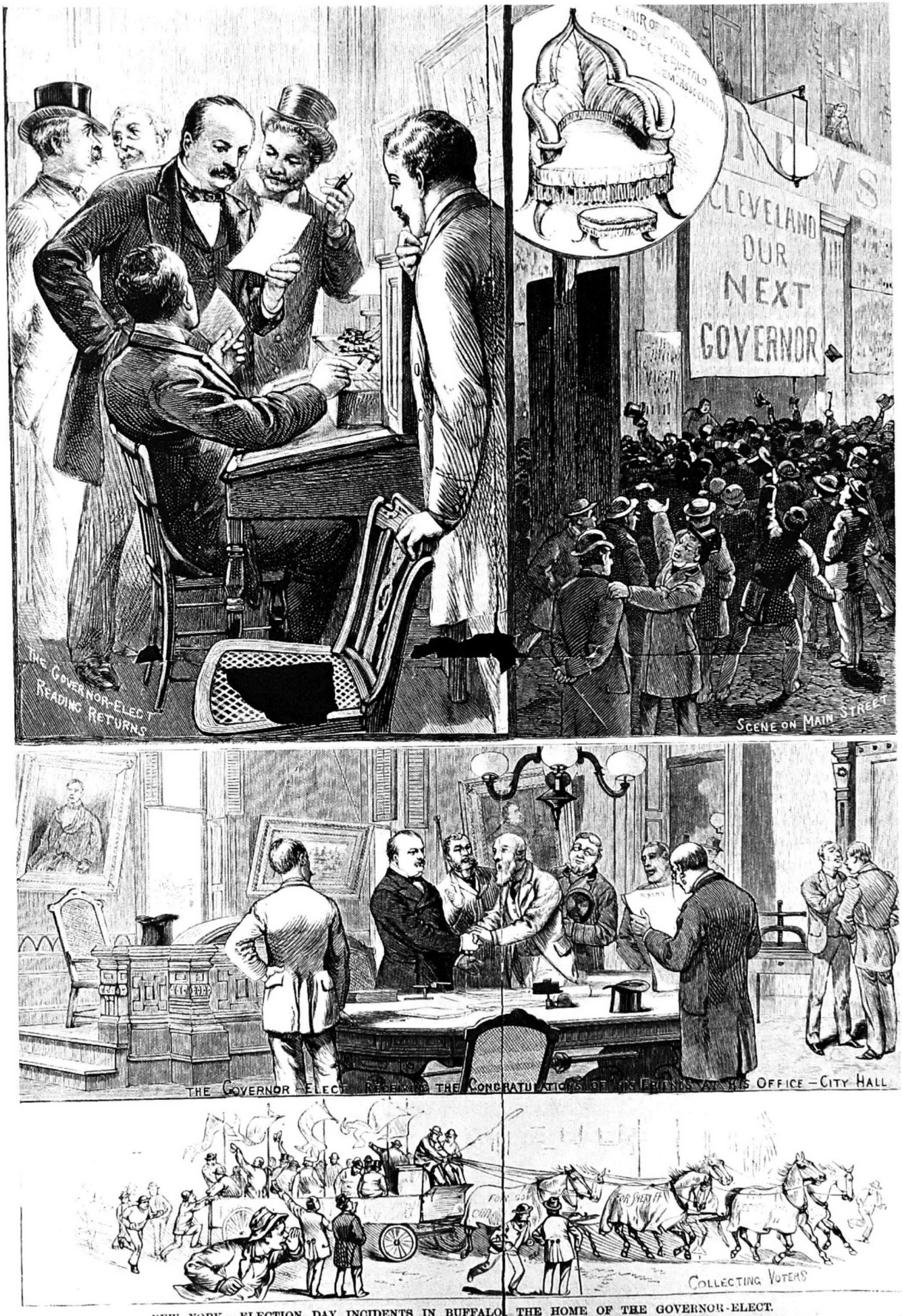

NEW YORK.—ELECTION DAY INCIDENTS IN BUFFALO, THE HOME OF THE GOVERNOR-ELECT.

From Sketches by C. Upham.—See Page 199.

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the Common Council 13 to 12, with one Independent elected, but the Independent Republicans joined the Democrats to give Cleveland a working majority. Before they were inaugurated a chastened Republican Mayor had removed the accused Street Commissioner.

What Grover Cleveland did as Mayor of Buffalo is a very well known story. What may be missed even by the most admiring reader is that he was not a "reformer" but a practical politician of real ability showing how the job can be done. Too much has been made of the fact of his numerous vetoes of the acts of the Common Council and not enough of his reasons in each case. The Council was as devoted as he to the ideal of honest administration, they had organized with the viewpoint of the Independents in mind, but they kept sending to the Mayor bills for his signature that denied the most basic commonsense. When they got them back with simple and plain messages as to their undesirability they reversed themselves with ludicrous haste and suspiciously large majorities. Some of his own idealist group among the councilmen would then add lachrymose confessions as to the enormity of their mistakes. Evidently they had made little effort to comprehend their own actions to begin with. Few of these officials were able to penetrate the meaning of their own actions, particularly when they were convinced that their intentions were so very well meant. As the working member of the law firms he joined, Cleveland could relate his acts to reality and so suffered little from the normal human inability to detect villainy in itself.

Buffalo was not to profit long from a politician who understood what could be done and knew how to do it. Men of this quality are a scarce article and Cleveland had left for Albany and the governorship before the end of his first year as major. At the end of his two-year term he was in Washington to take up his first term as President, but he remained a pervasive political influence in Erie County by running again for the Presidency in 1888, when he lost in the Electoral College despite gaining a popular majority, and in 1892, when he won his second term. As late as 1904 he affected the fortunes of one of his Buffalo Democratic colleagues by sitting quietly when he was boomed for a third term. The nomination finally went to Alton B. Parker, chief judge of the state Court of Appeals and law partner of none other than William F. "Blue-eyed Billy" Sheehan, brother of and successor of John C. Sheehan as Boss of the old First Ward of Buffalo.

Cleveland must by then have thought that he was never to get away very far from Buffalo although he never returned to reside or practice law here. Conditions here seem to have produced capable politicans of highly exportable quality, perhaps because, as some observed, the complexities of the party system were worse here. Cleveland's election as mayor set off a determined effort to eliminate the worst of party abuses and for over a decade the "Cleveland Democracy" as a branch of the party remained a factor in this struggle. The abuses chiefly blamed were the excessive number of caucuses and conventions and the speed with which they were called. The consequences were frequently reported, and they make good reading. The *Express* described doings in the First Ward in 1883 because Jack White was giving too good a demonstration to be ignored. The Republican caucus to elect delegates to the Assembly District Convention was called in Riter's boiler shop. The Chairman of the Ward Committee could find only two who were qualified to attend, he locked out the anti-White faction so they could elect no tellers. In the primary voting that followed at 5 p.m. White won 222-17. A month later another caucus threw out the opposition — the saloon in which they met was no doubt provided with bouncers — and the Whites won, Jack White later reporting that it was the greatest difficulty that certain intruders were prevented from "snapping" the caucus. ("Snapping" was a word used for such tactics by John O'Brian, a Jack White lieutenant.) A police officer with amusement told a reporter that he had seen repeat voting by the virtuous White followers.

State law was invoked, but the resulting measure to control caucuses was hardly more than a stronger penalty on false swearing. The Republican party was more alert to the need for open management of its affairs, perhaps because of its determination at all times to avoid any resemblance to Tammany Hall, and in 1883 its State Central Committee altered its rules to open all caucuses, the rule being that those who voted for the previous presidential nominee were entitled to admission. This might have been a belated reform by the state machine, which was also the State General Committee, for the next day the Independent Republicans defeated the machine in the State Convention.

Sherman S. Rogers and J. H. Larned of Buffalo attracted statewide notice by their lucid advocacy of primary voting under governmental control, but while approving their object and taking pride in their leadership, the *Express* declared that the parties should themselves do the work of reform by limiting the number of caucuses, providing for the election of alternate delegates to stop the abuses of substitution, setting primaries on the same date, voting from poll lists, and regulating the places of voting. Buffalo and Erie County responded without too much delay, the Republicans in 1886 and the Democrats in 1891. In both cases need for the kind of organization that would assure voters of their influence in party matters was a goad to action. The Democrats waited until they

had real necessity pressing them, for the new city charter inaugurated in 1891 forced the parties to amend their regulations.

The Republicans moved quickly and efficiently in 1886 to improve their arrangements. They had been doing reasonably well in the all-important matter of winning elections, but they were far from maintaining their former predominant control of city and county governments. The Democrat Scoville had been elected Mayor in 1883 and the election of Cleveland as President in 1884 (with the Sheehan machine against him locally the Democrats had only a standoff in City and County elections) was an extra challenge. In 1885 the Common Council again went Democratic, but not before the Republican City and County Conventions referred the problem of party organization to a joint committee of nine, the City Convention giving it the power to act. The result was unquestionably a benefit to popular government. Caucuses were reduced to four per campaign, a single body called the General Committee controlled party operations. It administered campaigns through an executive committee of seven with a salaried secretary. In the final caucus of the year, which chose delegates (from voting districts, no longer wards) to the General Committee, and caucus inspectors, the voters enjoyed greater weight in given districts which voted strongly for the party. The only exception to the principle of equitable representation that had to be conceded was that the towns had extra weight given them so that they would still control the party, as they controlled the committee that devised this scheme.

The improvement was apparently nevertheless cheering to the Republican rank and file and for four years they had an edge over their rivals, including two sweeps of city offices. But the Democrats doggedly held on, and the great Democratic year of 1890 (created by strictly national blunders on the part of the Republican administration of Harrison) put them firmly in control of Council and County Board.

These elections revealed the new Republican machine to be less than perfect. Some conventions were called to order with no representatives at all from some districts. No real curb on well organized personal machines like Jack White's had been devised, but occasional reports showed that the system on occasion worked in cases of gross distortion of voters' preferences; returns from dishonest caucuses were disregarded and new ones were called by the General Committee. In many cases clear majorities did operate without impediments.

The Democrat leaders viewed the matter of reorganization with indifference if not hostility. The *Courier* persistently advocated a change toward the Republican model beginning in 1886, but the best it could achieve was the enlistment of a few loyal Democrats and the passing of motions to set up a committee. The Conventions requested action from the Chairman and the State Committeemen but were ignored. The key to this situation is the *modus operandi* of the Sheehan machine. Neither John C. nor William F. Sheehan was at all impressed by abstract consideration such as democracy. They did understand how to organize a party and how to whip it up to win elections, their amazing capacity for practical politics placing them in the front ranks of the profession.

The popular understanding of the brothers is impressive even as it filtered down to their obituaries in the Buffalo papers. John C. Sheehan was born 1848 on Prospect Avenue in the old First Ward, son of an Irish immigrant. After School #1 he went to St. Joseph's College and the Bryant & Stratton business school. He worked on a railroad as dispatcher and as foreman of its marble dock, losing a leg in an accident on the latter. He read law, was admitted to the bar in 1878, and in the same year was elected City Comptroller. His brush with Cleveland in 1881 showed him to be master of the Democratic organization, probably as successor to the *Courier* group, and his deference to Cleveland left him in a position stronger than ever in the party. He formed a law partnership and continued to rule, but in 1886 went to New York City and rose rapidly as a lawyer, businessman, and Tammany Hall leader. He was leader of Tammany for a time but in 1902 ended his political career by supporting Seth Low's independent candidacy for mayor. His power was consistently used to oppose Cleveland's nominations for Governor and President, although he also claimed, according to obituary accounts, that Cleveland had offered him a federal post which he declined.

John C.'s departure in 1886 may have been planned to give his brother, William F., who was eleven years younger, adequate room for his own career. William entered a law firm in 1883, went to the state legislature as Assemblyman in 1884, rose to be Speaker in five years, and to Lieutenant-Governor in nine. He was State Committeeman for several years and of course took over the Erie County Democratic organization when brother John left. He left no doubt at any time as to who was boss and his adoring followers referred to him sentimentally as "Blue-eyed "Billy" with no evil consequences in a day when Boss Croker of Tammany publicly flew into a towering rage when accused of appearing on a golf course in short pants. His obituary recounts, still in the sentimental vein of an earlier day, that William left Buffalo in 1895 a poor man and made his fortune in New York. One last effort in politics brought him to the notice of a new state Senator looking for a fine fight. Sheehan was put up for United States Senator in 1911 and in the Legislature that was to make the choice, Franklin D. Roosevelt, a very young State Senator, brought

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himself into public notice by organizing an unbeatable opposition to Sheehan. After many weeks Tammany gave up and chose another.

Management by such men as the Sheehans would trouble the opposition at any time, and leave doubters within their own party uncertain as to how and when to attack. Many hints have been given that the Sheehans were unscrupulous and self-serving but there is no evidence of this. Battling for votes in the ruck of caucuses led to many instances of illegal behavior but usually managed in a way to leave opponents looking clumsy and absurd so that appeal to authority would only heighten the humiliation of having been beaten by a trick. This lack of respect for an opponent and a cheerful employment of bigotry are black marks on their records, but it must be remembered that the standards of the day hardly condemned those things. In any case the party was led well enough to excel many of the Republican organization's nominees, even in the eyes of the independent *Express*. In 1889 it approved two Democratic candidates, for Mayor and Treasurer, because they were distinguished men while their opponents were merely pleasant party workers.

Competition for control of parties is of course incessant, and it was the Cleveland Democracy that found itself unable to accept domination by opponents of Cleveland. This was the group known as the Cleveland Democracy. It had comfortable clubrooms and its members themselves tended toward the comfortable and imposing. Cleveland's friend and partner, W. S. Bissell, was among the leaders, but among the members, presumably looking as imposing as any, was W. F. Sheehan. In 1888 the Cleveland Democracy appointed a committee of fifteen to move speedily in the matter of reorganizing the party. The club itself did its part by reducing its own membership fee of $1 per year from the $5 its 200 members had been paying. Their point was plain: more people should participate. One young rising party worker, John W. Fisher, who has been credited with electing two mayors, declared that while the central party committee did good work, it was always two or three men who performed it. Others of the committee had been working for several years to reorganize, but were blocked by the City Convention. The Second Assembly District Convention also submitted proposals for reform; all died quietly in the hands of a committee appointed by the chairman of the county convention.

With the adoption of a new city charter the evil day of reform could be postponed no longer and Sheehan agreed to a special meeting in July 1891, that would settle the matter. He also seems to have had in mind a whole course of action that would carry all to suit himself as nearly as the law would allow and at the same time humiliate his party opponents completely. All was successful. John C. Sheehan gave out a press statement from New York saying that his spies in the Buffalo Club reported Bissell as declaring that he meant to get the Irish Catholics out of the party. Bissell had to deny this, making things that much worse, although no one entirely in his right mind would have believed John's statement, a transparent maneuver to rouse the Fighting Irish for another battle. The next step was the rigging of the meeting to prevent speaking and assure Sheehan's men of their right to vote repeatedly if they served on more than one of the committees present. Bissell had to give up his confrontation of William Sheehan, and leave the committees to proceed when disorder prevented all discussion. Having the votes, the Sheehan forces adopted the plan of re-

Delegates to the State Convention at Saratoga, 1895

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form that they had agreed upon, their opponents surrendering any attempt to present arguments when a violent demonstration in the lobby went from shouts and door-pounding to smashing the door in. They fled at this point through a side door which "Blue-eyed Billy"—"the young war lord" as the Republicans called him — had thoughtfully left unlocked. The plan of reform agreed to in so disgraceful a fashion did abolish appointment of the County Committee but retained appointment of ward caucus officers, so that the real basis of boss rule was untouched.

The next step was to win the election even though the Cleveland Democracy, which claimed to have a majority of the party on its side, a bit sore over their treatment in July, was not inclined to help. The *Courier* acnowledged that there were some bad feelings but claimed that most of the Cleveland Democracy had worked loyally for the party — the evidence was a bit vague — while confessing that the evidence showed that Sheehan had lost votes. But he was satisfied to retain bare control of the Common Council and Board of Supervisors while administering a sound lesson to his opponents. He also won the elections for five of six city officers on the ballot.

No further demonstration should have been necessary to establish a degree of pugnacity in William Sheehan to rank him with the finest of democratic (or Democratic) politicians, but he gave another for good measure. He wiped out his opponents of the Cleveland Democracy in the party contests when in December 1891 the new rules for the election of district officials went into effect. Sheehan repeated the tactics used in the November election, where his forces rejected the Cleveland Democracy's nominees for poll-watchers and appointed their own. The tellers in the party caucuses had been appointed at the County Convention, and wherever these proved to have Cleveland loyalties they were excluded by Sheehan men who set their watches ahead and organized the polls with substitutes chosen by themselves. They won almost every contest, and the humiliation of the beating thus unscrupulously inflicted they compounded by challenging and excluding the votes of W. S. Bissell and several other Cleveland Democracy leaders. The *Courier* piously regretted any irregularity and hoped violators would be prosecuted — *no matter on which side.* The laughter from the Republican side was even less covert. The *Commercial* enjoyed seeing the Cleveland Democracy lose, but declared with amused hypocrisy that the illegal challenges were unwise and impolitic, adding that still they *were* amusing. Having read how senselessly Sheehan behaved in his power one almost rejoices to think that in his old age he was subjected in turn to unreasoning truculence in his beating by Franklin Roosevelt. But in neither case should there be criticism, for unless a man learns to win electoral contests he can be of little public service, and by these mindless brutalities the trick is learned.

The fortunes of "Blue-eyed Billy" flourished as the green bay tree under the new charter of 1891. By the end of 1893 the *Courier* (still Democratic, and ever Democratic) resignedly conceded the point. The Ring was in control and Sheehan was the Boss. Even the Panic and Depression of 1893, suffered by the second Cleveland administration soon after his inaugural and the cause of great Republican victories, failed to shake his grip. The *Courier* hopefully referred to losses as a "blow to bossism" but the machine still held control of the Common Council and had half of the Board of Supervisors. Repeated Republican victories in the following years finally gave them control, and Sheehan joined his brother in New York to seek his fortune. But in 1897 John Fisher was again showing the party how to elect good Democrats, his

Conrad Diehl

man, Dr. Conrad Diehl, was Mayor while Council and Supervisors were again Democrat. On the morrow of this victory "Blue-eyed Billy" found business to do in Buffalo. After consideration the *Courier* despondently acknowledged that only Diehl among the victorious Democratic candidates was unattached to the old machine.

Little was heard of other factions. In 1893 the Cleveland Democracy were just hanging on, but they lost every district but one in the Eighth Ward, and some of Cleveland's oldest friends were joining Sheehan. Since Cleveland was in his final term his influence was beginning to wane, and Sheehan had recently demonstrated what he could do by punishing Mayor Bishop — Fisher's first successful candidate — for refusing to appoint a Republican nominated by Sheehan, by removing his power to appoint the Commissioners of Police. As Speaker he got what he wanted from the Legislature. There seemed no course but to join his faction.

The normal swings of votes from one party to the other of course made no real difference in Buffalo's governmental situation. That the parties were evenly balanced is plain enough, and the conservative management of their leaders would keep them that way because neither

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side wanted to get far from the voter who was poised between the two, ready to switch under serious provocation. The extremists in each party are normally neglected, for where can they go? They may switch to a more radical or more conservative party for a year or two, but they are soon tired of losing — all America loves a winner — and come back to the fold. The job of the party manager, the "Boss" when he becomes so competent that he cannot be dispensed with, is to keep the organization at top efficiency so that under all conditions the party does as well as can be asked. None of the sophisticated members of the Democratic party would seriously have blamed Sheehan for the severe and continued beatings they had to absorb in the depression of 1893-97. It was just bad luck that Cleveland was inaugurated at the moment that the economic storm began and the public with its customary illogic, blamed his party. The national party had nothing to do, in theory, with the operation of the county and city, but the elections were party affairs, so frustration felt in the nation turned to rage in the municipality. Although ballot reform was gradually making it possible to separate the two somewhat, party managers always liked the straight ticket and the voters' unbroken loyalty.

It may have been the long deprivation of the nineties that encouraged William F. Sheehan to go to New York, but he was back to see to his interests the instant the drought was broken. In the 1897 election the local party recovered its position and even set some new records for dominance. The Bryan campaign of 1896 was over and its divisiveness was being forgotten — "Blue-eyed Billy" himself had bolted the party to favor McKinley and "sound" money — and all attention was given to restoring party strength. First the distribution of the spoils had to be arranged so there would be a minimum of friction. The Tammany method was quickly adopted, which meant that elected city and county officers would appoint their subordinates from applications approved by the party organization. This was said to be the proposal of an aspiring "boss" and the *Courier* encouraged the new Mayor, Dr. Diehl, and his manager, J. W. Fisher, to resist ". . . the dictation of a gang of crooks and nincompoops who wouldn't have dared to go on the ticket themselves." Norman E. Mack was the sinister figure referred to, but he and Sheehan conferred on several occasions and suddenly all of the dark plots were resolved by a reasonable show of party harmony which brought the election of Frank L. Bapst (who belongs to the sewer and asphalt ring, said the editor) as County Chairman, and permitted other minor victories for the Mayor and his manager. Then the reason for the *Courier's* sudden burst of interest in Democratic party direction became clear. The *Courier* had been purchased by William J. Conners and he wanted to be dealt into the game. Mack's *Times* meanwhile merely congratulated all Democrats upon every occasion while uniformly denouncing the corruption rampant in the Republican party.

Fred Greiner

But the jobs to be given in 1897 to the faithful party workers were no doubt carefully distributed to accomplish the most good. It was no different when the Republicans had their turn. In 1901 they elected a Corporation Counsel who went about appointments the wrong way. *He* brought *his* list to State Committeeman W. C. Warren and County Chairman Fred Greiner and was rewarded with angry denunciations from both, in addition to plain declarations as to the consideration the party expected, which seemed to be the Tammany standard too. He thought his preliminary list fulfilled such expectations, and both sides felt a little bruised by the contact. In his mischievous way Conners contributed certainty to the general assumptions that bargains were a part of political maneuvers. When the *News* in 1903 complained that the Mayor was being pressured to make a certain appointment the irrepressible *Courier* remarked, "It is unkind of the *News* to accuse its party machine of 'hounding' the Mayor when it simply asks him to fulfill his part of the deal by which he secured his nomination."

This sort of excessive candor on the part of Conners advanced his cause very slowly indeed. He even set up another paper, the *Buffalo Enquirer,* and this one printed an absurd charge against Norman Mack accusing him of having stolen $40,000 from the Democratic party. The feeble evidence Conners possessed was immediately brushed aside, but the *Courier* also printed the story and Mack swore out a warrant on a charge of criminal libel. Conners parried this with the remark that Mack had succumbed to his "paretic intelligence." But once Conners set his pugnacity and his wealth at serious party efforts he did go quickly to the top. His successful efforts to get William Randolph Hearst nominated

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for the governorship in 1906 placed him in the state chairmanship.

In the fall of 1898 the first primaries were held under the new law. The results contained no surprises, for the organization won the Democratic contests, and there was some satisfaction in the greatly increased voting in the completely changed environment, for the polls were quiet and orderly. The *Courier* virtuously advocated extending the law to smaller places and rural areas, where, it said, caucuses were quite as corrupt as in the cities. Enrollment revealed the relative strength of the two parties: 23,340 Democrats and 22,967 Republicans registered, an estimated 15,000 or 16,000 other voters refused to do so, and there were a few Populists, Socialists, and Prohibitionists. The vote for the Governor had been 29,277 to 22,967.

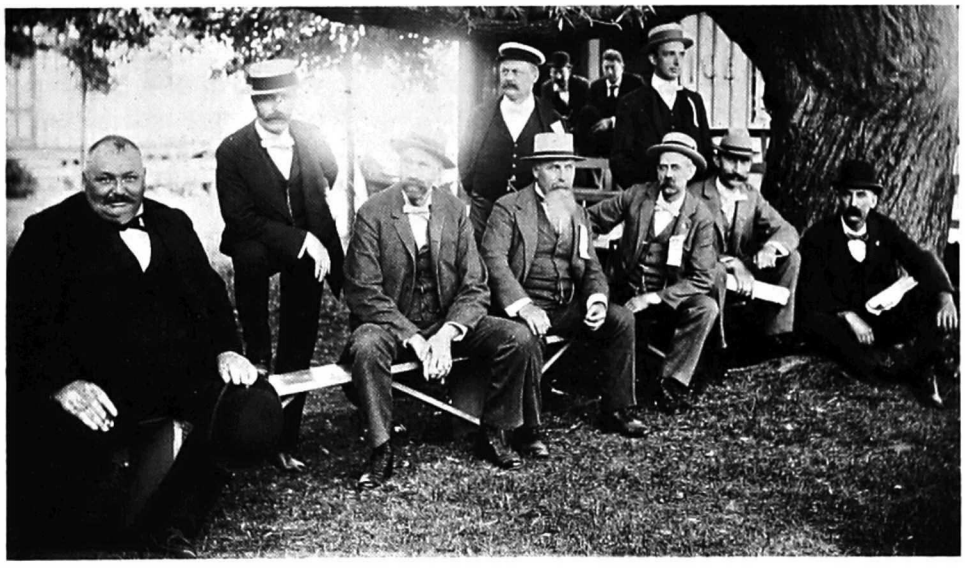
Party management became more difficult in consequence of these regulations, but both parties were equally affected, although the greater difficulty the Democrats have consistently had in raising funds perhaps made the civil service reforms bear harder on them. The central managing committees of both parties were also pressed to reform. The Democrats responded quickly to new hints by agreeing to elect the Executive Committee instead of allowing the Chairman of the General Committee to appoint it. This was done in 1899 on nothing more than the suggestion of the Chairman, Frank L. Bapst, each Assembly District delegation choosing two Committee members during a general meeting. The Republicans two years later provided that the General Committee itself be elected by popular vote. The Democratic General Committee was first popularly elected at the September primaries of 1903, in the midst of a sharp battle for control in which Conners began to gain on the older faction dominated by Mack.

The Democratic county arrangements had begun to look stable when John Cunneen defeated John Fisher for the chairmanship in 1901, Frank Bapst having retired. Cunneen was also a Mack follower and he had won only after a long struggle in which William Sheehan had coached the opposition. Conners and his *Courier* took a lone hand in the campaign that year, opposing everyone indiscriminately who favored a franchise for the Bell Telephone Company. Efforts of the party organization to nominate candidates favoring this were generously reported, the *Courier* declaring that many Democratic conventions were held in local headquarters, where heavy pressure could be applied. Conners proposed to drive the crooks from the party and was gleeful at the many Republican victories. Cunneen used the two years of his chairmanship to put the party affairs right, employing committees freely (his opponents declaring they never acted), and making the party secretary a permanent official rather than employing one during the campaign season. These efforts, important in party development, were little regarded when the question came up in 1903 as to who the boss was to be.

Usually such a change was accomplished only in a fight for votes, but Cunneen had been elected State Attorney-General and the manager of the generally successful 1902 campaign had been William H. Fitzpatrick, an ally of Conners; who was to be important in the party for thirty years. As a successful business man without ambitions for office he combined no aspirants against him, and in the 1903 Democratic General Committee meeting no one took the field against him. Upon John Fisher's refusal to consider the position no seasoned campaigner was available, Fisher was given a few complimentary votes, and Fitzpatrick began to face the music. He performed a virtuoso task in acknowledging and promising fair treatment of a number of party problems, speaking moderately and publicly — an exceptional circumstance — directly to the complainers in the Committee. His coolness made him appear very strong indeed, and to make sure that everyone appreciated his capacity, Fitzpatrick undertook two more years of service. In 1904 it was still clear that he was caught in the center of the Mack-Conners rivalry but in 1905 he was master. During the 1904 party primaries he was not much attacked and in the organizing meeting of January 1905 he didn't even appear but left the matter to his lieutenants. It was evident that he couldn't have been beaten, and all factions were praising his skills.

To arrive at this point had taken more than a little craftsmanship. He

Republican outing at Bedell House, Grand Island, 1898



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had been given a very bad time in the County Convention in 1903, his opponents in the party making it all but impossible to arrange a ticket, using false candidacies and other devices until Fitzpatrick fell into a rage. Even such men as J. N. Adam played this game with him although he was finally to run, and later was the party's successful candidate for mayor. Further explanations in the Republican *Commercial* soon made all clear. This was simply Conners' initiation into political realities. Whether he had actually spoken as he was reported or not, he was publicly given a roasting over a very hot fire of ridicule for proclaiming that he was boss of Erie County and what he wanted would be done. The *Express* at this point remarked that his approval was enough to defeat any candidate. Details of Conners' offensive and ridiculous speech were reported in loving detail during much of the campaign, which went decisively against the Democrats. It is no wonder that Fitzpatrick insisted on his chance to win his victory. From this victimization for the faults of another he went to a very decisive win in 1905, including the election of J. N. Adam as Mayor. Adam this time was not coy about seizing his opportunity, for a very heavy Democratic vote was promised and delivered as a result of Fitzpatrick's work.

Fitzpatrick had also put his back into a number of contests within Buffalo wards that were pivotal in the 1904 presidential campaign, illustrating the essentially localistic nature of American politics. The issue there was the choice between Alton B. Parker or William Randolph Hearst for the presidency. "Blue-eyed Billy" was back in Buffalo on behalf of his law partner, Parker, and was given a severe tussle by Fitzpatrick on behalf of Conners and Hearst. The maneuvers in certain Buffalo wards were worthy of a national campaign. Conners was beaten, or Parker was preferred, or Sheehan won another of his miraculous victories—the papers claimed all three, and perhaps more. However it was, the important Erie County delegation went to the state convention unanimous for Parker because Conners and Fitzpatrick could not salvage enough votes to prevent the Assembly District convention from entering the "unanimous" declaration. If the voters of Buffalo had wondered about their importance previous to this they should have been convinced.

As he would continue to do for many more years, Fitzpatrick made a return to the Chairmanship in 1908 to relieve his successor, E. E. Coatsworth. Only a single vote was cast against him in spite of the Republicans' having just won a signal victory over his campaign management. He wiped out party debts with Conners' help, and won the right to appoint the party secretary. In 1908 the Republican vote on the state ticket suffered a sudden drop and the Democrats elected their candidate for Sheriff, indicating a return of party health.

Parallel to the career of W. H. Fitzpatrick in the development of professional party management was that of Fred Greiner, and both will be met with many times in this story. Greiner tended to work out of sight and with the smallest minimum of public appearance or statement although Fitzpatrick was close to him in quiet industry. Greiner was on the Republican party's Executive Committee in the nineties and reluctantly took over the chairmanship in 1901 on the retirement of H. J. Kreinheder to become Deputy Excise Commissioner. Greiner managed the campaign that fall with conspicuous ability and immediately retired to become Postmaster of Buffalo. C. H. Timerman, a lawyer, succeeded him. Nothing more was heard of Greiner in the press except for social notes such as his return from Washington where he called on President Roosevelt. All seemed quiet within the party, no changes of routine, occasional brisk contests for membership on the General Committee and some flashes of irritation over appointments, when suddenly early in 1906 the newspapers burst forth with the story that Greiner and a number of others had been indicted for bribery in connection with the sale of the old North Street cemetery in 1900 and 1901, in which Greiner had been the attorney for the cemetery association. The statute of limitation was about to end the possibility of prosecution for such an offense so the District Attorney had hurried the evidence before the Grand Jury and procured the indictment. Greiner immediately attacked the indictment with a demand that his attorneys be allowed to inspect the minutes of the Jury, alleging that interviews with the witnesses had exposed the cogent fact that none had testified to anything incriminating Greiner. In less than a month the indictment had been shown in hearings to have been in truth without legal foundation, the indictment against him was dismissed, and the matter outlawed as it affected him. Some of those accused were later convicted.

That the person responsible for this unwarranted attack was a rival for power in the Republican party may be inferred from the sequel. Greiner immediately sought and obtained control by electing his friends, while leaving Timerman as Chairman. From this time to his death in 1922 no one had any doubt as to the center of control for the party in Erie County, and the challenges to him were serious and well directed but never close to success. The harshness of his discipline occasionally amazed his followers but the continuous and evident efficiency of party headquarters made him all but impregnable.

For many years the two parties were led by Greiner and Fitzpatrick both honorably and capably, the by-passing of their leadership under Commission government becoming one of the great ironies of Erie

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County history. The differences in principle between the two were small, and there is every indication that their agreement extended as far as consultations to make sure that capable nominees were offered to the voters in every election. Fitzpatrick hardly matched Greiner's rigid discipline within the party, the evidence indicating that the Democrats resisted discipline even in the hands of a master. But he continued to exert his influence as best he could until in 1924 the death of a daughter robbed him of interest in public life for a time. He did resume his usual efforts to campaign for the mayoral candidacy of Charles Diebold, Jr. in 1928 and continued party work until his death about four years later.

Both of these men were plainly superior minds — Greiner was the confidante of Theodore Roosevelt and Elihu Root, both of whom took his advice more willingly than even his friendly local followers, and Fitzpatrick was a builder who operated with great success amid the intricacies of urban development. Neither accepted elective office, for that would be putting themselves in competition with the people they proposed to rule, although Greiner did accept the Buffalo postmastership appointment in 1901 since that would relieve him of pressure to make his law practice furnish him a living while subject to constant demands on his time for political activities: one can imagine the President insisting on his taking the office so that he would be available for party purposes. In neither case was there any serious belief among their intimates — e v e n those who would judge harshly and implacably — that either man was capable of taking money except for services openly and honestly rendered in business or profession. Finally, both Greiner and Fitzpatrick were men of their word.

It is easily seen that these two were formidable opponents to anyone who craved political power in Erie County, and that is what the reformers wanted even though they would not like the matter so stated. They wanted it only temporarily, perhaps, and only enough of it to set things right — after which presumably under one of their new charters all would automatically go right. This view of them is borrowing something of the cynical realism of the "bosses" — neither Greiner nor Fitzpatrick denied being a boss and both were amused that the term was applied to themselves. It begins to appear that some sort of compromise should have been possible between them and the reformers but events invariably proved the contrary. Political power to the bosses was a simple fact; it existed, it was to be used in the conduct of affairs to provide good service to citizens. Ideal or abstract considerations were of no interest to them. Government might be better, or it might be converted to the pursuit of noble objects, it could even become the object of patriotic adoration: Fred Greiner and William Fitzpatrick hadn't the least interest in any such possibility. What each wanted was to see that honest and capable men were chosen, and elected every time, and by his own party. In the course of time he would win all the elections and come to have the confidence of state and national leaders, and to a man devoted to attainment of power nothing was sweeter than to be the confidante of presidents. This Greiner achieved, Fitzpatrick encountering formidable opposition from other ambitious and capable local leaders and suffering the disabilities heaped upon local machines from having Woodrow Wilson as national leader, who as a political practitioner proved little better than other reformers.

After it had been decided in 1914 that Commission government was to rule, the participation of parties in municipal affairs no doubt slackened for a time, but it is impossible to imagine that party organizations ever became even mildly indifferent to the ebb and flow of interest and the efforts of officeholders and election workers. The party leader had to win elections or he was soon a forgotten has-been, and he was kept up to fighting pitch by unremitting efforts of friends and rivals to supplant him at the head of the regional organization so that they might enjoy the sweetness of power and prestige. Fred Greiner had had a particularly difficult task to restore the power of the Republican organization following the national Progressive Party split of 1912. It was 1915 before Chauncey Hamlin, the upstate Progressive leader, formally returned to the Party with defiant declarations that his followers would still be effective by forcing the boss to accept worthy candidates. In the meantime James L. Crane had organized a large committee that proposed to act within the party to restore the confidence that it had lost because, he said, Greiner had followed selfish interests; the boss and his followers had done nothing but maintain their hold on the organization and so had lost the city elections and allowed Buffalo to become firmly Democratic. This dissident group, ignored by Greiner, organized the Primary Committee to wrest the control of the party from Greiner by entering opposition candidates for committee membership in the new party primary elections. Beginning in 1914 the Primary Committee fought in these and in the meetings of the County Committee for two years to the accompaniment of the cheers of the editorial page of the *News,* which insisted at every point that final defeat of the wicked bosses was at hand. But Greiner won all the contests even though, as the *News* contemptuously but irrelevantly declared, he and his friends had never won any elective office for themselves. By the beginning of 1916 it was plain that Greiner was immovable and the party could settle down to the chief business: the presidential election.

In the meantime it had to be decided what was to be done with the

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LOOK AT THIS. AND THEY SAY WHISKERS ARE TO BE THE REAL THING AGAIN

THE GOOD OLD STYLE FOR MINE - NONE OF THEM THINGS LIKE THE KING WEARS -
REAL POINT LACE
WM J. CONNERS WOULD REVERT TO THE TRUE TYPE NO DOUBT -
DR. FRONCZAK WOULD PROBABLY HAVE A NEW EGG PROBLEM TO SOLVE -
THEY ALWAYS GET IN THESE WHISKERS -
INSPECTED
ALDERMAN HAFFA - WITH SIDE CURTAINS -
THE UTTER PERVERSITY OF NATURE. LOOK AT THAT DOME AN THEN AT THAT MUG -
NOTHING DOING -
JOHN P. SULLIVAN -
DIGNIFIED
FRANKLIN D LOCKE
YOU OUGHT TO GET PEEK AT W.J.C. THESE DAYS - HAW. HAW. HAW -
THESE WOULD HELP TO HEIGHTEN THE EFFECT OF W.H. FITZPATRICK'S SMILE THESE DAYS -
WINGS FOR GEORGE URBAN - POULTRYMAN -
TIMES
NORMAN E MACK -
GLASS
HEY, QUICK. SHAVE OFF THESE WHISKERS - EVERYBODY IS RAISING THEM - THEY'RE BEASTLY COMMON -
LOUIS LAMAN
WRIGHT
WHEN EVERYONE ELSE RAISES WHISKERS -
DRAWN FOR THE BUFFALO REPUBLIC BY E. R. BARNEY

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curious polling for members of the new Council under the Commission Charter beginning in 1915. It was the normal behavior of the bosses not to disclose what they were doing, but in this case Fitzpatrick openly declared that the intent of the charter was clearly to exclude partisanship and that he was content to bow to its command. He noted the difficulty of mounting party campaigns since the candidates offered themselves as a group rather than in opposed pairs. Other party leaders expressed agreement, although Greiner clung to his unvarying habit of silence, and it was generally agreed at the time that organizations were little employed in this and later elections although politicians could hardly be restrained from working for their friends. This is a fine line and the observance of it is a matter of conjecture. The *News* rejected the neutral declarations as mere covers for plots within both parties to control the Council. The *Express,* which was regular Republican, believed in the good faith of the leaders and complimented them.

The election did prove to be relatively quiet and simple. There were over forty candidates initially and these were reduced to eight in the primary voting. Of the victors, from whom four were to be elected, three were of the ticket of four endorsed by the *News* and the Municipal League. Another was Senator J. F. Malone, who had guided the charter through the Legislature and who was Fitzpatrick's friend. Another who looked promising as a candidate was Colonel Ward, who had his own Republican machine and was correspondingly respected, the *News* and the *Express* condemning him and all of his too expensive public works quite unsparingly. It did not really signify a decay of party machines that Ward lost, for Malone won in spite of being generously identified by Republican ill-wishers as one of the Democratic machine. The other victorious three were the independents, Hill and Kreinheder, and one who seemed later to be susceptible to Fitzpatrick pressures, Heald. The newspapers took malign pleasure in the defeats suffered by politicians. But the only real bitterness arose during the campaigns when the Commission Government Association attacked primary candidate F. C. Bagley for not returning some very useful mailing lists to the Association. Bagley repelled the accusation by showing that the lists belonged to the Commission Charter Campaign Commission, which he had efficiently headed, but he lost in the polling and only joined the Council in 1918 by special election.

In 1917 interest perked up, for the Mayor was to be elected. Fuhrmann had completed his term and again entered the race, probably with his Democratic attachments providing him little help. Fitzpatrick had been talking of retiring from active politics, the Republican papers were hopefully printing rumors that he was even dropping Malone, who had been pretty plainly building his own machine, and Fuhrmann had in any case very often been at odds with Fitzpatrick in the past. Councilman Hill was offered help by the Republican party, according to later reports, but declined in favor of appointment to State office. The Republican County Committee's chairman, Dr. C. E. Wettlaufer, openly favored J. Fred Zeller, but when George S. Buck announced his candidacy both the City and County Committees promptly endorsed him. He had given distinguished service as Supervisor and as County Auditor, but had suffered defeat for reelection by a small margin. The *News* editorialist approved Buck while expressing regret that the party had intervened. Buck showed only moderate strength in the primary voting but went in by a large majority in the election, Malone also winning but only just surviving a Republican landslide as the party entered a most prosperous period with Greiner's leadership triumphantly establishing itself while the Democrats faded with the shrinking of President Wilson's prestige.

Thereafter a new type of politics came into being to wrest the direction of affairs from the parties and from such bodies as the Chamber of Commerce and the Municipal League. It need not have been so had party control been encouraged by the Charter, for Fitzpatrick continued for several years more to give responsible leadership to the Democrats, and himself served most willingly and capably on the Grade Crossing and Terminal Commission, climaxing his service by persuading the New York Central Railroad to build its great Curtiss Street station. Greiner at the head of the Republicans maintained his position and ended by nearly sweeping the elections of 1918 and after for his party, and if he did not always have his way in the choice of candidates no one who crossed him escaped without a severe reminder about party discipline. The solidity of his position may be judged by the compliments heaped upon him by no less a person than his rival of many campaigns, William H. Fitzpatrick. Speaking on the occasion of resuming his chairmanship in 1920, Fitzpatrick remarked that he had known Greiner for 35 years and had always found his word to be good, which was one of the reasons he was successful in his party's primaries. He further remarked that his current opposition in the Republican party, the Lincoln Club, employed despicable methods. As to city politics in general he concluded that the two parties and the Chamber of Commerce could be relied on to work for the city, and that the city would also be better off to have a Mayor with veto power over the Council rather than the five little mayors that now constituted it. His "five little mayors" phrase was to become the slogan of the opposition to the commission charter, which was beginning to make headway toward a resumption of party responsibility.

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V. Three Attempts at a City Charter

The management of municipal affairs is an extremely complex procedure in a large New York State city like Buffalo. In looking at it the observer must remember at all times that the City of Buffalo is actually a creature of the State of New York. All of its powers derive from statutes that prescribe those powers most precisely. Any new function, however minute, must wait until the Legislature changes the relevant law to grant the needed authority. As a result great demand has periodically been excited among the voters to procure a new charter, the leaders of such movements alleging that the contradictions and the shortcomings of the existing statutory grants were creating most of the problems of management. The further hope that a perfect, incorruptible arrangement could be achieved explains why our period begins with a new charter, which was replaced in 1892 by a much more complex constitution that seemed better fitted to the suddenly much enlarged city, and then by a radically simplified scheme of government in 1916. This last, put forward with such confidence by hopeful idealists, proved to be the least viable. It was displaced in 1928 by our present simple and compact arrangements set up around a strong mayor who worked with a council that in part represented the various sections of the city and for the rest was made up of those chosen by the city as a whole.

Buffalo has in these charters run the gamut of urban constitutional theory. The 1892 document tried the shibboleth of elaborate checks and balances, two legislative bodies were set to watch each other while the mayor had many other elective administrative offices and numbers of appointive boards present to keep an eye on him. Abruptly reversing this, the theory of the 1916 "commission" charter put all power, policy-making as well as administrative, into the hands of a board of five elected commissioners, one of whom was called the Mayor. It was hoped that this arrangement would keep party "bosses" at a distance, for the interference of partisan politics was then thought to be the most serious danger to the city's welfare. And while our period ends with a strong mayor on a modest throne — and a precarious one — it began, as would be expected, with a mayor who was largely a figurehead, very much subjected to the dictation of the Common Council. This was the age of democracy in its pristine beginnings, and representative bodies closely representing the wards and neighborhoods of the city were preferred to the office of mayor with its faint reminder of the monarchical past.

Old City and County Hall, 1871-76

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The Charter of 1870 provided a considerable number of elective administrative officers: Mayor, comptroller, attorney, treasurer, engineer, commissioner of streets, superintendent of education, police justice, overseer of the poor, three assessors, and four Justices of the Peace. The thirteen wards of the city were given due dignity by their privilege of electing their own representatives: two aldermen to the Common Council as well as two members of the County Board of Supervisors, a constable, and three inspectors of elections. Other city officers were appointed by the Council, the Mayor having only the right to remove officers for cause and after a hearing. His only real power lay in his veto, which the Council could override only by a two-thirds vote. The Council shared financial powers in auditing claims and designating depository banks and was judge of its own qualifications, chose its own President and fixed its own rules. There seemed little doubt as to the real center of municipal authority, but the Council nevertheless was eventually to be sharply challenged even while shielded by so much legal authority. Mayor Grover Cleveland was the challenger and he won fame by this temerity.

Among the city officers enumerated it will be observed that there was no commissioner of police. This came about because another constitutional adventure was in process at the time. The Legislature had created a Niagara Frontier police district in 1866 with its own policy board, and this continued amid loud protests from the city against so outrageous a deprivation. It would seem from the protests' vigor that organized police departments had ever been the mark of free cities instead of an invention of very recent decades. Nevertheless the Legislature surrendered the point and the city resumed control of its municipal force in 1871.

The Charter of 1891, which precipitated a bit of Democratic intra-party barnburning (an apt expression created for a intransigeant Democratic faction of 40 years earlier), expressed the evergreen hope that some automatic way could be found to keep selfish interests in control. It was not said too loudly, but the party organizations were widely regarded as belonging to that category, and it was Gen. John C. Graves, a leader of the Merchants' Exchange, which may be regarded as a rival group in the battle for civic power, who led the movement for charter revision, and many of his committee of 100 for the purpose were businessmen, although it is interesting to note that the Central Labor Union was quick to ask for representation on the operative committee that was to work with a committee of the Common Council. This was 1889, and this effort was the second round, for a quick draft had been put before the Legislature early in the year to give notice that revision would be demanded. The Republicans acted through the Second District Assembly Convention to approve, as did the County Convention, although in cautious terms favoring efficiency and lower taxes. Other party leaders found ways to rationalize their opposition, some saying redistricting should be done first, or proposing that it be adopted piecemeal. It was nevertheless done in 1891, to go into effect in 1892.

The Charter was, from our viewpoint of many years after, not an impressive performance. It tells a great deal about popular constitutional theory and perhaps something of the optimistic state of mind in Buffalo's business community, but it could hardly have accomplished what was expected of it. The theory was that which has been offered as explanation for the successful working of the United States Constitution. Powers were divided among several divisions of government to prevent abuses and to discourage party control of matters that were technical and for the service of all of the people. The assumption in this was that there would always be a willing army of ambitious and competent functionaries to operate this complex network of authority. The spread-eagle effect of the proposed mass of offices did likewise seem to show that it was generally believed that Buffalo would grow enough to require them. The arrangement suffered, however, from excessive decentralization. The mayor was not given authority over the many important officers (treasurer, comptroller, corporation counsel, public works commissioner, and assessors) who would actually direct most of the work. He was declared to be the executive and was told he might remove lesser officers, but his power depended largely on his legislative veto and his authority to conduct investigations of any city office. His control of police, excise, and fire departments was merely as one of three commissioners, and the fact that he appointed the other two guaranteed him nothing once they were in office — particularly if they were named to suit the party leader. Moreover, there were gestures at setting up offices to control other operations without even a mention of the Mayor. He was in a hopeless position unless he could exercise strong control through the party, so we must conclude that the party was possibly even more essential than it had been before, rather than less.

To make certain, again following the folklore of constitution making, that the "legislative department", as it was grandiloquently called, would not escape proper checks it was divided into two bodies. There was a nine-man Board of Councilmen, elected at large, that could refuse to pass proposed measures but the Board was not supposed to originate any. The more important body was the Board of Aldermen composed of one representative from each of the 25 wards. The two bodies were free to handle the normal powers and problems of such legislatures, the Mayor to interfere only by vetoing enactments or calling special meetings. Otherwise they were as independent as either House of Congress.

There was no place to insert a

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William F. Sheehan

great judicial body to create still another point in this conventional scheme, but there were already plenty of courts in the state system that were glad to intervene whenever a city official exceeded the letter of the state law that created the city government. The Legislature itself was called upon yearly for amendments, and frequently provided them, so there seemed little opportunity for the constitutional abuses that aroused such apprehension.

This was before the days of the proliferation of districts, authorities, and special offices that now clutter every civic landscape, but the 250 pages of this charter would serve adequately to frustrate even the most ordinary operations of government, except for one thing — the political boss could still impose his will because so many city officers would need his help at the next election. It becomes a matter of constitutional importance, then, to keep an eye on "Blue-Eyed Billy" the Democratic boss, his rivals, and his colleagues and successors while considering efforts to improve our charters. As for the parties, their need for resources in cash or jobs to operate was constant if their own efficiency was to be maintained. The rapacity of some politicians made it embarrassing to help them by allowing them to fill jobs paid from the public treasuries. The conditions that set off the Cleveland campaign in 1881 included an awareness of incapable public officers that persuaded a number of citizens to join the national movement to reform the civil service in the interests of municipal efficiency. By the end of the century Buffalo's Civil Service Reform Association had already made some progress toward putting municipal jobs on the merit list where applicants could qualify only by passing examinations. By 1898 it had recruited many dutiful citizens, including Ansley Wilcox, Andrew Langdon, H. P. Emerson, H. W. Sprague, and J. B. Olmsted, businessmen dominating. Its president was Sherman S. Rogers who was even in 1881 one of the venerable figures of the Democratic party. Its annual meeting in that year heard the head of Buffalo's Civil Service Commission, C. B. Wheeler, read a careful paper in which it was made clear that firemen and policemen were already under the merit system. But the resolutions urging Governor Theodore Roosevelt to procure passage of laws to put the merit system fully into operation makes it equally clear that there was a long way to go, for counties were not required to conform and many city departments did not. So determined was the Association to reach the objective of truly capable municipal services outside the influence of politics that it was spending money to elect legislators who would act with it.

As soon as a municipal job went on the merit list it was lost to party managers searching for rewards for his followers, and they resisted. One of the Sheehan men became forever immortal in an anonymous way by stealing the examination questions as a help to one of his boys and remarking in the succeeding investigation that applicants were surely entitled to an opportunity to study up on the subject. The Association learned patience and when the Republicans under Mayor Knight in 1901 proposed to "clean up" the Civil Service Commission President Ansley Wilcox sprang to its defense, noting that its extension of the competitive list was very moderate and had been expanded by the state commission, which held the power of approval. Wilcox added that the law would aid good administration since it did not protect the incompetent, who could be removed, and that it did not "contemplate" a Commission in political sympathy with the Mayor. The attacking newspaper, having learned something, rejoined with a proposal that professional examiners be engaged by the commission since the load had become too heavy to be handled by volunteers. To improve further popular representation both state law and the idealists of both parties intervened in the conduct of ballotting as well. The Australian ballot, one which was furnished by governmental authorities and was consequently not identifiable by party spies trying to enforce discipline on voters had been specified and the voting machine was soon to come although it was some time before the latter was made safe, since after the Organization's boys had voted as early and often as possible the voting machines tended to

Ansley Wilcox

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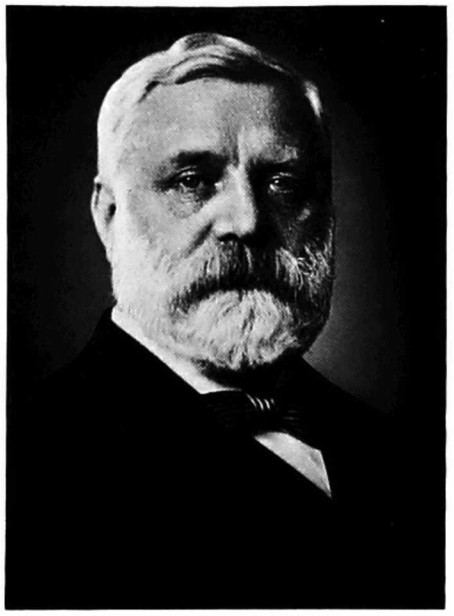
break down. The same ingenuity continued to distort the results in party caucuses and primaries until primary voting was controlled entirely by governmentally appointed officials. The Republican party was not clear of accusations, which could always be published in the opposition press, of dishonesty of this sort. In 1897, after Diehl had defeated the Republican Scatcherd, a voter said that many Republicans had been excluded from the party primaries. He noted further that many candidates promised to Jewett switched during the convention, and that proportional voting rules went for nothing when nominations were rushed through without roll calls. This voter said he and many others had helped to elect Diehl in retribution.

More convincing of an utter breakdown in party arrangements of voting to nominate was the reaction of none other than John C. Sheehan. In 1897 he had reached the pinnacle as party manager by assuming control of Tammany Hall but he nevertheless did the unthinkable. He sued his old Republican confrere of First Ward politics, Jack White, for falsifications in voting returns. Going to court was something of a confession when done by a man accustomed to making and unmaking courts as well as judges. He was acknowledging that he could not make the system work for him any longer; he had given up. It was the end of a career for Jack White as well. The reason soon becomes clear, however. The State was about to take over the primaries and the inter-party trading that Cleveland had so reprobated in 1881 was no longer possible. A law had been proposed to provide official ballots and to require time to be allowed between registration of voters and ballotting for convention delegates. Political allegiance was to be a matter of declaration rather than voting record, and political committees were to be chosen by conventions of district committeemen. As voter literacy increased and immigrants became better informed of their rights as citizens, the crude tactics of multiple voting, bribing of voters, and the like became less productive. The successful sons and grandsons of immigrants scorned the immoral and illegal and used their own authority within the parties to check this sort of corruption.

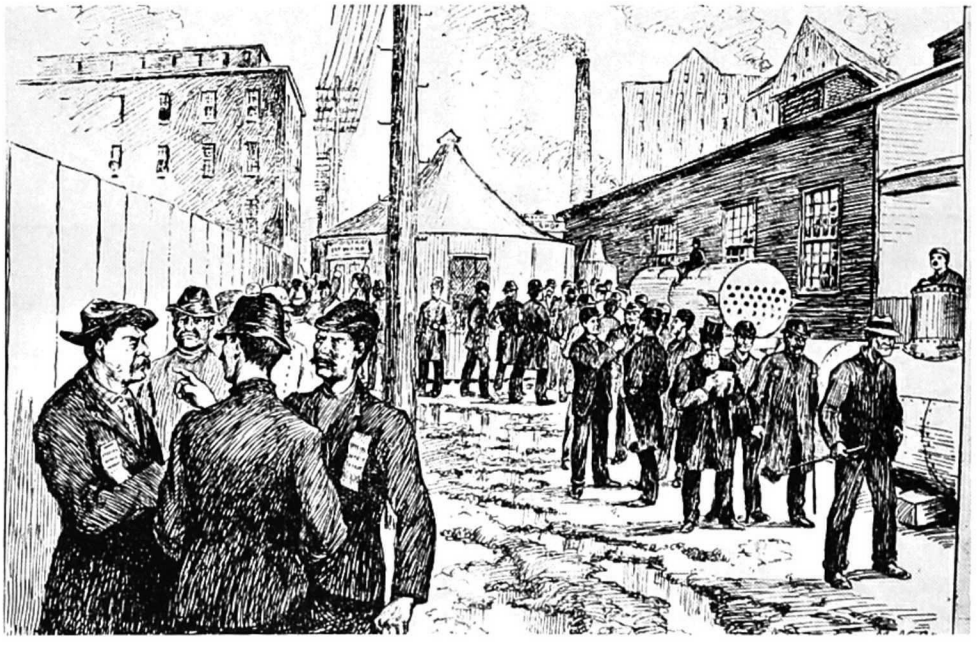
Mayor J. N. Adam (1906–1909) was among those who thought as did the many who sat at the great dinners of the Liberal Club to hear such men as Theodore Roosevelt speak of civic duty in lofty terms and at high emotional pitch. The redoubtable T. R., in those days (1893) Police Commissioner of New York City appeared more than once before the club. He had the faculty of exciting his listeners to a determination to perform great deeds, and he was forced by good conscience to mute the effect of every soaring rhapsody with a prosy paragraph or two of caution. Thus, while virtue was to triumph in every municipal act, its cohorts were to beware of bigoted excess that might injure the well-meaning citizen who disagreed. So with the victory of reason, which was not heedlessly to cast down those who clung to mistaken loyalties. The mandates of the people speaking at the polls were to be softened to allow the merely partisan executive, perhaps, to rise gradually to the new constitutional levels. But something must be done, and immediately, to save our country and its cities!



J. N. Adam

What this oratory, echoed before the Liberal Club by others such as St. Clair McKelway and W. H. Hotchkiss, appears to portend is the ancient logical difficulty posed by American legalism. Americans seem to hold in a strong majority that a mandate with legal force has been

Buffalo election



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proclaimed by the election of candidates running on a platform of declared principle. People holding this popular view are bitterly critical of party chairmen, legislative leaders, and governmental executives who so often prove reluctant to meet these promises by enacting the necessary laws and arranging for them to be administered. But these latter often merely respond to such criticism by declaring that they didn't believe that they were literally bound by tendentious and ill-considered remarks inserted during the heat of a convention into a party platform by enthusiastic partisans whose only intent was to win votes. Or they excused themselves with Woodrow Wilson's remark that in the excitement of campaigning one actually believed that what one advocated could invariably be enacted and put into practice. In any case, a majority of party leaders think that those selected by the party had better be trusted to act, for if the voters disagreed with what was done they had the option of voting for the other party next time.

These contrary views comprise no more or less than the difference between American constitutionalism and English parliamentarianism. However, it is exceptional to hear a party chairman clearly declare his plain preferences for party responsibility on the English model, for it seldom happens that the county or state chairman holds a decisive position as to policy and when they do they are likely to feel that they must be discreet in declaring the fact of their own power, for they remain outside of the bounds of the electoral mandate even if their positions depend upon the votes of followers who are in their turn chosen in the party primaries. They are not constitutional officers.

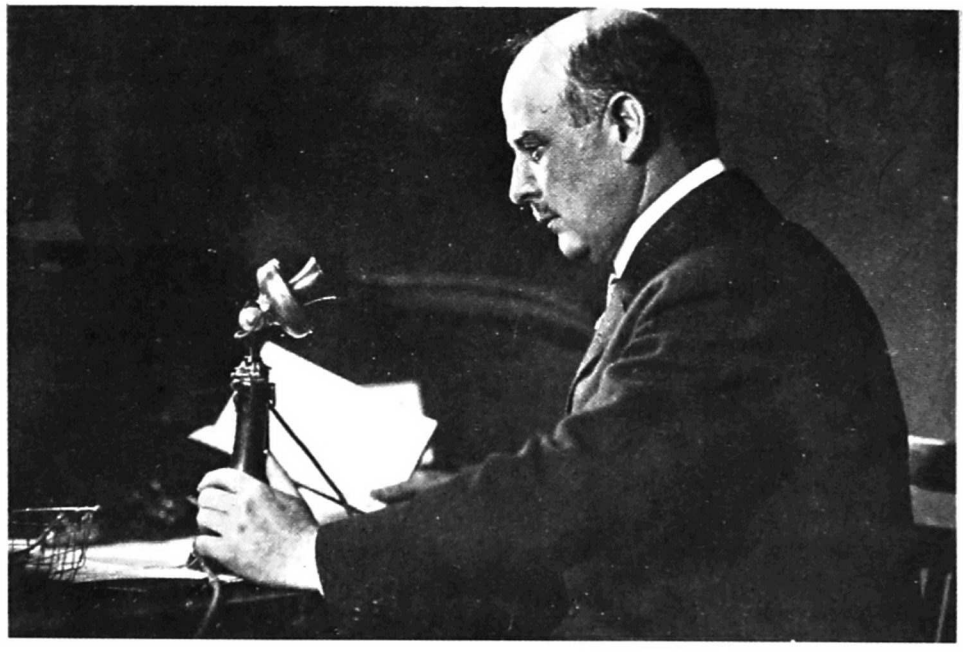
Mayor Adams believed with the majority and tried to amend the charter with the object of simplifying it. He appointed a commission which produced a draft charter that did not travel far on the road through the Legislature. But it was an affirmation of the virtues of constitutional legalism, and a half-hearted and generalized referendum, though ignored by the great majority of the voters, nevertheless did declare for a new charter. The Commission was led by Judge Daniel J. Kenefick and its proposal will reappear later.

But now a new voice was heard in the land. Many cities were adopting an attractively heretical type of government that had come to be popularly called the commission form. This denied the old constitutional orthodoxy of separate powers in favor of concentrating policy and administration in a single body of commissioners. These as a group adopted ordinances and appropriated tax revenues, and then separately supervised the works of the five major departments into which municipal operations readily divided: safety, work, finance, parks and buildings, and welfare. As policy makers they directed the entire operation of government. As administrators they made certain that tax revenues were applied efficiently to the objects agreed upon. All responsibility was to be upon this select few, the finest in citizenship was to be challenged to serve its best, and in this way the active rewards of civic loyalty were guaranteed to those who consented to serve as commissioners.

Superficially this appears to be English parliamentarianism; the cabinet officers (Commissioners) operate as heads of administration and also direct the legislature, indeed were to comprise it as Councilmen. There is, however, a decisive difference, for they had no connection to the parties and so were not "responsible" according to the English model. It was hoped that they would instead develop a pinnacle of constitutionalism since they followed only the mandate of popular election. The Commissioners would be free to follow such mandates just because the party leaders couldn't get at them. Hostility to parties as governing agencies had grown to the point at which it could be believed that a system would work if only parties were deprived of all influence. This is as theory dry and remote, but belief in it nevertheless was important in arousing an intense wish to effect a reversion to pure constitutionalism and the ideals of the early American Republic.

Louis Fuhrmann's day as Mayor (1910–1917) did nothing to reduce this determination. The ancient puz-

Louis P. Fuhrmann



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zles provided by the spectacle of police, firemen, and welfare workers struggling with endless difficulties under obscure rules of procedure were under him unusually irritating. Vice, poverty, and disorder are always present in our cities and always attract much attention, but just then the frustrations in dealing with them seemed to be unusually annoying. If anyone doubted this and was willing to accept calmly the normal social shortcomings he was stirred from his complacence by the exceptional industry of his elected representatives in uncovering disagreeable examples of them. This was done in pious pretense of advancing civic virtue through the investigations that were the fashion of the moment. During 1911 and 1912 Mayor Fuhrmann investigated the work of the three Fire Commissioners, noted irregularities in their purchasing procedures, brought charges, tried them, and acquitted them because their intentions were well meant and their ways traditional; he then investigated power costs, and was in turn investigated by the Board of Councilmen for irregular handling of investigatory funds (but an attempt to indict him failed); the Council then went on to require detailed explanation from the women who as volunteers had been providing penny school lunches, for the portions were small and were being continued during school vacations — even decades later the answers are obvious, and the editor of the *News* apologized for the Council whose gracelessness exceeded the lowest municipal standards. The *News* was not deterred from itself getting into the investigating fun, harassing the unfortunate architect who was working on the plans for the Hutchinson High School because he was slow to act. After some months of crusading on this point with every show of reason, for the schools had been caught dreadfully short by the burning of the Masten Park High School, success was won and a new architect provided the plans. The editor triumphantly called attention to the fact that this success was to be credited to the *News*. In the midst of this spate of civic piety the editor and others often expressed weariness at the accusing talk which ended in so little action, but no one quite came to the extreme of self-denial.

This snooping habit was encouraged by an episode that seemed to justify any amount of searching into the processes of government in Buffalo. On June 30, 1911, the pumping station under construction had collapsed as the roof was being tiled, killing eight workmen and causing a loss estimated at $300,000 to the incomplete structure. Here was indeed an incentive to the proficient investigator, with rich rewards to be gained in the recovery of damages and the destruction of political and professional reputations. Many leaped into this promising breach, only to be repulsed, one and all. Four years later, as the completed plant was at last turned over to the city, there was one last controversy, as inconclusive as all the rest that had roared around this great misfortune. The Common Council refused to pay $104,000 for the reconstruction done for the original contractor; this adamant and just refusal was, however, soon followed by a compromise in the sum of $70,000 and the Board of Aldermen voted to name the station for Colonel Francis G. Ward, who was one of those indicted during the course of the legal hoopla set off by the crash.

Colonel Ward must be identified and his story told before the rest, for his was a reputation whose destruction would have had great consequences. He was the center of Republican party campaigns in the city as chief spokesman and vote-getter, and so of importance to both parties. He had held the elective position of Commissioner of Public Works since 1901 after an engineering career in France and its satellites and subsequent service in the Spanish-American war. The consequence of his political opposition to Democratic Mayor Adam had been constant efforts to detect him in incompetence or worse — another factor in keeping the amiable investigatory habit alive — and now he was facing another hopeful Democratic Mayor. In September Mayor Fuhrmann began his hearings, surrendering six weeks later with a dismissal of the charges upon recommendation of the Corporation Counsel. Nevertheless early in January of the following year, 1912, a Grand Jury brought an indictment

Burning of old Masten Park High School, 1912

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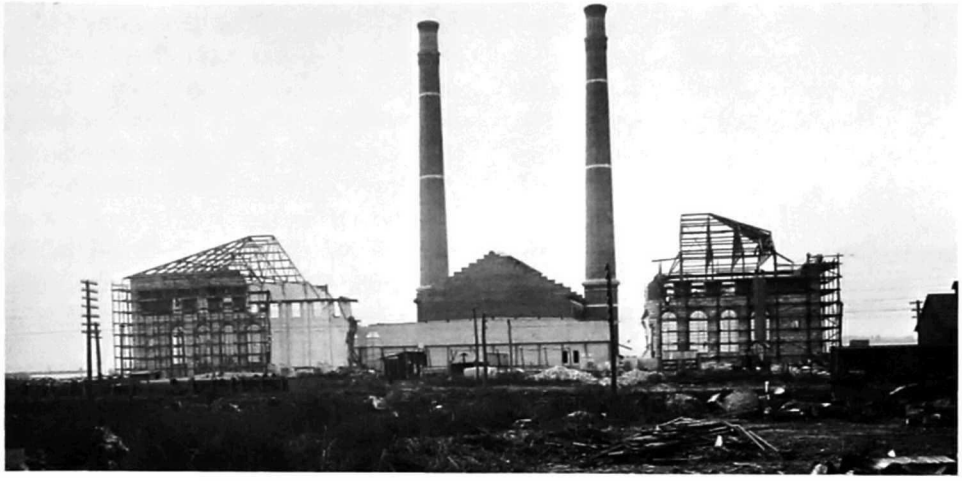

Pumping station foot of Porter Avenue which collapsed

against Ward, a cause which was referred for prosecution to Adelbert Moot, who was soon expressing his doubts as to the legal grounds for the indictment. Dismissal was granted since Ward had only an ultimate technical responsibility without any real opportunity to exercise it. Between his crowded desk and the shaky steel frame of the station were the commissioner of water who held the contracting power, an architect, the contractor, the steel-erecting subcontractor, and their engineers. Ward had been specifically charged to act only as arbiter in cases of disagreement between authority and contractor. It was a precarious bridge over which to march the weighty proof of manslaughter.

No other legal bridge proved firmer, for it finally became clear that certain framing members had been omitted in the building because the reproduction of an engineering drawing had failed to show them; this drawing had by another error been used in drawing specifications, and no architect or engineer had been instructed to look for such extraordinary conditions and all were equally unlikely to notice the absence of these braces once the frames had been raised to the great height of the walls. There may have been other shortcomings in the design and erection but it seems finally to have been agreed that construction of the kind should have had the benefit of engineers charged specifically to inspect such parts. The architect pointed out that his pay had been held up by the Common Council for years; he could only be regarded as supervisor of the architecture, not of construction. He, too, went free of criminal imputations but got short shrift from his peers in the Buffalo chapter of architects when proof was offered that he had tried to bribe a judge in a competition for another building. He was expelled, and this was the closest to punishment for anyone caught in this maze of irresponsibility. As for the doughty Colonel Ward, he had been warring with Chamber of Commerce officials for some time over the plans of the station and his conduct of his office, and would go on with his accustomed round of political controversies in complete tranquillity.

It was just this calmness under disorder that bothered the reformers, as they were correctly known in those days, for they meant to reform things for their improvement. The politicians, whose positions in the party depended upon their ability to organize victories were sometimes more interested in how people were to be manipulated than for what purpose. This stolid, practical view of politics as something that had to be done and was better done by experts caused disagreements between party committees and those who wanted ideal performances in government offices. The boss could not be moved to produce the reforms; he had enough trouble selecting his boys and keeping them in line and with clean noses, and he thought he was doing well if his performance could be given a good average grade, for of course he quickly found out that he could be mistaken as to the efficiency and integrity of individuals, being himself human and fallible. What the boss along with other citizens soon found out was that the average of honesty was disappointingly low and efficiency was very hard to maintain. The boss whose candidates were never indicted could well boast the fact. Capable office holders were known to succumb to the temptations that beset municipal officials, for there were a surprising number of citizens who found honesty and efficiency personally inconvenient when, for example, one's saloon business was being undermined by competitors who disregarded legal restrictions on hours and activities in their bars. Himself beset, such a citizen often found good reason to join in the bribery of the police in this or other such situations, and could easily come to regret the work of capable and honest officers.

But this sort of corruption probably is inescapable under any system of selecting of officeholders. It is only when the failures are flagrant that sympathy for the reformers begins to swell. The wearying baffle of investigations has been referred to. No less a public servant than Dr. Francis E. Fronczak, just beginning his long and distinguished work as health officer to the city, in 1913 summed up this weariness by declaring publicly that he would like to lock all the busily investigating officials in a room and keep them there until they came to agreement on such health matters as the manner in which the new city hospital was to be operated. A few months later he was explaining with some asperity to another indignant committee of investigators that the

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tents being used to house youthful tubercular patients were warm, comfortable, and in every way the equal of the best then in common use in expensive Swiss sanitaria.

The irritating habit of investigation nevertheless had served a useful purpose, and it was seldom that some sort of crusade for civic decency wasn't raging in the columns of the Buffalo newspapers. The year 1913 was something of an exception, but it was enlivened by an independent reform campaign to win the mayorship. In the following year there was a scandal in the city's civil service commission when the state commission found that favored candidates were being given premature peeks at the examination questions. Resignations were requested, Mayor Fuhrmann and the Governor appointed new commissioners, the District Attorney considered presentations to the Grand Jury, and there the matter ended, the *News* editorialist commenting sourly that the state commission's judgment needn't be accepted uncritically since it was itself regarded as the pliant tool of the Democratic party. The major crusade of the year was a stubborn attack on the Common Council's alleged habit of paying inflated prices for properties needed for municipal use. Characteristic of the methods of the *News* editorial writers was a condemnation of purchase of an east side property for the Department of Public Works, (which hadn't requested it) at $35,000 when $20,000 was a reasonable price and the tax assessment was $13,000. Constant attacks in editorial and news columns on Alderman J. P. Sullivan succeeded in attaching a sinister reputation to that gentleman, a pillar of Fitzpatrick's machine and, according to even his political opponents a perfectly respectable citizen although an abrasive political tactician. Enough success accrued to the *News* to force postponement of the tidying-up of the waterfront, where scores of shacks unlawfully occupied city lands and prevented orderly development of the harbor. The battered Alderman finally laid the matter aside rather than undertake to justify payments to liquidate the claims of the squatters, which had no legal but strong humanitarian bases. A principle of political infighting, (and parties that don't win are soon ended) is that one stays out of defensive postures, and the Aldermen prudently chose to avoid any in this case.

Friend and foe alike began to think that the *News* opposed things for the fun of it, but the careful reporting of the city's budget procedures at this same time dispelled this notion. State law required the city to keep its expenditures within a fixed fraction of its total tax assessments. It was not a generous fraction and budgets invariably crowded its limits, but there was no great strain for those citizens who wished to vote for civic improvements to dodge this limitation by employing the law permitting the issuance of bonds, including deficiency bonds to cover unusual charges that allegedly could not be anticipated when the budget was drawn. Nothing so well illustrates the quarrel between reformers and politicians as the steady abuse of this grudging permission to the city to pay its necessary expenses. Rather than labor to change the law or revise assessments to allow margins for improvements, the practical men on the Council bowed respectfully to the law, saluted the principle of economy in government, and voted a reasonable amount for civic improvements. Since the money would not actually be available certain items were selected from the budget list and arbitrarily cut — which had the added advantage of being a gesture of respect toward economy. In 1914 school repairs, parks, and the Public Library were the sacrificial victims; a great outcry from the public associations interested in these items was compassionately heard and noted by the Aldermen and Councillors, and word was quietly passed that the usual appropriations would be available. Reformist members openly stated that there would simply be more deficiency bonds than usual and the *News* contented itself by noting that a scheme of setting up a board of estimate to make the budget would be no substitute for getting good men in the Council, for the campaign for commission form of government was prospering, and there were hopes of getting better personnel.

Casual taking of such shortcuts was symptomatic of a general indifference to the fine points of ethics, and survivors of the period insist that this indifference had led to habitual dishonesty on the part of a considerable proportion of public officials, to the point that most things were for sale. The gamut ran from building permits (the brother of one Mayor was appointed inspector and conducted his business in a bar where anyone who wanted a permit began with a small cash payment to him personally) to invulnerability to police action. It was nevertheless difficult to make the point publicly, but in the fall of 1915 an incident showed not only the slackness in municipal administration but uncovered a nerve that was always dependably sensitive. An alert reporter witnessed a sixteen-year-old girl being carried from a saloon and his questioning quickly revealed a sure-fire case, for she had been taken there by an eighteen-year-old youngster and been given cocktails in the seclusion of a hired room. This was the sort of irregularity that in those days invariably produced a loud and continued public protest, for sex, alcohol, and youth were not then indulgently regarded as an educative mixture, but rather as the ultimate in depravity.

Chief of Police Regan was soon cornered by reporters and reformers and he pleaded foolishly that he was doing his best but that "higher-ups" were hindering him. He was of course silent when asked to identify such high officials — if they existed he certainly would not have

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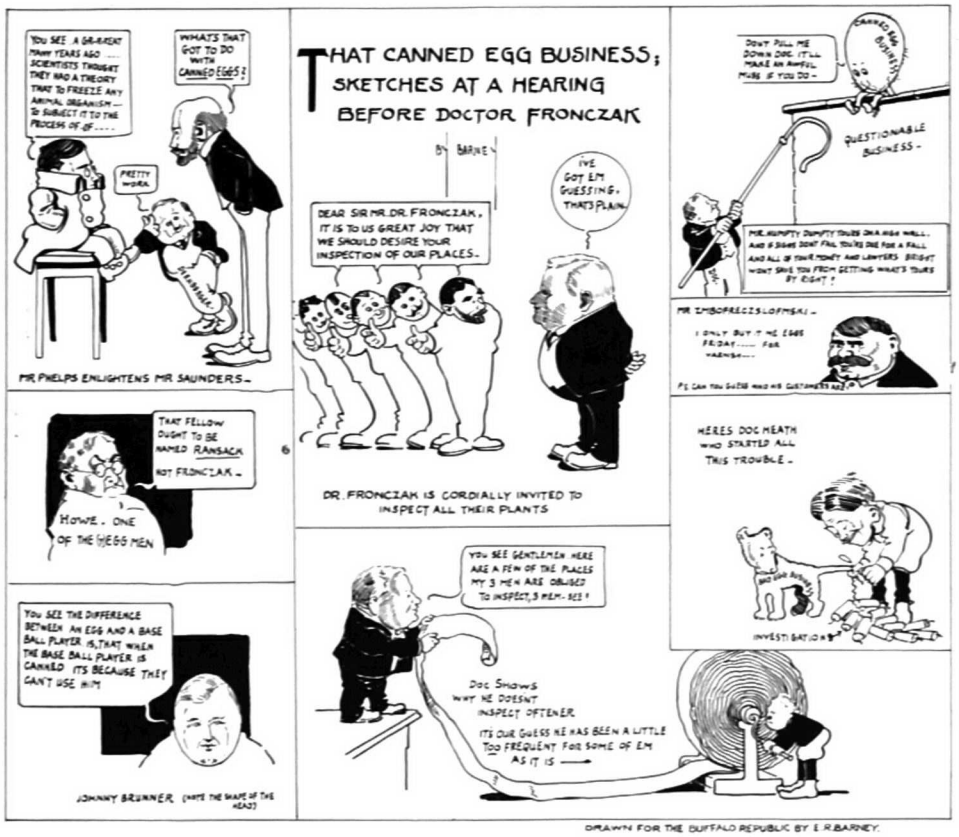
named them — and his most frantic shifting of personnel, denying himself to reporters, and finally open battling with his captains helped him not at all. Saloons were raided to show that they were open during illegal periods, brothels were shut down in numbers by means of legal pressures brought by the Federation of Churches, the Mayor was revealed to have absented himself from the meetings of the Police Commission for many months, defendants brought to court by amateur raiders won dismissal because the evidence was not firm enough, and the District Attorney brought many cases before Grand Juries which did indict. Mayor Fuhrmann protested at the newspapers' extensive exposure of vice and crime, and others were horrified at the thought of the advertising the city was getting, but the process went on until the Chief of Police did resign. And with elections over and a new city government about to take office toward the end of the year things at last quieted.

The election was for the purpose of choosing members of the new Council who were to operate the city as a commission, and their hands were reinforced by the existence of the Better Buffalo Association, which supported an active office to survey government procedures in the city, its first report appearing at the end of September 1915 and comprising 153 pages of serious criticism of police organization with dozens of recommendations to improve it. This sudden change in climate had swept in with a blast stirred up in 1912 and 1913 by a large committee of citizens who were determined to improve Buffalo's government. Perhaps the greatest access of political interest stirred by the new national Progressive Party under Theodore Roosevelt had something to do with their energetic intervention. The committee raised about $100,000 to see that the job was done, effectively removing them from the ranks of merely captious critics. A mayor was to be elected in 1913 and this group searched seriously for a candidate who might have a chance to win and who would then be able to deal with the problems of the city. They settled finally on John Lord O'Brian, who as a practicing attorney for a dozen years had repeatedly interested himself in supporting such groups as the Civil Service League. He had also served in the state Legislature and as United States Attorney, and was widely known for his damaging attacks on unworthy civic activities. He was the good friend of Boss Fred Greiner of the Republican party. He was persuaded to make the run, the committee leaders pressuring him by pointing out that he had many times caused them and others acute embarrassment by his free criticism and that he now had an opportunity to show that he meant what he said. He agreed, and wondered how he could explain his resolution to Greiner. This, too, was accomplished, Greiner simply accepting what his young friend proposed to do without attempting to comprehend what he meant by declaring that he was not really bolting the party — he was accustomed to ignoring complex logic, merely bowing his head to this sort of storm.

O'Brian's campaign had no newspaper support but he managed to whip up intense excitement by expending some of the committee's funds in producing the evidence of unchecked indecencies where others had only hinted. The Republicans produced an unknown as its nominee, Greiner having providentially fallen ill at convention time, and the Democrats renominated Louis Fuhrmann in the intervals of a battle for power within the party that for a short time appeared to have embarrassed Fitzpatrick, for he and Fuhrmann at best were only sporadically cordial. The decision of the polls was the reelection of Fuhrmann with 30,320 votes against O'Brian's 25,193 and Stoddart's 13,504. But the important thing was that astonishing 25,000 votes for an independent candidate who was so politi-


THAT CANNED EGG BUSINESS; SKETCHES AT A HEARING BEFORE DOCTOR FRONCZAK
DR. FRONCZAK IS CORDIALLY INVITED TO INSPECT ALL THEIR PLANTS
MR PHELPS ENLIGHTENS MR SAUNDERS.
QUESTIONABLE BUSINESS.
HERES DOC HEATH WHO STARTED ALL THIS TROUBLE.
INVESTIGATION
JOHNNY BRUNNER (HAVE THE MAKE UP THE HEAD)
DRAWN FOR THE BUFFALO REPUBLIC BY E.R.BARNEY.

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cally out of favor that the *News* would hardly mention his name in its chaste columns. The Citizens Committee went out and organized a banquet in celebration.

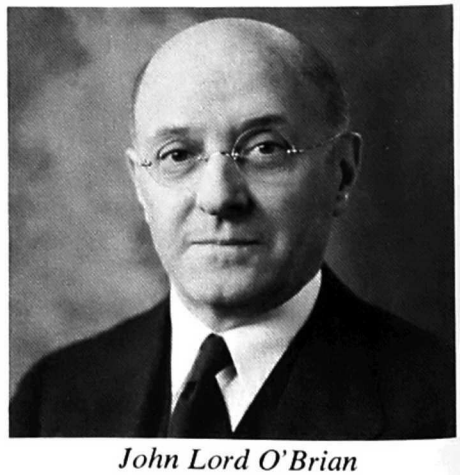
Members of the Citizens Committee immediately perceived what might be done with this demonstration of the power of civic responsibility. Chauncey Hamlin, O'Brian's law partner and one of the major leaders of Roosevelt's Progressives in New York State, quickly declared that the battle on organized vice and selfish corporate business interests would continue so that decency would have its chance. Almost casually he stated that now a new charter could be enacted, and in this his prophecy was promptly fulfilled. A quite incredible public excitement carried the measure to final victory. To pass the measure was no mere chore of persuading two houses of the Legislature and the Governor. True, this had to be done and in 1911 and 1912 considerable efforts had been expended for bills to establish commission government with no success. But should the Legislature pass and the Governor sign, the process was only started. Under state law bills affecting municipal authority were referred to the mayor of the city to be vetoed if he chose. He normally held hearings to determine his course, but his veto could then be overridden by the Legislature. These massive obstacles were calculated to discourage casualness in municipal constitution-making and had in recent years been effective. One of John Lord O'Brian's services in the Legislature had been to shepherd Mayor Adam's proposed charter, drawn by Judge Daniel Kenefick on the "strong mayor" plan. But he, too, had been repulsed.

The legislative hearings on the commission charter in 1911 had been carefully organized, many witnesses from Buffalo attending and only one, Judge Kenefick, opposing adoption. Not even Governor Woodrow Wilson's achieving passage of a commission government law in New Jersey shook the solid barriers of indifference, nor did the extensive tradition of procedure by commissions prevail against the feeling that this was too radical a departure from American customs. It was well that temporary and limited commissions could be set up to eliminate grade crossings or build railroad and lake terminals, or create parks and playgrounds, and take over new and puzzling governmental functions like the civil service, all of these were accepted and approved, but to professionalize the concept of municipal authority itself was a stumbling block. In 1912 the opposition had grown and 1913 witnessed no serious effort.

O'Brian's campaign drove the opposition underground. Hearings began in the 1914 Legislature before the end of January and the bill was passed early in March, an event celebrated in Buffalo by a great luncheon which was effectively used to keep passions for the bill at a high pitch. These proved very useful when Mayor Fuhrmann opened his hearings March 13. He was plainly unconvinced but his coolness only aroused the proponents to greater fury. The Referendum League supported him because voters' initiative and recall were not to be found in the proposed charter, former city officials complained of needless change, and the American Federation of Labor added its doubts. Each opponent aroused the crowd to more active declarations, which began to take the form of open and vocal abuse.

When one of the stormy petrels of the Teachers Educational League, Mary O'Connor, attempted to question Dean Carlos Alden of the University of Buffalo Law School, the draftsman of the charter, she found what a storm could do when she was herself shouted down. Mayor Fuhrmann obstinately kept the hearings in his own office in spite of demands that a larger hall be used, and he was perhaps wise since he was able to observe more or less quietly that this crowd of reformers and legalists was the most disorderly in his experience. The final day of the hearing lasted from 9:30 in the morning to 8:00 in the evening, proponents continuing to proclaim their distaste for politics, the ward system of representation, and partisanship in municipal administration, adding a spice of shouts, hisses, and fistic challenges. The Mayor permitted himself an expression of anger on his own part, and vouchsafed nothing to demands that he sign immediately so that the people might soon vote in referendum on the proposal — for that, too, was to be done.

Mayor Fuhrmann did veto the bill but before the end of the month both houses of the Legislature had overridden his veto and the final effort, to win the referendum, could begin. The campaign for the new charter was vigorously conducted to overcome the normal indifference of the voters to such matters as constitutional arrangements. The recent referendum on the proposal to change the charter had aroused only 17,000 of 70,000 voters to mark their ballots. Now the newspapers reported the campaign fully and were benign in their editorials, even the *News* dropping its mild criticism while the Democratic *Courier* condemned the present arrangements by declaring them "Deep in Dishonor" as the editorial head put it. When the day of election arrived the new charter won by a large majority.



John Lord O'Brian

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VI. Flexible Authorities Build the Parks

When the City of Buffalo set out purposefully to build its park system the Mayor observed soberly that this was the largest operation the City had yet undertaken. Since it involved creating immediately not only parks as open areas with recreational facilities but also a network of connecting parkways, it was evident that the Mayor's statement was by no means a politician's boast or an American citizen's dramatic declamation that he was standing at some sort of historical crossroads. It was simple truth. The initiating Mayor, General William F. Rogers, remained on the job for over a decade as secretary to the operating board, and the board itself conscientiously published for many years the gradually rising total of funds expended in building and operating the parks, which soon ran to millions of dollars. As an administrative operation it strained the available resources and involved all the agencies of local government in the tug to complete arrangements and to make them suit the particular interests and purposes of various social groups or local areas.

Fortunately for everyone, the City found able leadership, and the history of the park system's development reveals much as to the strains imposed on the people who undertake such responsibilities. The parks were originally a triumph for citizens willing to assume such duties as volunteers, both the initiation and the completion of the original system falling to unpaid commissioners directing the work of professional planners and managers, and with honors even between the amateur directors and the professional experts for accomplishments that have never been seriously condemned in any important aspect. It would be more exact to say, not that the City found able leadership, but that the City was coerced into accepting the plans for a park system by leaders who knew what was wanted. The story began with a meeting on August 5, 1868, of capable businessmen at the residence of Sherman S. Jewett, already a famous manufacturer of stoves. Among this self-constituted committee were Pascal P. Pratt, manufacturer and banker, Dexter P. Rumsey, Joseph Warren, Richard Flach, and William Dorsheimer. The key person, however, proved to be Jewett, who moved, as was his reputation, quietly about this business. The vigorous Pascal P. Pratt undertook the committee chairmanship that soon became the presidency of the Board of Parks Commissioners, and still others undertook the fascinations of correspondence with the greatest American landscape architect of the day, Frederick Law Olmsted. Eleven years later Jewett became President of the Board, having served steadily as Commissioner meanwhile, and remained at the head of the parks system until his death in 1897. This was to be his only public office except his honorary service as Presidential Elector to cast a vote for Garfield in 1880.

Jewett's strength as an administrator was evident from the history of his business operations, beginning with Jewett & Root, a stove-making firm established in 1843. In a decade it had a warehouse and branch office in Chicago and shortly thereafter in many other cities. He soon joined others in the establishment of insurance and banking companies, his greatest contribution in those fields being swift and advantageous liquidation of three Buffalo insurance companies carried under by the Chicago fire of 1871. His banks were more fortunate, for he was a director in both the Manufacturers and Traders and the Marine banks. The troubles of the Buffalo, New York & Philadelphia railroad company in the 1870's brought him with G. B. Gates into its office to order affairs. This he did in a few years, finally selling the company under terms that compensated all of the stockholders, including the City of Buffalo, which had already concluded that its $700,000 investment had been lost. In public affairs Jewett had already established an equally solid reputation by leading the subscription list to provide a building for the Young Men's Association's book collection, later to become the Buffalo Public Library.

From the meeting of 1868 in Jewett's house to an effective working office proved to be no great strain. There was, of course, political opposition to the proposal that a great park system be con-

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structed. The Common Council had quickly received the proposal so that the Mayor's message of January 4, 1869, could already note the Council's awareness of an outline plan. Opposition to the appointment of Commissioners in April, the Legislature having already enacted the measure needed to permit the City to act, soon grew to an organized movement with a Joint Committee of Anti-Park Ward Meetings. In October the report of the Commissioners recommended the acquisition of lands and named the parkways and circles thus producing the opportunity to settle the matter. The scheme was adopted 12-7 after a motion to reject was beaten down by the adequate, but not entirely comfortable, margin of 12-8.

Both advocacy and opposition can be understood from the nature of the scheme. This had been produced swiftly by Frederick Law Olmsted. Queried by letter on August 12, he had visited Buffalo, talked to the committee, walked over the available grounds, tested soils, and examined maps. His proposals were returned in a letter of October 1. Still in the nature of suggestions without interference from the committee, the suggestions provided the essentials of a long-term and widespread plan that were definite and expressive enough to be sent to the Common Council as they stood. In the center of the scheme was to be a great park in which a lake should be made and which in a generation or two, Olmsted declared, would be fully occupied and used; farm land within the city limits was available for a site. In addition, two open areas close to the existing dense residential sections about Fort Porter and on the high grounds at Masten and High Streets (then used as a Potter's Field) should be set up for the immediate use of the neighborhoods. These scattered areas were to be connected with a system of parkways which would greatly extend that combining of nature and art that made parks, in Olmsted's view, culturally indispensable. These plan elements are immediately recognizable as the Front, Delaware Park, and the Richmond - Bidwell - Chapin - Humboldt Parkways, demonstrating how completely Buffalo citizens were to fall in with Olmsted's bold concepts. But he was not satisfied merely to indicate basic elements, for he declared that these proposals could be no more than the nucleus of a truly adequate larger plan, and urged that more parks be laid out and necessary land acquired generously and without delay. On the matter of the need for land he was vehement, citing his own experience in arranging urban parks, which he had already seen belatedly expanded at enormous cost after proving to be too small because someone had originally succumbed to miserly impulses.

Opposition having been brushed aside, the Commissioners set seriously to work. Their first meeting was in the Mayor's office, and indeed the Mayor took them seriously enough to accept election to the presidency of the Board, although this changed within a few months when Rogers became the Secretary and Pratt the President. The following day, April 5, 1869, Olmsted and his partner Calvert Vaux were present. At this meeting, surveys were arranged and general plans were far enough along to be adopted. Before the end of the year offices had been set up in the Western Hotel, compensation for the land to be acquired had been agreed to by the courts, and the issuance of bonds had been requested by the Commissioners. To this last the Common Council acceded with the usual reluctance, this time 13-9, and $304,000 worth were offered with interest at 7%. This sum left $46,000 to begin construction.

This rather dizzy pace continued, and the Common Council was informed early in 1871 that $294,166.66 had been spent on land and building purchases, the total expenditures standing at better than $315,000. By then, too, a superintendent, William McMillan, had been hired on the nomination of the architects. He was to serve for 30 years and win himself a monument in Delaware Park. To the general plans that had been agreed to were added proposals for the Parade, now Humboldt Park, but then the parade grounds for Buffalo's militia units. This fell in nicely with the parkway system and by the end of 1870 was already provided with tile drainage, as was a great area in the Park—which was not for a quarter-century to have the specific name of Delaware Park. But it, too, was in a state of rapid transformation in addition to drainage. Hundreds of acres had been ploughed so that they might be leveled, many more cleared of unwanted timber, thousands of trees and shrubs of every practicable variety had been ordered, a nursery had been laid out, and the projected lake had been cleared and partly excavated —over 100,000 yards of muck were carted away ultimately. Nearly completed were the surveys and the plans for drives, while 1,385 rods of fence were in place.

At this point, the Commissioners drew breath and asked that Delaware Avenue be widened—not the least of the elements of an exciting report.

The construction work was being paid for by borrowing, and as the debt mounted concern with the operation rose correspondingly. In 1872 the City went to the State Legislature for a further grant of bonding authority, this time for $400,000. The Legislature's sanction was tied to an enlargement of the board to 15, to be appointed by the Mayor and confirmed by the Council. Perhaps as an assertion of constitutional right the Council used its power, rejecting three of the Mayor's nominees. This may have been felt as a further hazard in procuring the services of volunteer Commissioners, but for the present the Board simply operated with the 12 who slipped by Council scrutiny. In 1874, when another class of appointments came due under the law, the Mayor filled the ranks

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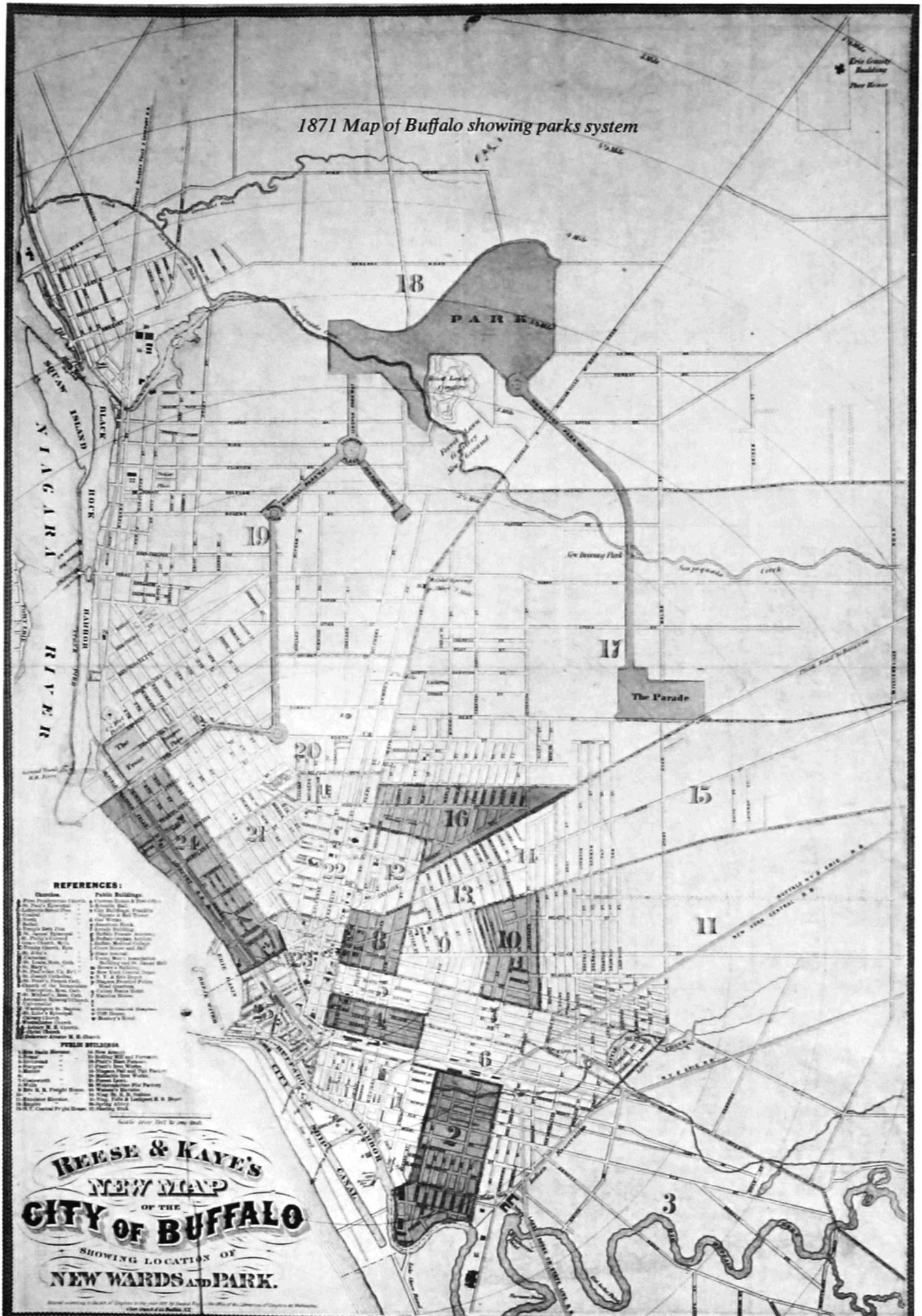

1871 Map of Buffalo showing parks system

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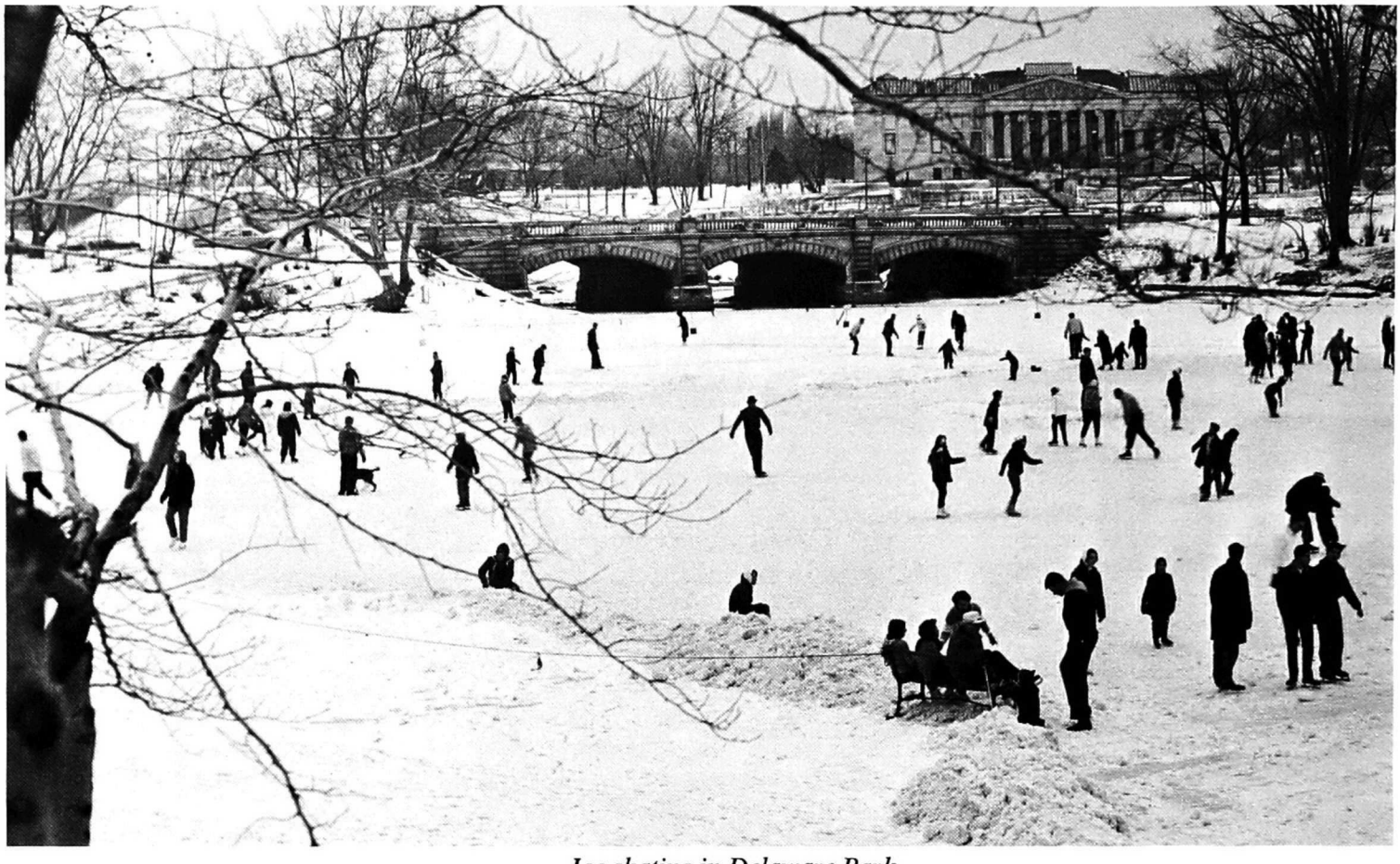

Ice skating in Delaware Park

Concert in Delaware Park

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successfully with his nominees.

It was some years before there was another outbreak between the City's legislative body and the Commissioners. For the most part routine permissions were granted, appropriations (still very modest) voted, and directions and requests passed back and forth without any evident friction. The Council renounced its authority over Niagara Square, which the Legislature had allowed, in a gesture expressive of confidence. The Council even went beyond the law in voting to turn Day's Park over to the Commissioners. Mayor Philip Becker intervened with a veto to avert this outrage to state sovereignty—in which he was unquestionably correct, since it is ever the rule that municipal powers spring solely from acts of the State Legislature and cannot be expanded, altered, or evaded in the least degree. Park operations also proved useful when the prolonged depression following the financial panic of 1873 caused real suffering. The Commissioners readily agreed to accelerate the work and to perform more of basic operations such as roadmaking so that more unskilled workers could be given employment. Their compliance did them no good, for in 1877 the Aldermen exploded in anger because they felt that in some respects the Commissioners were indifferent to efforts to achieve economies within the city government. They were asked to reduce their budget for maintenance operations, and it was suggested to them that they could do without an assistant superintendent. Further criticism arose from the fact that they paid their secretary, former Mayor Rogers, the generous salary of $2,500 in spite of the fact that he was at the same time performing paid duties for other agencies.

The Commissioners stood fast, holding to their power under the statutes to appoint and assign staff and stubbornly insisting as well on the necessity of finishing tasks on which much had been spent without quite reaching fruition. They may have obscurely perceived that they were being asked to function in opposing directions, first to spend money to assist the laboring population and then to save it, presumably to the detriment of that group. The least that they could conclude was that they were being pulled in the two directions. They could hardly escape feeling the Council's wrath, for it held the power of the purse since an end to borrowing by the commissioners was near as basic construction was completed. Nor did they escape entirely even though the committee assigned by the Council to the question returned a majority report that proposed to cut back to $35,000 for maintenance instead of the $45,000 requested, and contented itself with a deprecating presentation of the Commissioners' insistence on their rights and duties. A minority report from the committee, however, denounced the Commissioners unsparingly. The minority alleged that the more prominent Commissioners acted as though an inquiry by the Council was an impertinence and accused them of wasteful extravagance as well as a tendency to look after friends too tenderly. The extravagance was documented by lists of tools found in the kitchens of park refectories which included silver spoons, ice picks, and lemon squeezers–a notable comment on what in those days was thought luxurious. In fact, this was a further echo from the anti-park movement which sprang from a feeling that parks were not needed at all.

For three years the Council appropriated nothing for the parks, the Commissioners carrying on essential maintenance work from incidental sales and fees, for they had rented out facilities, albeit at rates too low to please their critics. With less than $20,000 per year available from these sources, they were much constricted at a time when popular use of the parks was beginning to rise rapidly. The basic drive from Front to Parade through The Park opened in 1873, and there were miles of lesser drives to be kept up. Within a year or two it was worthwhile to count visitors, and 400 to 500 carriages were to be seen in The Park on ordinary days and double that number on Sundays. The belt line of the New York Central was operating and stations were being built in 1875, while the C. W. Miller livery stable operated stage lines from car line terminals, which were still too far for most pedestrians. The Parade was also getting heavy use because streetcar lines had reached its borders and a refectory building was being erected. It was known that it was only a matter of time before the streetcars would reach all the parks. When this happened to The Park in 1880, 10,000 people poured in during August, creating a clear need for additional shelters and picnic areas.

Despite growing use and satisfaction, the Commissioners were concerned to justify the system economically. Many times they reverted to the hard economic fact, which Olmsted had referred to from the beginning, that the existence of parks greatly improved prices of city real estate. In their report of January 1876 they declared that higher assessments would bring greater tax returns, and included tables to show that recent increases had been concentrated in the areas near the parks. While working for a change in the law to allow adjacent property owners to be assessed for a portion of road building costs, the Commissioners noted how much these residents benefited from such improvements, recorded their willingness to be assessed, and mentioned the figures which showed the increase from $37 million to $104 million between 1870 and 1884 in Buffalo's valuations.

With the restoration of normal business activities there was an end to monetary bickering with the Common Council, and appropriations quickly rose to $30,000 in 1882 and somewhat beyond that in succeeding years. Relations remained smooth except for a bad-tempered

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comment on excessive damages agreed to by the Commissioners in 1882 in compensation for property taken. This may have been in part the consequence of Sherman Jewett's assumption of the presidential duties in 1879. He left a permanent mark on park planning, his biographers being especially pleased with the reports of his firm hold on this subject in meetings; fanciful plans met quick defeat at his hands through his interjection that not everyone had a carriage at his disposal. Since this was his general attitude, he would quiet an important element among park critics.

But another element in underlying commentary had to be dealt with: critics had had something to say about the undesirability of boards responsible to themselves alone, and this was a touchy point.

Delaware Park in 1970

Day's Park about 1910

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The Commissioners included the Mayor in their numbers, and they found it desirable to be on good terms with the budget makers; otherwise they were hardly a part of the normal city government although carrying on a major function of it. They began to be gathered into the regular organization through an amendment to the City Charter by an enactment in the Legislature in 1885. The Commissioners were not changed, merely going through a ceremony of dissolving and being reconstituted as acknowledgement that they were now included in the City Charter. Suffering such an indignity was compensated by the receipt of broad authority over streets and public places (thus ending an awkward problem of maintaining order in the parks), and the long coveted power to assess owners of property on parkways for road improvements. This had previously been denied by vetoes in 1883 and 1884; Governor Cleveland was still suspicious of the intentions of Buffalo politicians. They celebrated by turning to work on roads that had been neglected since 1879, laying an asphalt pavement on Richmond Avenue—one of the major elements of the parkway system—before the end of the year. They also found themselves with a simplified accounting system, all of their funds being handled in a single account instead of in separate construction and maintenance columns. During the following year they were given responsibility for all parks, even the tiny triangles cut off in laying out streets now fell to them. With this increased responsibility went a budget of $150,000—and the necessity of defending their essential fairness from charges that the west side of the city was being given preferential treatment. It appears that they were more careful thereafter to look after other sectors even though they correctly pointed out that The Park was not really on the west side.

While various officials in City Hall and State Capitol were battling out a viable form for an organization to run the parks, a great spate of work by the Commissioners had created a system of which the City had grown properly proud. Fillmore Avenue was projected as a part of the parkway system, principally to reach southward from the Parade toward the parks that would inevitably be needed on the south side. Started in 1874, it was filled, widened, planted, graveled, carried over railroad tracks, and finally paved in 1887. The many obstacles it encountered, not least from its neighbors and their domestic animals, prevented it becoming an artistic rival to the parkways near The Park—only a very great effort could have achieved such status—but its generous dimensions satisfied the area's current pretensions. Delaware Avenue had been carried through The Park, and the parkways had proper bridges, stone roadways, and much planting; some parts were rapidly being built up with fine residences. The Front, slow to develop because its normal drives were partially blocked by the still active Fort Porter, finally was equipped with benches, its drives extended in 1882, and Lake View House was completed the same year. A few years later this park was expensively opened to the beach, Olmsted's pleas for early acquisition having been ignored. Neighboring Prospect Park, popular since the erection of the Pierce Palace Hotel, was equipped and lighted. Land was acquired for Cazenovia Park although not in the area ultimately developed. The crown jewel, The Park, was in full operation with the manager trying out a variety of paths for riding while boating and other facilities had long been active. The expensive participation sports such as golf, however, were still in the future.

To the credit of the Commissioners they maintained cordial relationships through all vicissitudes with the designer of the original parks system, Frederick Law Olmsted and his partners. As new parks and open areas fell to their care Olmsted was directed to provide plans so that it may now be claimed that all of the original parks system as it developed up to 1900 showed his handiwork. Mutual confidence between board and consultant is apparent, but, since such relationships are in general not easy, the good feeling is to the credit of both sides. The influence

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of Olmsted is also plain in the breadth and vigor of the thought expressed in the vital and sparkling reports annually furnished by the Commissioners. Hard thought on both sides also brought the reports toward a breadth of interest that we now think of as city planning, taking in the total situation in a way to carry their considerations far beyond the simple bounds of park engineering and architecture. Traffic, shifts of population, types of housing, control of land use, and economic prospects all came into their calculations. It has been seen that they were keenly aware of social and cultural qualities of the people of the city and that they were patient and adaptable in dealing with the constitutional complexities of American government. Olmsted's intellectual breadth and vigor gave the Commissioners direction from the start in May of 1870, when he was told to proceed with his surveys and plans in detail. The Commissioners repeatedly exhibited confidence in their mission as they urged the necessity of making Buffalo a finer city, accepting Olmsted's criticism of the uninspiring appearance of the central city which joined its biting winds to make imperative action to provide a more acceptable environment. So it happened that when at the outset the Commissioners urged the broadening of Delaware Avenue in addition to the grand parkways scheme, they were expressing a state of mind recognizably healthy and optimistic.

For many years Olmsted was heard chiefly through his masterly plans, although he was seldom long silent on the need for expansion of the system. As early as 1875 he was loudly expressing his regret that the picnic area in the southwest corner of The Park had been pinched by a legislative amendment limiting its size to 500 acres. In spite of the Commissioners' refusal to expand The Park in 1885, he had a plan for enlarging it in 1887 when a new era of development began, with plans for a great park on the south side as well as for improvement of simple plots on The Terrace and complete developments for small parks at Masten and Best Streets, in Day's Park, and Bennett Place (Clinton and Pine Streets). He had already set better fashions in handling squares cut by many streets with his design for Niagara Square. Although there seemed no reason why he should ever suffer a check in his work in Buffalo, there was a major reverse in store for him in the new efforts, the chief element in which was to be an impressive park on the south side to match The Park.

Olmsted believed that he had such an answer with a design submitted in 1888 after both he and the Commissioners had shown some hesitancy in committing themselves on the essential matter of the area to be occupied. Olmsted's hesitancy was based on his conviction that the problem of railroad grade crossing must be solved prior to any satisfactory selection of lands, but when the Commissioners requested details of his proposal he submitted a complete plan in the fall of 1888, although his earlier doubtful letter is perhaps more interesting as a demonstration of an advanced interest in planning. His new plan, in spite of the caution he had shown, was bold. He proposed that the City move to its southwesterly extremity along the shore of Lake Erie, there to acquire land on both sides of the railroads so that there could be not only extensive beaches and watercourses for pleasure but rifle ranges for the use of the militia units that were still much in the minds of planners of city facilities. This park was to be connected with the City by public water transport, either by the Lake or through canals extending from the large network dug for commercial shipping that already extended a long way toward the proposed area. As some of the park would be directly exposed to Lake Erie storms, it would need extensive protection. In fact, the whole conception was expensive, and it was on these grounds that Olmsted's attractive conception was rejected. The Commissioners complimented its qualities but drew back from the financial responsibility. They declared that they had not yet found alternatives but nevertheless were acquiring land. Within two years they had completed purchases of two large inland plots plus the area of Stony Point on the Lake, the latter after a few years to be sold to the Lackawanna Iron and Steel Company. These new plots cost $172,000, and further expenditures were in order for the parkways to connect the two inland areas. F. L. and J. C. Olmsted were paid $4,500 for the rejected plan and were soon commissioned to prepare plans for the two new parks, South Park and Cazenovia Park. These were before the Commissioners in 1892 and were adopted after much consideration and some revision. Profitable working relations had survived a long period and considerable strain.

All the 1890's was a period of summing up as well as continued effort. Many of the principals had been engaged on the system for about a quarter-century. Some, like McMillan, were about to retire while others, including Sherman Jewett, were of an age that encourages backward glances. William F. Rogers' retirement as secretary in 1887 was marred by the shocking theft of $3,500 from his office that very day. Perhaps the elegiac mood was the reason for a summary survey of the system published in the 1895 *Report*. At that time major parks numbered six and contained 718½ acres, the parkways extended about 50,000 feet, and there were 18 minor park spots. Altogether the system covered 939 acres. Three years later, with Riverside Park, more parkways, and still more minor places, the Board calculated that there were 1,065 acres in public parks and parkways. (By this time, in 1897 to be precise, Delaware and Humboldt Parks were so named.) The land had cost $918,000 and construction $3,591,000.

It could also be seen that park functions were much changed. A

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part of the reason for Olmsted's insistence on a lakeshore park was that more active sports were becoming popular and should be provided for, and not merely by small alterations in the character of Delaware Park. Bicycle paths were now needed, and baseball fields were replacing drill grounds or gardens.

By 1891 elk and buffalo were grazing on the Delaware Park meadow, perhaps suggested by the sheep that had been employed in mowing the grass for a decade, and by 1897 there was a curator and an animal house. The following year a change in work programs occurred. During the entire history of the park old buildings and quarries had been worked to provide stone for buildings and roads. Extensive machinery was added in 1892 when the bed of Scajaquada Creek was straightened to simplify the construction of Humboldt Parkway. Stone from the new bed was for a time crushed for roads, but ended when it was observed that the process was more costly than purchasing from commercial quarries. For some time the Commissioners had been aware that shorter working days had made labor too expensive for unconsidered use, but many new functions were not hindered, among which must be counted massive plantings of flower beds within the system. This now amounted to about 100,000 plants per year. Less successful was an experiment in using Richmond Avenue as a winter speedway; this has lived in story, but it was very quickly found that unregulated speedways were very hazardous. Less dangerous, but not without its penalties, were band concerts provided by the contributions of a few citizens. The Commissioners shortly found themselves assailed in the Common Council for not providing more and in other favored spots. A similar situation resulted from encouragement of skating on park ponds. Great dissatisfaction arose from misfortunes of the weather, but the spark of popularity always remained to set off another skating craze in a good winter.

Cazenovia Park about 1896

The era of park establishment closed with two rousing events: opening of the south parks, and preparations for the Pan-American Exposition of 1901, which occupied some of the grounds of Delaware Park. The latter item set much work in motion, for a bridge and a new boathouse, called the Casino, seemed called for to set the stage for the Exposition. Together with further work to put the lake into sparkling condition and arrangement of the grounds about the new buildings for the Buffalo Historical Society and the Albright Art Gallery, the total bill was $164,000. There was far more to developing the two parks on the south side. The Olmsted plans were adopted in 1892; it was two years before Professor J. F. Cowell was appointed as director and the botanical gardens were laid out, and another two before a part of South Park was open and the Cazenovia Park pond was complete. By then it was also determined that South Park's botanicals could be completed only by the erection of a conservatory. This was being built within another year and a collection of every possible hardy plant plus a large collection of tropical plants became the goal. By 1900 the gardens were near completion, as was the conservatory; J. J. Albright had added another jewel to his civic crown by donating a plant collection valued by the botanist at between 30 and 40 thousand dollars. But the Exposition came and went, leaving a crying civic languor in its wake, and the roads were still not quite complete in the new parks. Still, the parks were usable, and they may be thought of as established.

Some problems remained, a number of which proved intractable. By 1897 the first public shelter and restaurant in Humboldt Park was plainly obsolete. Its original uses had been abandoned, it was vacant, and much time was wasted in trying to set upon a use for it. The Park itself, left by the militia, was hardly used except for baseball, which brought no leisurely crowds with it. A large pond was finally built, precursor of the wading pool, and the building was simply torn down in 1904. By then it was evident that the Commissioners were also going to lose their battle to make Masten Park

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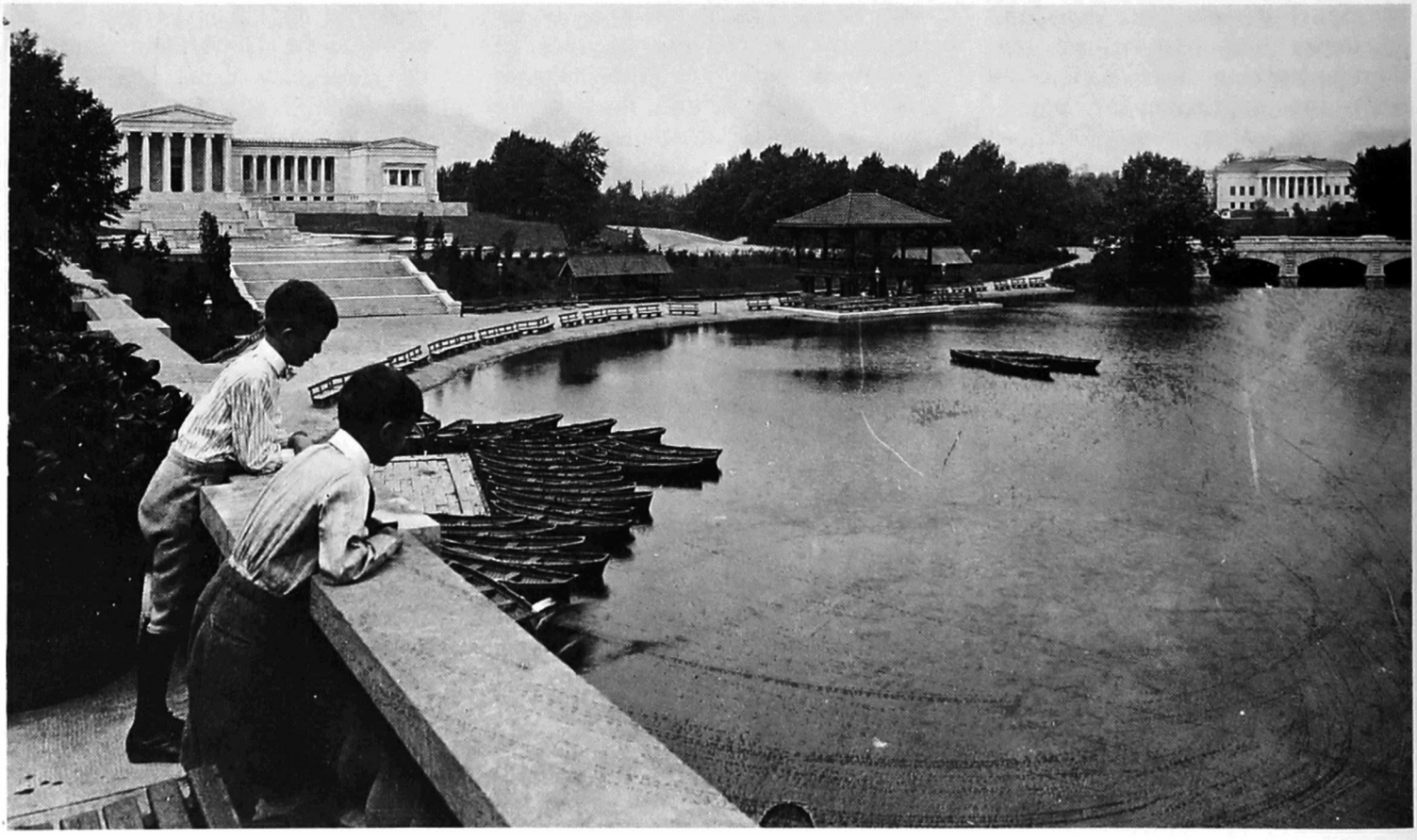
into an attractive, if small, neighborhood park since the Common Council held to their opinion that it should be the location of a high school. They had also lost to the New York State Canal Department in a tug of war over a strip of lake front near Front Park, the Department turning it over to the yachting interests for the building of a basin. The Commissioners could only say that it was unfortunate, as they had just finished Sheridan Terrace along old Fort Porter in hopes of further extension of the only lake front park. Consolation for this further failure on the waterfront was found in the adoption of the Old Germania and Union Parks in 1897, which, like Riverside Park, in the course of time became a well-equipped 73 acres of parkland, inferior only in that it never got the parkway connection that was hoped for at the beginning. The best that the Commissioners could do toward this end was to procure jurisdiction over Niagara Street in that area from the Legislature in 1910.

Following the Pan-American Exposition the inevitable hollow feeling of the morning after left the parks employees low in enthusiasm and grumpy with the immense clean-up job. For a time little else was done, South Park languishing with a mere six employees to complete the huge area while attempting to keep it tidy. The Commissioners commented on the tremendous change in Delaware Park with the two new buildings shining in their white marble, but the observation aroused no excitement. Even gifts from various sources awoke no sense of great things still to be done, although in 1903 alone Andrew Langdon gave a magnificent bronze copy of Michelangelo's "David," Mrs. Charles W. Pardee presented the fountain in Gates Circle, and Bronson Case Rumsey and his brother Dexter P. Rumsey made good some of the deficiencies in the southwest corner of Delaware Park by presenting land for the parkway with the undertaking of paving when the time came. Tardily accepted, the gift was augmented by the family in 1906, completing the park in this aspect. Probably forgotten was the gift of Jewett Avenue in 1882, the donation of Elam R. Jewett, not a relative of Sherman S. Jewett, but himself a successful printer and publisher. But the memory of Albright's gift of plants was bright, and it is hard to see why the Commissioners were so apparently indifferent. Something must be assigned to the death in 1897 of S. S. Jewett, who for so long had been the center of things. Shortly afterwards there was one of the periodic constitutional upheavals; in 1902, under a statute revising the City Charter, the number of Commissioners was reduced to five. The Mayor appointed the new Commissioners, including two well known names, William Hengerer and Frank H. Goodyear. The latter remained on the board only a short time, but the board's descent to utter indolence was so swift and complete that one wonders whether anything could have checked it. The first published reports of the new board were what might have



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been expected from men growing into a job, but when their third appeared in 1905 as a statement of three lines declaring that the finan- report was appended, it was plain that the days of the volunteer board were numbered.

It would hardly have needed the explosion that soon occurred to convince one that something fundamental had taken place so far as the parks management was concerned. It was clear enough that all seriousness of purpose had fled from the governing body although it would be fairly concluded that no actual mischief could be charged to it. The chairman, William Hengerer, had retired in the fall of 1905, and died soon afterward. There followed a complex series of events related to the granting of a streetcar franchise on Fillmore Avenue to the International Railway Company that culminated in charges being preferred against the Parks Commissioners for failure to serve the public interest in that they were allowing the Company valuable privileges at too low a rate and without giving interested citizens an opportunity to be heard. The question of rates, an immensely complicated one, we can neglect because city officials finally agreed that they were reasonable, but we must be interested in the fact that the Mayor, J. N. Adam, sharply reprimanded the Board for its irresponsible attitude.

When Adam took office at the beginning of 1906, he was immediately faced with public charges against the Commissioners. Indeed, he himself had been rudely denied time to present certain facts and arguments to the Board during the last week of 1905 when, as Councilman, he had intervened in the franchise matter. For that failure he now chided them, noting that the public interest would have been served by a more careful examination of it. Nonetheless, he held that the charges appeared to have been intended to press the Commissioners for discharge of duties rather than seriously to impugn their behavior, and therefore refused to consider them further. But he also declared that, "The language of the answer of the Park Commissioners to the charges, insofar as it endeavors to be facetious is not approved. There is no apparent reason for flippancy in dealing with any communication . . . unless it be a disguised desire to be discourteous." The sharpness was fairly earned, the Board's secretary having written, "We, therefore, most respectfully refer back to you the superlatively verbose and frivolous emanations. . . ." with more of a similar sophomoric fancy.

Mayor Adam no doubt thereafter had a respectful reception when he attended meetings of the Park Commissioners, in which he served *ex officio*. His very real interest in the parks was quickly evident. He not only replaced members of the board with his own nominees as terms expired but exerted himself to improve the budget situation that had so utterly discouraged the staff.

Following the Exposition the appropriations had dropped abruptly to levels below any of the past ten

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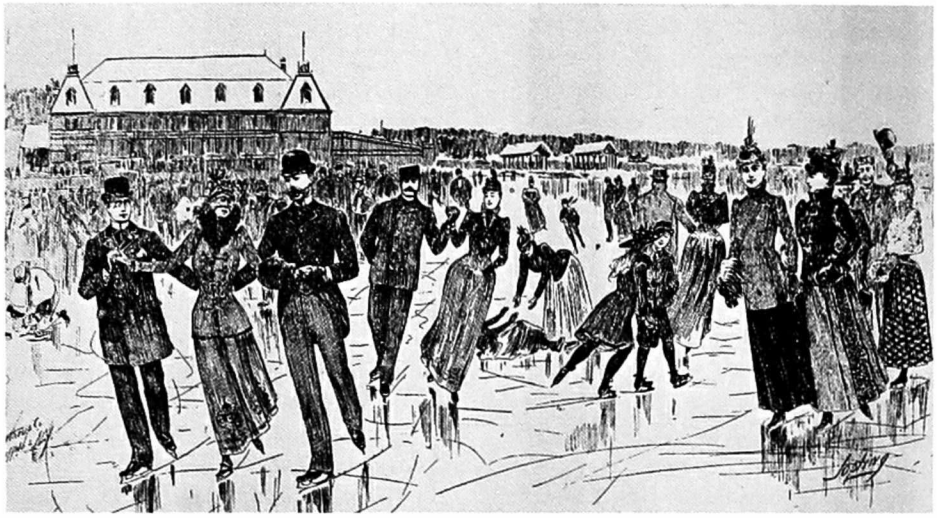

years, and expenditures for capital improvements simply ended after having been above a quarter of a million per year for decades. Mayor Adam's first budget nearly doubled the previous level and not only won the Superintendent's pathetic gratitude for a new-found ability to give things proper care and even add some improvements, but no doubt went far to dispel the doldrums of the Board. In the next year playgrounds were opened in some densely populated areas, and a forestry division was added so that the promising trees of the city might become the glory that did emerge (in time to be cut down 40 years later by the Elm disease). The need and promise of the time were great, and it is hard to imagine the city without a forestry division. Much of the effort to arrange this had been furnished by the Society for Beautifying Buffalo, headed by Dr. M. D. Mann, which was also agitating for extensions of the parks system.

This was achieved in the ensuing years, 137 acres coming into the system in 1912 when a further bond issue was marketed. Hennepin, Polonia, Schiller, and some lesser parks appeared on the map, and over 90 acres on the waterfront were acquired. Improvements were scheduled immediately, and even the zoo, which up to this point was an orphan appendage to the system, got animal houses worth $32,000, which was about equal to the value of all those built up to 1913. Just within the zoo the summer crowds ranged from 30 to 50 thousand, and it was beginning to be routine to acquire needed facilities—when they were vigorously demanded—since the activities in the parks had reached out to include the active sports that had been but shyly showing themselves previously. Now Delaware Park recreations included whole leagues for baseball conducted on several diamonds, there was a complete golf course, bowling greens were much used and, while bicycling had ended as a group activity, boating continued. There was even talk that tennis courts should be laid out.

Whatever the story as to other agencies of the City of Buffalo may be, since 1916 the operations of the department responsible for parks have been distinguished by a spirit of professionalism, with planning and supervision plainly in the hands of civil service appointees who are followers and admirers of Olmsted—this cannot be unexpected in this city—and whose interests have been concentrated in the task of making Buffalo parks serve as broadly and efficiently as possible for the benefit of the people of the city.

A deliberate attempt to establish what was essentially a professional concept of administration in city affairs appeared in 1916 in the form of a new charter for a commission form of municipal government. This provided unity in policy and administration by reducing the number of city councilmen to five and assigning to each responsibility for administering certain of the municipal offices. The Mayor became responsible for the Department of Public Safety while the other four took leadership in departments according to the decisions of the City Council as a whole. This too was superseded in 1928 by a new charter—changing charters was periodic and habitual—that kept the Common Council a single body but assigned leadership in administration to an independent mayor, i.e., the "strong mayor" pattern. During its existence the commission form had, in the parks system at least, shown strong tendencies toward professional regularities in management, and there was nothing in the new arrangements to deflect the department from this line. Appointment through examination under civil service rules had long been customary, and under a Commissioner who sat among the potentates of the Common Council as a right of his office a stern discipline could be descried. At least one Parks Superintendent found that little shrift was given to functionaries who did not give satisfaction; this unfortunate was given an opportunity to resign; when he hesitated his position was declared vacant on the motion of the Commissioner in Council, and his successor instantly named. The Commissioner also made a point of promoting capable employees and firmly declared the fact. When difficulties of a technical nature arose, as when Delaware Park Lake once again began to stink, an expert was engaged and his opinion was acted on. That there was still no permanent cure for the Lake—this was a move initiated in 1918—is now sympathetically regarded in an age at last fully aware of the overwhelming pressure exerted upon watercourses and atmosphere alike by people upstream and upwind who feel no sense of responsibility to those downstream and to the leeward, and, indeed, Delaware Park Lake still receives the sewage of upstream municipalities

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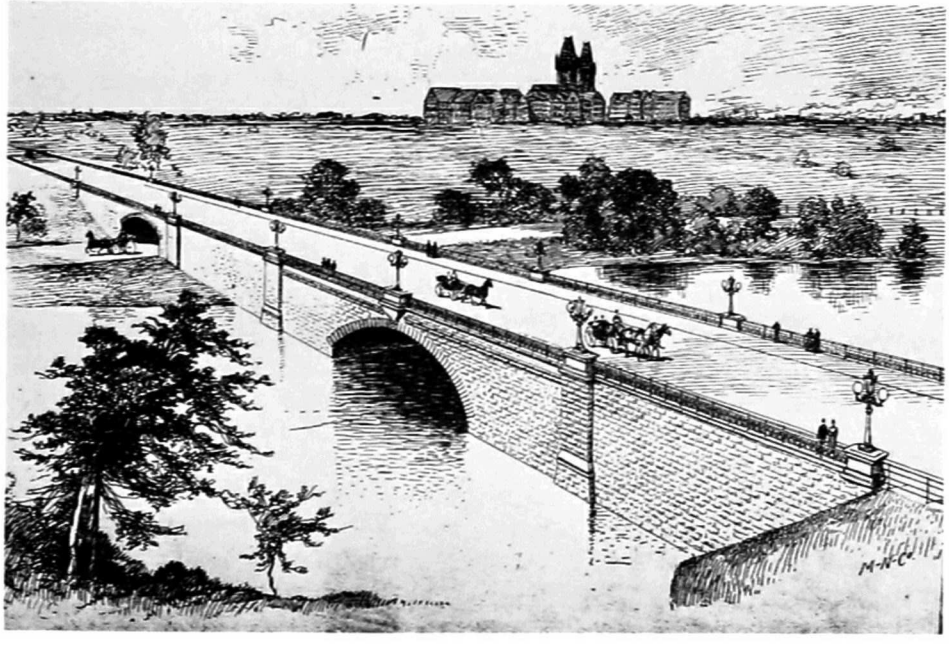
whose authorities regard denials of the fact as one of the duties of their offices. Nonetheless, Delaware Park Lake was once more dredged and remained a joy for many years.

It should be noted that the history of the city parks up to this point was marked by professionalism insofar as there had been sober and steady application to the chief objects in hand during most of the time. During the first 50 years only three people had had the secretarial and accounting duties, and for 30, as has been recorded above, planning and public relations had been in the hands of the greatest of professionals in Olmsted and of a citizen of the highest quality in Sherman S. Jewett. It is not surprising that the tradition continued, despite some serious breaks.

This steadiness of application served a great purpose following the First World War, when the entire park system needed much attention, both to retrieve deteriorated conditions and to provide roads and other facilities of a higher quality, which was called for by greater use and by the wear and tear of the automobile age. The Commissioners in Council agreed on a bond issue of $2½ million for these purposes and for the addition of a new park along the lake front to extend Front Park. This was ultimately achieved, but it was in the budget only conditionally in 1919, the chief purpose of the Council at that time being to keep the existing system in the best condition, a less spectacular job than creating new parks, but one that was needed.

These efforts and the continuing normal operations meant many new facilities, nevertheless. The Commission government could boast of provisions for swimming in Front Park, most of the development of Bird Island, a casino and sports facilities for Riverside Park, the beginnings of the Museum of Science and provision for swimming in Humboldt Park, most of the outfitting of Houghton Park as well as of Hennepin, Taylor, and Sheldon. There was even comfort for downtown in the provision of a shelter on Shelton Square and the reworking of Lafayette Square.

Some of this was to the credit of another distinguished public servant, John H. Meahl, who was Commissioner of Parks 1922-25. Although little recognized, he succeeded in adding many of the above-mentioned improvements to the system. He was joined in this endeavor and many others by two staff members who fortunately remained in the department for many years. Nelson H. Baker joined the staff in 1921 as landscape engineer and at this writing (1971) still serves in that capacity. Roeder Kinkel began his long service the following year; Commissioner Meahl with satisfaction announced his appointment and declared that it had been immediately made permanent. Meahl had the further satisfaction of adding one of the most attractive parks to the system, seeing through the Council, against strong opposition, the proposal to purchase the old Country Club property on Bailey and Main Street, now Grover Cleveland Park. Mayor F. X. Schwab cast the deciding vote and carefully explained it as justified by the great development of the City in that area, not failing to call attention to the opposition to the acquisition of Delaware Park in 1869. Meahl deserves credit for making the recommendation and firmly supporting it. He also urged and procured the City's beach at Angola.



In the hands of the Department's professionals the system developed steadily, irregularities appearing only as a consequence of cataclysms like the Great Depression of the 1930's and the Second World War. The former was something of an opportunity in the appearance of Federal relief funds, resulting in many new buildings and other useful additions, but the system was already so well developed that it made less difference than it may have elsewhere. To present planners it is significant that during all of this time practically no serious losses of park lands have been registered. A few drives have been diverted or closed, a half-acre of Riverside Park went to Vulcan Street, and a few hundred feet of Roosevelt playground was lost, but steady accretions enlarged the whole system to the impressive proportions now familiar to Buffalo citizens.

While recent developments within the city were proceeding thus smoothly, the County of Erie had begun to consider its responsibilities toward parks and popular rec-

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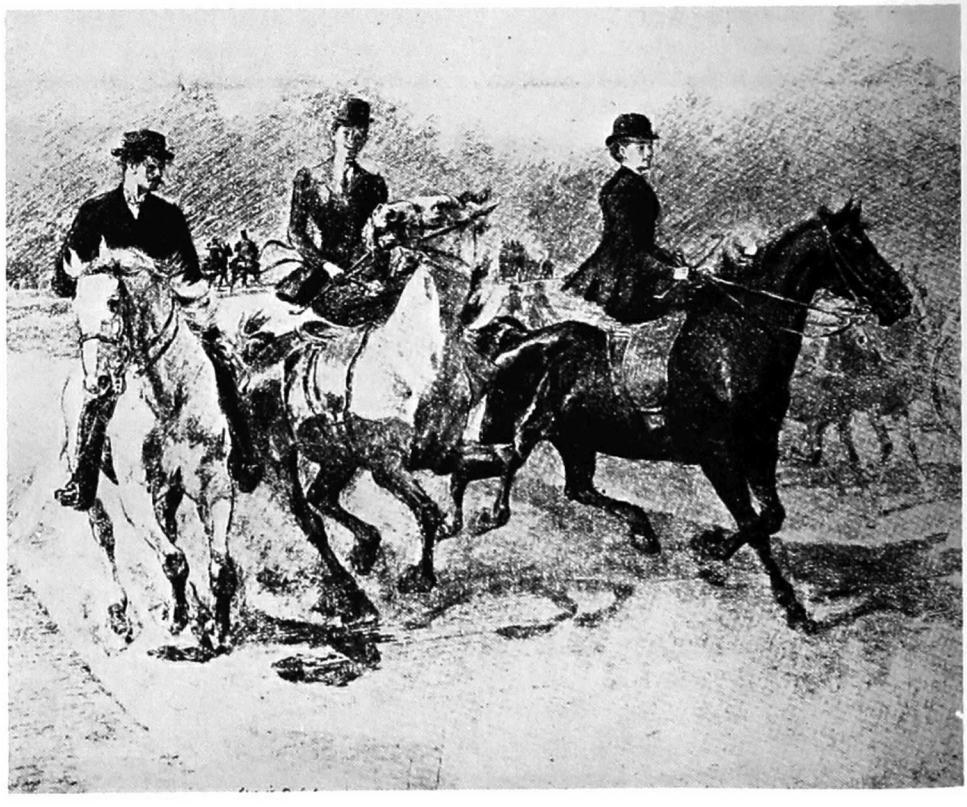
reation. During the 1920's a movement developed within the nation to extend park facilities around metropolitan areas outside the immediate environs of the cities themselves. Causes for this stirring have been assigned variously: that national and state authorities were apparently resting on the merits won by establishing the national park system's basic facilities, leaving the next move to the counties, as the cities had acted before any of them. If this were the challenge, and such reviews say nothing of the fact that automobiles were now numerous enough in the cities to make county park systems ideal for the questing motorist, the counties, of which Erie County was not the least, responded willingly. Before 1920 two of the metropolitan New Jersey counties had made their starts, Essex as early as 1895, and in the Midwest, Milwaukee County began its construction in 1910 followed by Cook County, Illinois (for Chicago) in 1915. Westchester and others in metropolitan New York were among the biggest by 1925, when Erie County acquired its first County park lands.

Erie's operation commenced in 1924 with the enactment of the empowering statute and the appointment of a board which was to continue with minimal changes of personnel for over 20 years; of six original appointees, two, J. J. Lenahan and Edwin Lang Miller, were still serving at the end of the Board's existence, and another, Hamilton Ward, Sr., was represented by a second successor from his family. One other, F. E. Bard, retired in 1943 because of illness. On the basis of this record of stability and devotion one would not be disappointed in expectations of a repetition of the city's professional handling of the parks. Ward, as first chairman, set the proper tone, and in Arthur B. Weaver the department found a design engineer devoted to the principles of Frederick Law Olmsted. Long service again served beneficently so that Weaver and his sound principles are still remembered loyally in the staff.

Such skilled operations incidentally provide a stout foundation for the claims of those who admired the workings of the County Board of Supervisors as an agency of government. In this area of administration, as in others, there was no apparent reason to complain of political or other interferences. On the contrary, members of the Board of Supervisors undertook to watch construction in their own areas, donated land, and otherwise gave active assistance. The Board was normally Republican in majority and subject to the discipline of the Party in matters of policy so that the great size of the Board was no obstacle to agreement, which the Party was quite capable of providing.

The Erie County Parks Commission held for a number of years the further advantage of acting on behalf of the State of New York in the development of parks in this area. The chairman automatically served on the State Council of Parks so that occasionally local interests could be effectively advanced, as when Chairman F. M. Spitzmiller carried a motion through the state body in 1927 making funds from the sale of lands in the Bronx available for the first of the State parks to be set up on Grand Island. The contact aroused confidence and extended the Commission's acquaintance with the broad popular movement to expand popular parks.

Their initial action was adequate to make everyone aware that Erie County meant to be with the leaders, and this was quickly acknowledged by the considerable attention won by the new system from those leading the national movement. The proceeds of the initial bond issue allowed the Commission to acquire about 1,700 acres in four parks: Chestnut Ridge, Emery, Como Lake, and Ellicott Creek. These were almost immediately available informally, the land being purchased in 1925 and 1926, and within a few years very impressive equipment had been added to encourage family picnicking, including small Adirondack-type shelter houses. Within a decade there were three large field houses to serve a public that aggregated nearly 3 million per year, together with many small shelters, several residences for supervisory



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employees, numbers of concession stands, and many miles of roadways. By then, too, there had been substantial increases in the acreage of the parks, including some by gift, Hamilton Ward, Sr., leading the list with a bequest of some 400 acres for Chestnut Ridge Park. This stage of maturity was crowned by the staff's recognition of the fact that the existing lands were being overused with consequent deterioration of their condition. The obvious cure, additional lands, was of course proposed.

Reforestation was a part of the Commission's plan from the beginning, and its vigorous policy, which resulted in yearly plantings in the hundreds of thousands, was extended by the acquisition of forest lands to be developed as such. This began in 1927 with the object of creating demonstration forests, and was managed by a forester who also advised citizens in forestry enterprises.

Depression exerted no devastating pressures on the parks, since they were well equipped to absorb relief funds and unspecialized labor. The shortage of dollars turned the managers to tasks that could be done almost by labor alone, such as the laying out of drives and to the collection of such materials as were available for the gathering. Since members of the Commission undertook personal supervision in the early stages of the system, Richard S. Persons watching over the work in Emery and Hamilton Ward that in Chestnut Ridge, such dodges were by no means repugnant, and the staff had and has retained admiration for successful improvisation. Logs were gathered, discarded poles hauled, paving blocks begged and trucked, and riprap from the banks of the old Erie Canal (then being dismantled and filled under the authority of the Commission) were carefully assembled to become walls for permanent structures in the parks. Combining such scrounging operations with forestry, a sawmill was purchased at secondhand and set up to provide lumber, which it did at a quarter of retail costs; as late as 1968 it was still in operation. Water systems were enlarged, reservoirs added, nurseries planted,

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and a long housekeeping list plodded through. Edward Lehde made a great gift of plants, and these were promptly set out; in Emery Park one year saw 800 lilacs in 75 varieties go into the ground. Old bridges had already provided the materials for slides used in winter sports, and more were added.

Arguments were hardly needed to justify expenditures even while so much stringency was felt in every sort of budget because of the Depression, particularly when it was pointed out that the parks were used more than ever since the number of automobiles had grown so great. And it was true that the worst was over in Buffalo, steel plants having resumed something like normal operations by 1936. The urging of the Commission that a complete parkway system be considered was even timely, although for some reason it was not taken up by any fiscal authority. Had it happily been undertaken and concluded, the likeness to Olmsted's original work would have been nearly complete, for the development to this point in its union of nature and art in the service of human recreation certainly conformed to principles exemplified in the Buffalo parks for many decades—contrary to some suggestions that city parks generally had not in the early days welcomed free use by its citizens.

There was, of course, reason in the policy of confining parks work in this case to parks alone. There was germinating in the State some firm notions as to the quality and magnitude of road systems for the future. This emerged in obliterating the old Erie Canal. The Commission pointed out that its bed north of the Buffalo city limits would provide the basis for a fine parkway, and it went so far as to prevent all encroachments on the property once it was cleared and filled. Despite these efforts, as early as 1943, the State transferred the property to a new authority, which was charged with the construction of the Niagara Thruway. The building of great expressways was to be the new pattern, and most would agree that it far exceeded a practicable task for the Erie County Parks Commission.

The final stages of this cheerful story are even more so: the system grew swiftly and with accustomed efficiency. Everything seemed to fall into place smoothly—even the elements cooperated, as when the Chestnut Ridge Park casino obligingly burned just as it fell into decay in 1936. Once the war had been endured—during which it was commonplace for the depleted park crews to return unexpended to the treasury up to a quarter of appropriations—expansion was exhilarating. In 1947 Akron Falls Park was donated in part by the Village of Akron and more was added by purchase. Elma Meadows dates from 1958 and Isle View from 1960.

After having been a part of the Highway Department since 1947, the Parks Department became an independent agency under Commissioner W. O. Walter, finally expanding to its present form to include recreation and forestry when the new charter took effect in 1961.

By this time, too, following the housekeeping and development activities of the Department had become a problem to the uninitiated, for its tasks are many and various beyond easy description. The results may easily be seen, however. And at this time, too, application of massive funds provided by State and Federal authorities have again changed the scale of operations. Since the State acquisition program started in 1960 seven new areas have been set aside as parks or forests, ranging in size from 163 to 1,937 acres. Federal funds for proper development have added encouragement to those who have admired for so long the beneficent results of the parks movement in Buffalo and Erie County.

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Police and Fire

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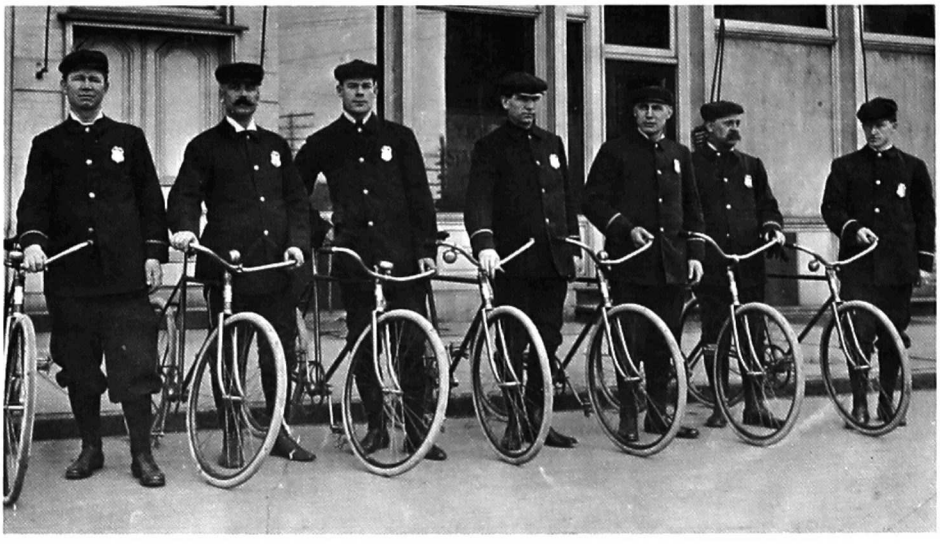

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Many public servants are essential to the growth of the County. Among the many occupations, the fireman and policeman over the years have been the most numerous and the most dramatic. For that reason their story is illustrated as examples of all civil servants.

The policeman has many routine functions to perform along with the more dangerous and difficult. The fireman spends many hours training as well as maintaining his equipment to be ready when called for at any hour of the day or night.

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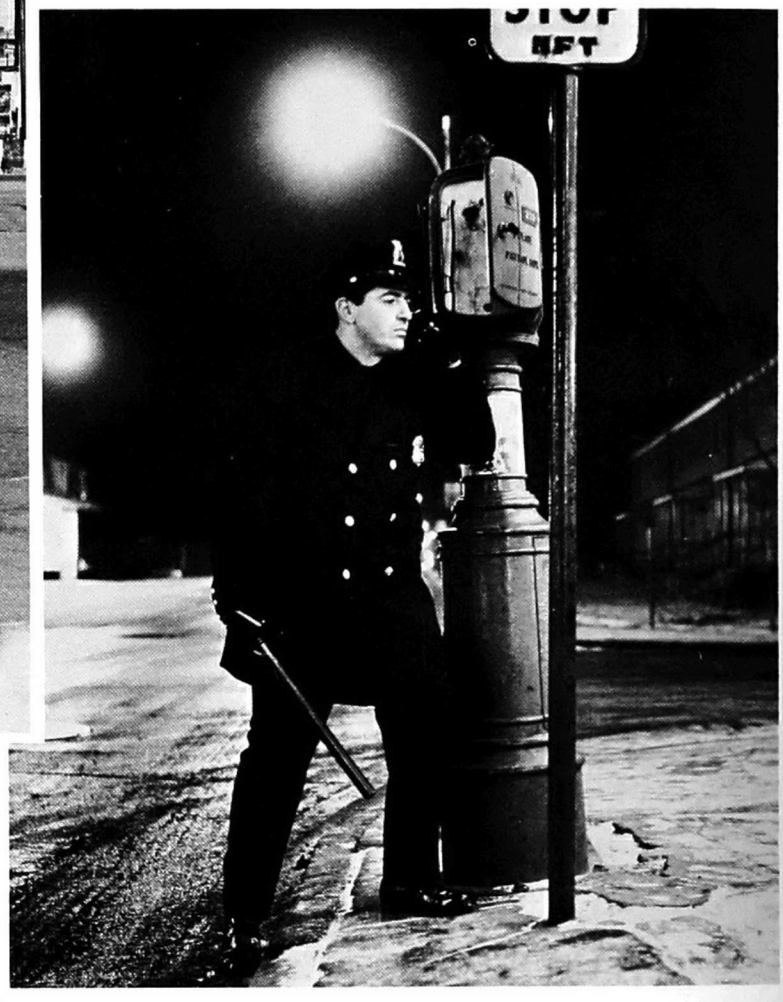

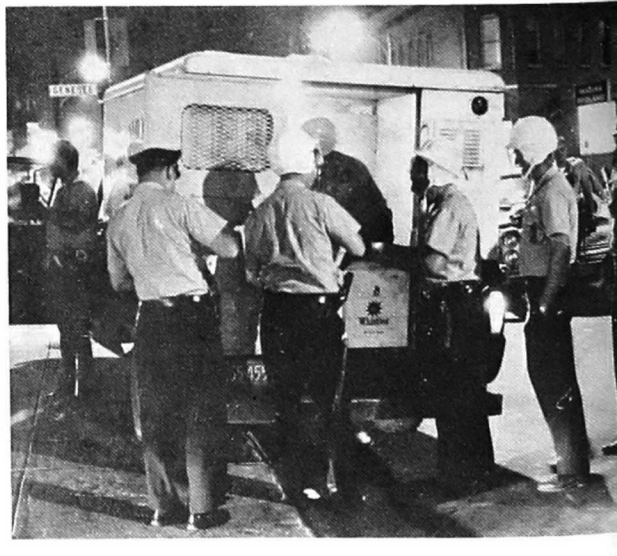

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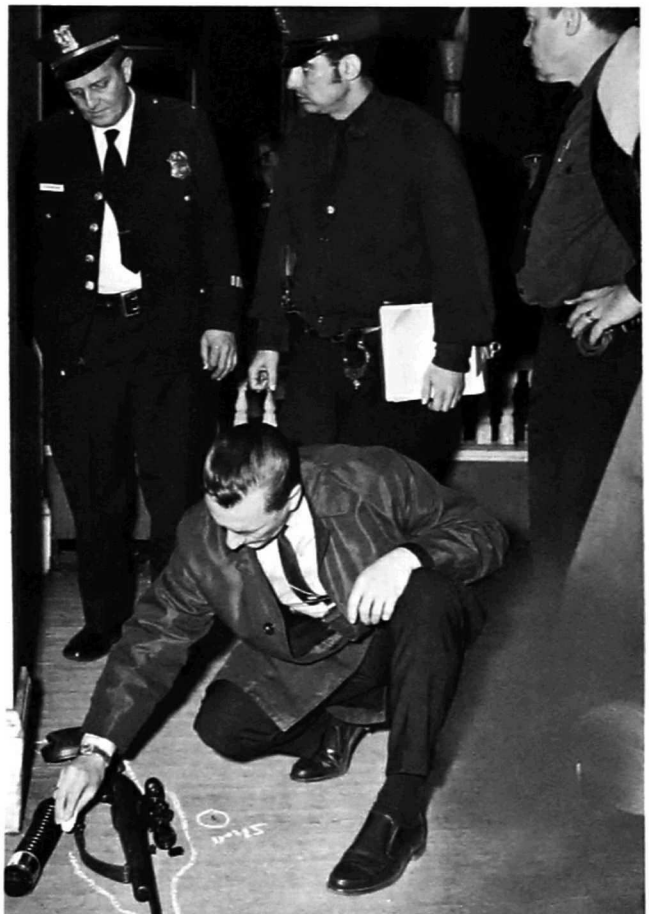

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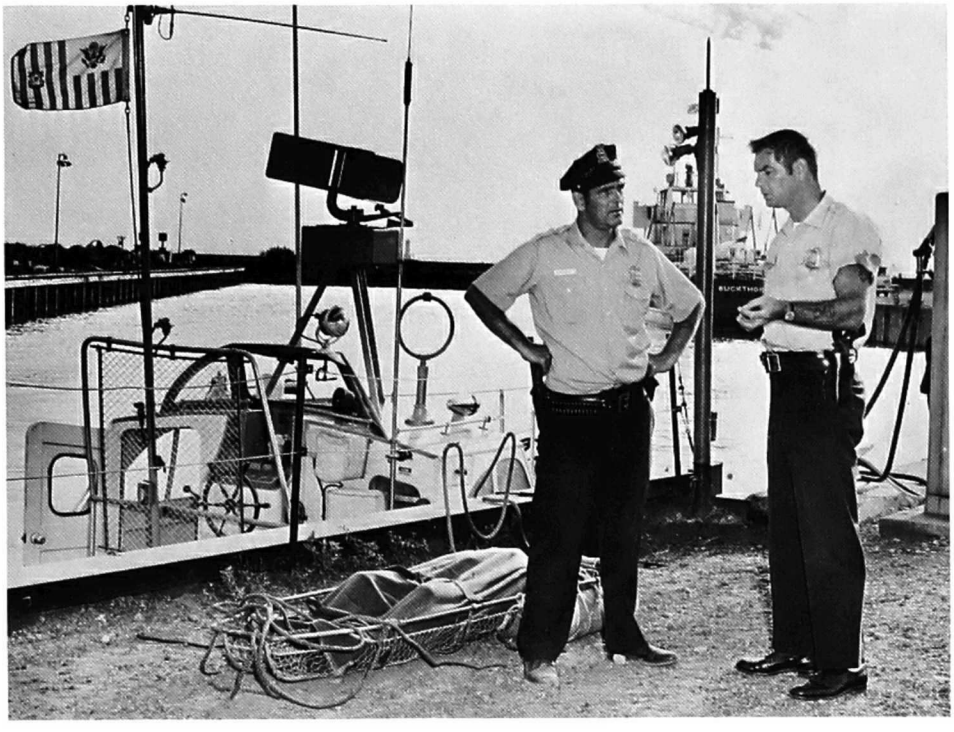

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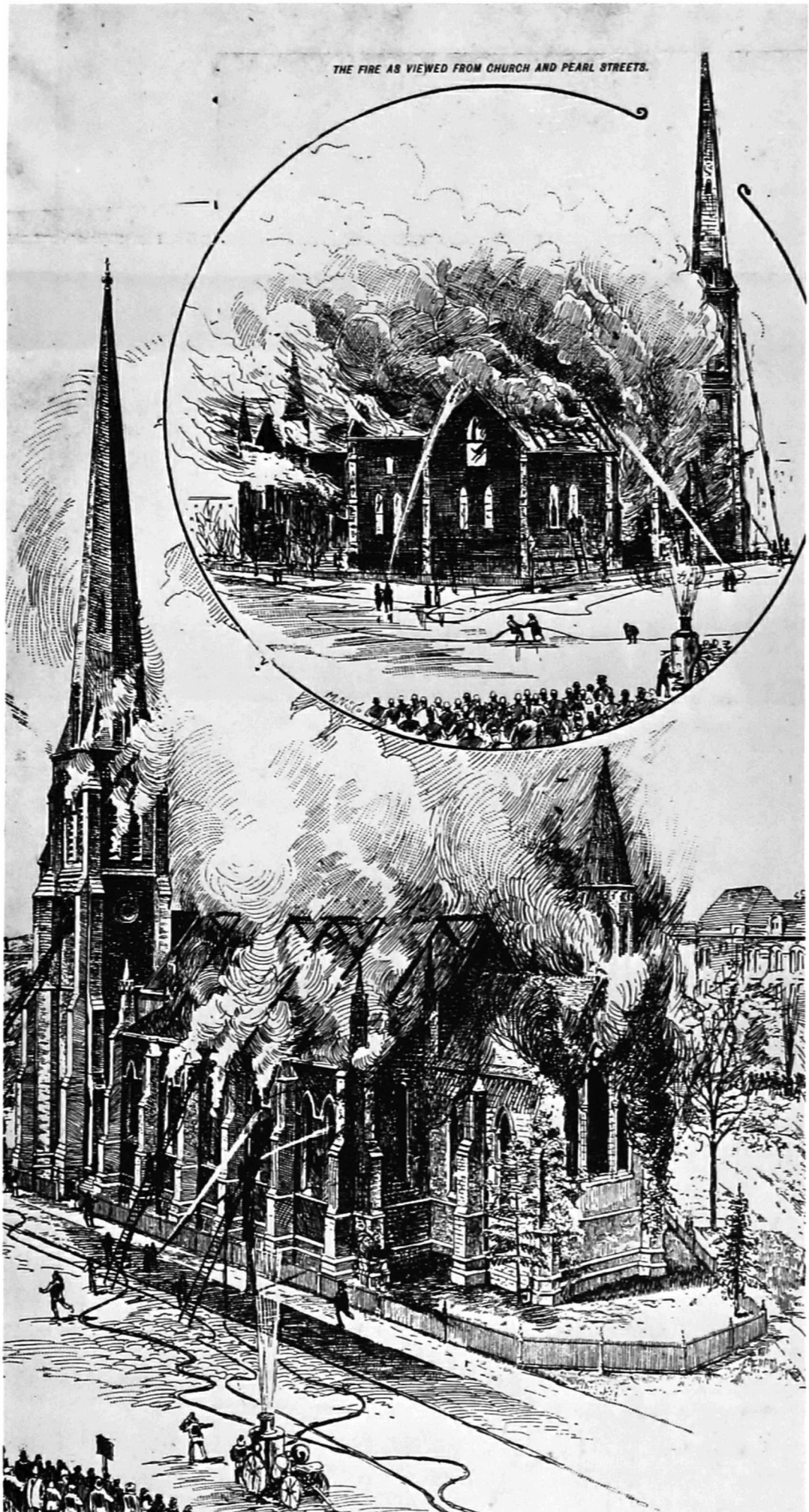

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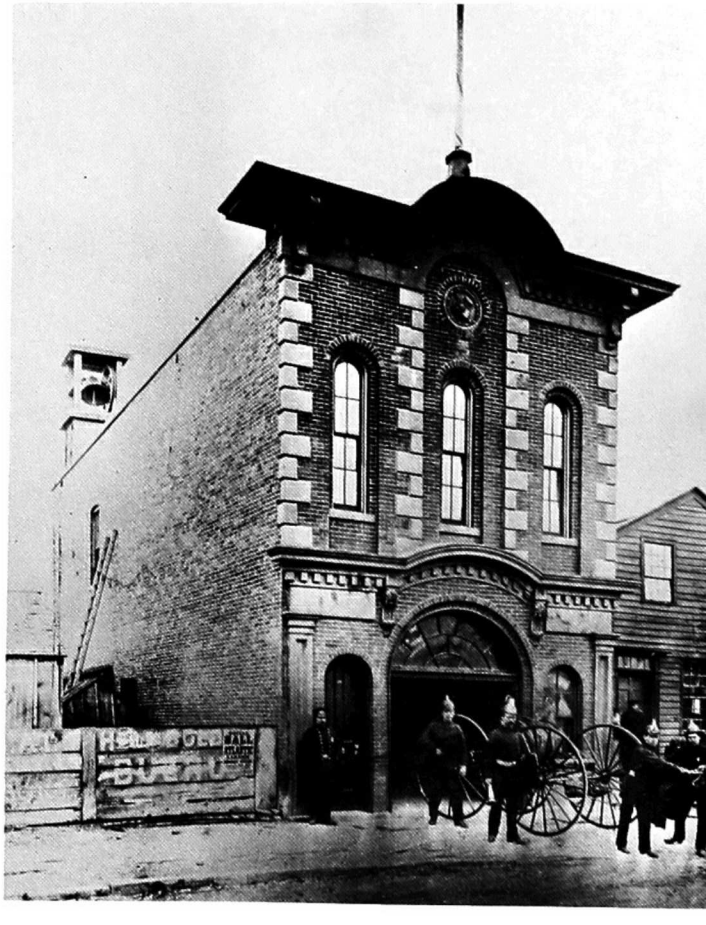
OUR FIRE DEPARTMENT TIMING AN ALARM AT A STATION-HOUSE



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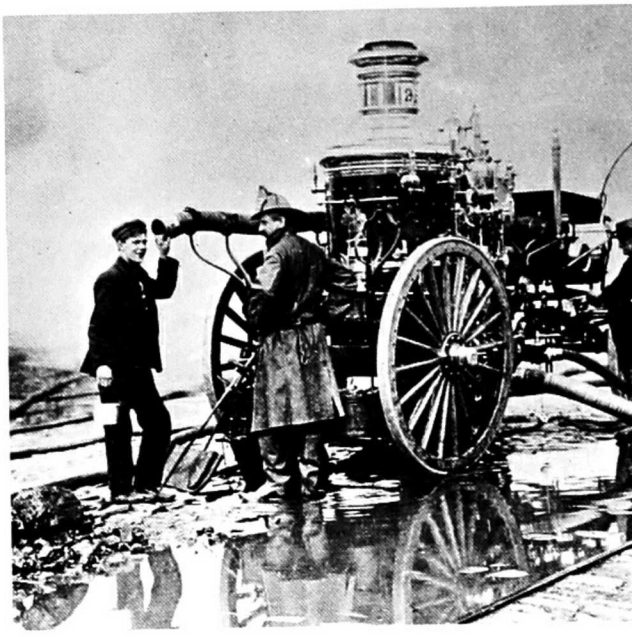

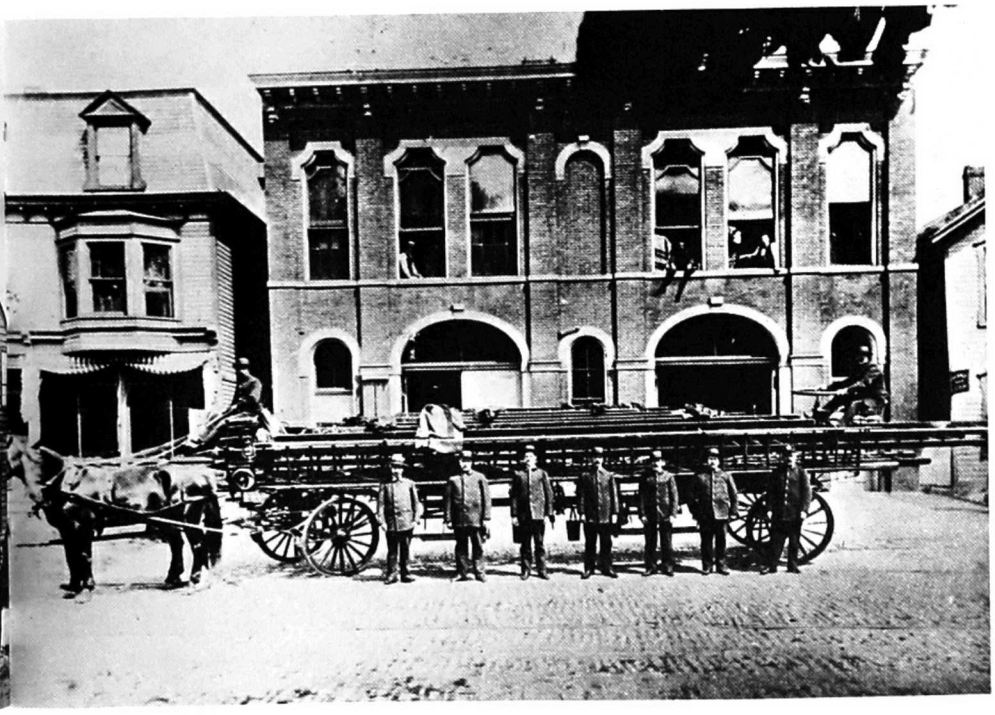

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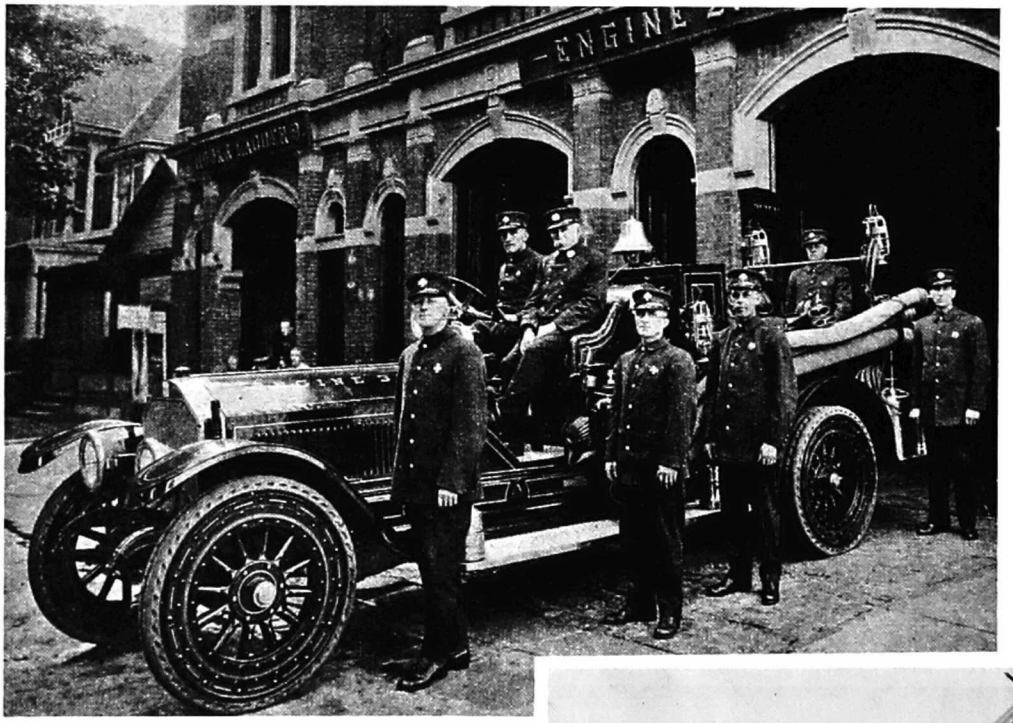

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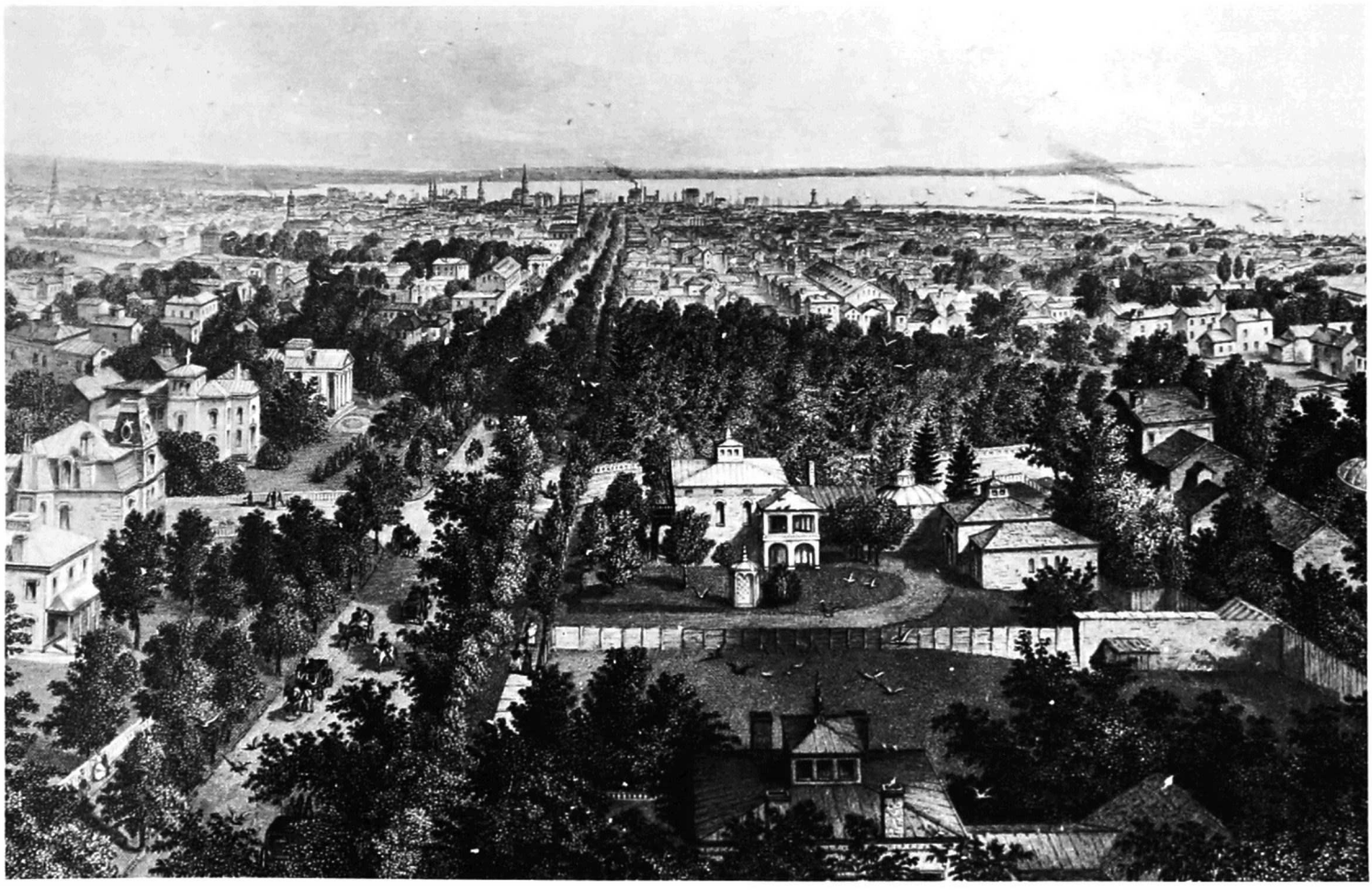
VII. Arts and Sciences Emerging

In 1870 Buffalo was an established, progressive inland port and manufacturing center of great promise with a population of 117,000. For many years the arts had been cultivated by its citizens along with the other niceties of life. Lars G. Sellstedt in his book, *Art in Buffalo*, refers to "the evolution from ordinary and commonplace nature to umbrageous streets, noble edifices filled with articles of virtu, and choice intellectual and artistic products redolent of an atmosphere of elegance and refinement."

The most important single step in the evolution of culture was the organization of the Young Men's Association in 1836. At the beginning this group which was "the recognized representation of the intelligence, enterprise and public spirit of the young men of Buffalo," had planned only to establish a library. The diversity of its members, however, led to a diversity of interests, so that it soon found itself in possession of artifacts, works of art, scientific specimens, and historical objects. For a number of years its collections were served by a standing committee in each field. But eventually the need for independent organizations became apparent. Consequently in 1861 without opposition from the older society, the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences was formed, and one year later the Buffalo Historical Society and Buffalo Fine Arts Academy. An active library was kept in the name of the Young Men's Association.



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The theatre also was flourishing; a number of poets had persuaded the local press to publish their work; literary readings provided pleasant intellectual evenings; and music either held the stage in its own right or served as an acceptable background for other programs. The climax in public productions each year was the Old Settlers' Festival with feature attractions which included even such notables as Fanny Kemble and Charles Dickens.

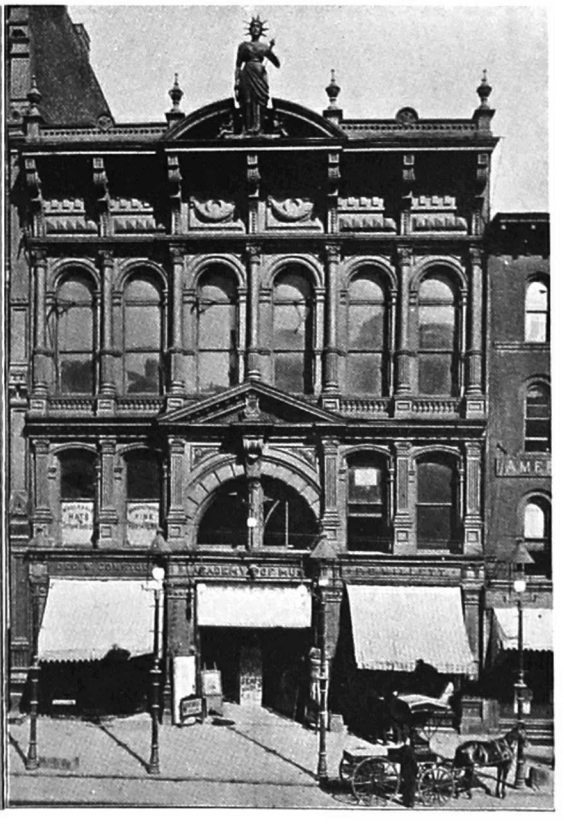
Most entertainment of the 1870's was presented at the three local theatres: St. James Hall, the Academy of Music, and the Buffalo Opera House.

St. James Hall began its career as the Eagle Street Theatre in 1835, and was burned and rebuilt twice. The original building consisted of four tiers of boxes and galleries arranged in a semicircle, with a sink or pit on the main floor. In the pit sat the less respectable, raucous members of the audience, conveniently situated for heckling the players.

The Academy of Music opened as the Metropolitan Theatre in 1852.

Young Men's Association, 1886

Its career was uneven since the city was not large enough to support two competing theatres; but under the capable management of the Meech Brothers, it finally won out over St. James Hall. In 1883 it was remodelled and made fit for opera, plays, and concerts, at which point it became a theatre "comparable to the best in the nation." The building continued in existence into the mid-twentieth century, housing varied



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fare until its ignominious finale, with melodrama preparing the way for third-rate movies.

The Buffalo Opera House, built in 1861-62, was the least of the three. In 1874 it was converted into a vaudeville house, and its name was changed to the Adelphi. Other minor theatres such as the Bijou, the Germania, and the Alhambra opened and closed throughout the rest of the century.

The quality of the plays produced was quite uneven. The audience responded to the great Edwin Booth in *Hamlet*; yet accepted many a shoddy production as long as it portrayed the ultimate triumph of virtue. Commented a *Buffalo Express* critic on a production of *East Lynne*: "It is a sign of good taste to appreciate Miss Lucile Western, and those who shed tears last evening only betrayed the possession of a natural susceptibility which marks the presence of goodness."

It was the custom for the newspapers to review each performance rather than only the first night, and to pay almost equal attention to the audience which was more likely than not "numerous, intelligent, and fashionable." As a rule one performance was a benefit for the star or some other favorite, so that his or her popularity could be judged by the attendance on that night. "Tomorrow night Miss Sophie [a burlesque star] has a benefit. Can it be otherwise than a bumper?"

A partial list of the plays in 1870 will indicate the taste of the period. Among them were *Oliver Twist*, Boucicault's *Octoroon, Uncle Tom's Cabin*, *Captain Kidd*, *Hamlet*, a "sterling comedy" entitled *Wild Oats*, and *Les Miserables*.

A typical program at the Adelphi included a "Xylophone Medley; a Wonderful Crystal Pyramid Act, balancing on cups, chairs and bottles at a height of 19 ft.; The Celtic Gems with clogs, reels and funny sayings; Quilter and Goodrich in their original character songs and dances; Prof. William Mitchell, the Fire Demon in his Wonderful and Indescribable Fire-eating and Handling Feats; Mme. Lotti in her Extraordinary Feat showing the Strength of Her Jaw; and a one-act play, the Most Mirth-provoking Ridiculosity ever Produced in This Establishment."

Burlesque came frequently to the Academy, but it was a chaste, family-size burlesque milder than contemporary vaudeville. The more daring feminine stars and chorus girls wore nineteenth century miniskirts, but exposed areas of female flesh were as rare as the sun in a Buffalo December. This sort of entertainment ranged from a burlesque of Cinderella to Chang, the Chinese Giant, over eight feet tall, accompanied by Lady Chang Kin Foo; from Cool Burgess, a "prince of phunny phellows" to Gus Williams, the African Dwarf. Dancers, singers, acrobats, and jugglers furnished the steady fare.

Opera came less frequently, but was thereby more important. "When rendered by Parepa Rosa [one of the great stars of the day] and the magnificent troupe which accompanies her, it is not too much to say that an element of Paradise will be introduced into the prosaic experience of the every day life of the fashionable audience already placed for tonight." The appearance of the Russian Opera Troupe at the Academy of Music drew forth superlatives. "The matinee was literally radiant with feminine beauty and musical brilliance." In the 1870's Verdi was the most popular composer with an occasional bow to Gounod and the still controversial Wagner.

The musicals of the period such as Gilbert and Sullivan's *Mikado* all stopped over in Buffalo, which was an important link in the national chain of touring companies.

Minstrel shows were still popular. Said the *Buffalo Express* critic: "Until last night cork opera has been passe. We went under a sort of moral compulsion to St. James Hall to find that we were glad to be there and hope to be there again tonight. The occasion was the appearance of Arlington's Minstrels. Arlington's END of the Line is capital. Since George Christie we have not seen so shrewd and grotesque a delineator of Negro humor."

Apparently Buffalonians were familiar with the ballet only as a section of the opera. If there were reputable local dancers, their names have fluttered into oblivion.

The regular theatrical season ended late in May or in June; but the Academy, at least in 1870, reopened in August with a stock company to play to the thousands of visitors expected for the summer trotting races. The company consisted of a "leading man, heavy business, old man, first comedy, light comedy juvenile and juvenile, and juvenile

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ST. JAMES HALL.

J. T. FORD, Manager.

MR. SOTHERN

In his celebrated part of

"LORD DUNDREARY,"

His original character, written and created by himself, and acted by him in America and Europe

☞OVER 3,500 TIMES.

Friday Evening, March 15th,

Will be performed Tom Taylor's Famous Comedy of

OUR AMERICAN COUSIN

(THE CAST.)

LORD DUNDREARY, - - MR. SOTHERN.

(Created and Written by Himself.)

Asa Trenchard	Mr. C. B. Bishop
Sir Edward Trenchard	Mr. Rogers
Lieut. Vernon, R. N.	Mr. Lytton
Captain de Boots	Mr. W. G. Shine
Buddicombe	Mr. E. C. Edwin
Abel Murcott	Mr. J. M. Barron
Richard Coyle	Mr. G. O. Morris
Rasper	Mr. W. G. Jones
Binny	Mr. H. C. Curley
Florence Trenchard	Miss Effie Warren
Mary Meredith	Miss Jenny Anderson
Mrs. Montchessington	Miss Lizzie Anderson
Georgina, from the Hay Market Theatre London	Miss Amy Roselle
Augusta	Miss Morris
Skillet	Miss Nellie Roberts
Sharpe	Mrs. Rogers

In the course of the piece Mr. Sothern will introduce the reading of

Brother Sam's Letter,

Received nightly with the unprecedented compliment of a triple encore. The piece ends with a new rhyming TAG, which the audience are respectfully requested not to interrupt by rising from their seats.

Mr. Sothern has purchased from Miss Laura Keene the sole right and title of "Our American Cousin."

Tickets may be purchased at Messrs. Cottier & Denton's Music Store, Main Street.

Doors open at 7 o'clock. Curtain to rise at 8.

On Saturday Night

Mr. Sothern will appear in his latest London success

DAVID GARRICK,

As performed by him for two consecutive seasons at the Theatre Royal, Haymarket.

Saturday Afternoon, 2 o'clock.

Grand Dundreary Matinee,

"OUR AMERICAN COUSIN."

Admission 50 cts., Reserved Seats 25 cts. extra.

walking gent," with four additional players classified as utility. Among the women players were a "leading lady, soubrette, walking lady, first old woman, second chamber maid, second walking lady, and four utilities."

The *Buffalo Express* followed the theatre doggedly through many repetitions and variants—there was always Shakespeare—but few innovations. By 1874 it found music and the theatre important enough to warrant a regular column entitled *Musical and Dramatic.*

Among the items included in 1875 was the appearance of *The Two Orphans*, "a good play with the glint of gold about it unlike the society drama of the French school, which abounds in woman's frailty and martyr's crowns and parading vice in silks and satins." On May 31 there came to St. James Hall a pantomime entitled *Humpty Dumpty at Home*, representing the "world of fun, tricks, smiles, and tribulations."

In June 1875, B. F. Goodrich opened the Adelphi Theatre for a six-week season of plays. There was also a German theatre in this period.

The year 1876 sparkled with stars of several magnitudes. In April Buffalo Bill came with Texas Jack and a premiere danseuse, Mme. Worloccki to support him in the great western drama, *Life on the Border.* At St. James Hall, and presumably of equal brilliance, were Madame Rentz's Female Minstrels, and Marie

ST. JAMES HALL.

Young Men's Christian Association

TEA PARTY.

Friday Evening, October 27th, 1871

Lunch from 12 to 2 o'clock. Tea from 5 to 8 o'clock, P. M.

PROGRAMME:

Overture,	Wahle's Band
Tableau,	Esther before Ahasueras
Singing,—"*Shadows of the Past,*"	Schubert Quartette
Recitation,	Prof. J. W. H. Wood
Solo.—"Return,"	Miss Joyce

PART SECOND.

Music,	Wahle's Band
Tableau,	Happy days of Job
Solo,—"*Katie's Letter,*"	Miss Jennie Barker
Singing,—"*America.*"	(all invited to join.)

The Piano used upon this occasion is furnished by the kindness of Messrs. Jewett, Mickle & Wahle.

Rooms of the Association, 319 Main Street. Open from 9 A. M., to 10 P. M. Sundays from 1 1-2 to 9 1-2, P. M.

Noon-day Prayer Meeting, from 12 to 12 1-2 daily,

Saturday Evening Prayer Meeting, from 9 to 10, P. M.

All are cordially invited to attend all of the above Meetings.

St. James Hall

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Delacour's Beautiful Parisian Can Can Dancers.

The greatest actor was Edwin Booth who appeared at the Academy of Music during the week of May 29 in his masterpiece, *Hamlet*, in *Richelieu, Much Ado About Nothing, the Merchant of Venice, King Richard II,* the *Lady of Lyons,* and *Othello.* "Before such a consummate piece of acting as is Booth's *Hamlet,* criticism stands abashed. His magnificent voice with its robust chest tones was brought out into strong relief by the thin treble of the minor actors."

In the 1880's prominent actors of the day continued to appear at the Academy. Among them were Joseph Jefferson, E. A. Sothern, Sarah Bernhardt, Mary Anderson, Ellen Terry, Nat Goodwin, and Henry Irving. Many new plays opened in Buffalo - opened and closed. "If it will go in Buffalo, it will go anywhere," was a popular saying. The style of production and acting was changing, though the exact line of demarcation is not clear.

"Real water and startling realistic effects have lost their popularity and farce-comedy and comedy-farces reign supreme," said the *Express* critic. Despite this, on November 2, 1887, Grover's "thrilling dramatic comedy, *Lost in New York*," arrived at the Grand Opera House for one week. "There is a vast river of real water 45 feet long and 35 feet deep, containing actual water in which will be displayed a steamboat running at full speed, the Acme of stage realism," said the *Express.*

On October 12, 1882, a performance by the Strakosch Opera Co. inaugurated Wahle's Opera House, operated by Emil Wahle who was also a prominent band leader. After a remodelling in 1888, the theatre changed its name to the Court Street Theatre and ran for a number of seasons with vaudeville.

In December 1888 the Star Theatre was opened. It was located at the corners of Pearl, Mohawk, and Genesee Sts., and was built by Emmanuel Levi, a well-known name in Buffalo theatrical circles. In time the Meech brothers took over its management. According to the *Express* critic, a play of dubious quality named *The Tin Soldier* was produced here in December 1890. Among the characters were "Rats, a Perfect Little Gentleman; the Brooklyn Bridge, a Gentleman of High Position; Wright Handy; Cliff Walker, a mail carrier; Steel Coffin, Secretary of the Tar and Feathering Committee; and Cary Story, who lived with Mrs. Hog next door." There were three acts and two intermissions "to give the audience two chances to rest and think of something else."

Buffalo's most noted man of the theatre, listed in the Encyclopedia Americana as an actor, dramatist, and producer, was Steele MacKaye (1843-1894). In 1869 he went to Paris to study the Delsarte method of acting, which he later introduced into the United States, then, after he had made his debut as an actor, he turned to writing plays. His first opened in 1879 in his own Madison Square Theatre in New York City. Here he produced 22 plays, written and directed by himself; and acted in 17 of them as well. His greatest success was *Hazel Kirke,* which ran through the year of 1880. He also built the Lyceum Theatre and in 1887 founded the first dramatic school in the country.

In 1887 Buffalo's Mayor sent him an invitation, signed by 1200 leading citizens, to open his new play, *Anarchy,* in his place of birth. He accepted the invitation and took the leading role with several prominent actors in the supporting cast, including May Irwin and Sidney Drew. A special train filled with critics and other people of the theatre came to the opening from New York. A city-wide half holiday was declared. The week was filled with dinners, receptions, excursions to the Falls, and other events that altogether made it the outstanding theatrical celebration in the history of Buffalo.

In the 1890's the Lyceum Theatre and the Star were both active and attracting the great contemporary productions. The Academy did not do so well. About 1893 its managers, the Meech brothers, failed. With the growth of the city northward, the deteriorating neighborhood kept many potential customers away. The brothers too were growing old and had perhaps lost the touch which had carried them through so many earlier crises in theatre management. In 1894 the Academy was sold under foreclosure. A few years later it burned down.

An anecdote in relation to the burning has been preserved. When a new manager of the Star arrived in Buffalo, he passed the Academy and found it at that very moment on fire. He telegraphed to his superior in Detroit: "Our competitor, the

Site of Buffalo Library

Collection of The Buffalo History Museum

Academy, burning tonight." The reply came back: "Quick work."

N. S. Robinson, who had formerly leased the Star, bought the Academy property and put up a fireproof theatre in anticipation of the overflow audience from the Pan-American Exposition.

Two vaudeville houses opened in the1890's: Robinson's Musee-Theatre in 1893 and Sackett's Mohawk in 1895. The former dared to feature a talking horse and hoola hoola dancers; the latter advertised itself as "a cosy pleasant place of amusement for ladies and children." One of the songs heard on the vaudeville stage ran as follows:

"A shady nook,
A babbling brook,
A moon serenely mellow;
Swear to be true—
I do, I do,
Tut tut, you naughty fellow.

"Again the brook,
Once more the nook;
Same moon and all is well-o,
But if you took
Another look,
You'd find a different fellow."

There were also a few amateur theatrical groups organizing during the period.

The non-professional group that was the longest lived in Buffalo was the Unity Club of the Unitarian Church. Organized in 1875, it endured until 1930. Near the beginning of the period, the Buffalo Amateurs flourished under the leadership of Col. S. Douglas Cornell, the founder of Buffalo's outstanding theatrical dynasty. Lasting from the 1870's to the early 1900's, this group gave four plays a year. The actors, largely recruited from prominent families included such names as the Cornells, the Carys, the Sprague, the Sellstedts, Charles Clifton, John Coit, Mrs. Frank Potter, and Porter Norton.

About 1891 in the study of Misses Alice Muzzey and Clara Sackett, another amateur theatrical group, The Studio Club, came into being. Among the active members were Mr. and Mrs. Urquhart Wilcox, Mr. and Mrs. John Eppendorf, Harold Olmsted, Charles Norton, Lars Potter, and James Platt White. Eventually the Club moved to a small theatre of its own on Franklin St. between North and Allen Sts. The stage was raised only 18 inches above the floor and the backstage area was definitely inadequate; but it is said that a nearby washbowl permitted beautiful and exciting fountain effects.

The programs were surprisingly broad and of good quality, at one extreme being Galsworthy's *Joy* and the other Hauptmann's *Weavers*. Urquhart Wilcox, head of the art school, did much of the lighting and directing. Mrs. James O. Putnam was the chief actress. Lars Potter sometimes read from a poem or play that was being interpreted through a "living picture." Among these living pictures were *Undine* and *Tristan and Iseult*. A few of the regular participants were Miss Belle Laverack, Fred and Frank Almy, John and Harold Olmsted, Dr. DeLancy Rochester and his family, the Potter family, Mr. and Mrs. George Keating, Miss Edwine Noye and Roland Lord O'Brian.

Music too was popular although there was apparently no permanent symphonic orchestra in the 1870's. The local singing societies were usually accompanied by a group of instrumentalists known as the Beethoven Musical Society. In the late 1870's a string quartet which gave a series of concerts was organized by the Kuhn Bros. There was also a Ladies' Morning Musicale started by Mrs. Lawrence Rumsey.

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Few visiting orchestras filled the relative vacuum, but the few that came were of the best. In October 1870 Theodore Thomas brought his 40-piece orchestra from Chicago. Featured in the concert were the Schumann *Concerto for Piano in A Minor*, Opus 54, and a *Hungarian Rhapsody* by Liszt. In May the renowned Mendelssohn Quintet from Boston gave two concerts in St. James Hall.

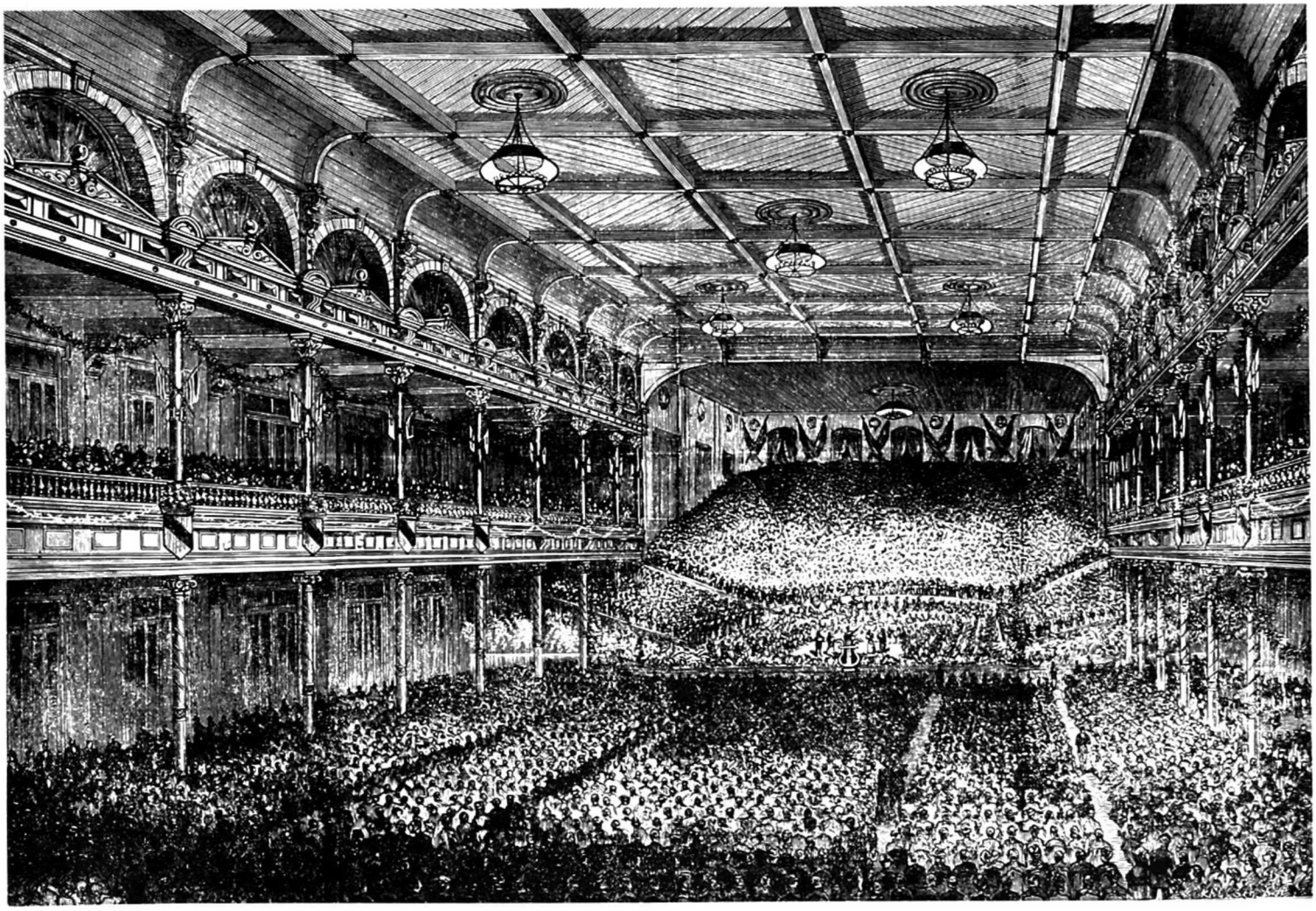
Among the visiting concert singers was Clara Louise Kellogg, an American prima donna. Said the *Express* critic: "No one can deny that she is a great singer. Her fair self is the embodiment of all that is pure, noble, and finished in music. The rich, sweet voice that gives such wonderfully sympathetic expression to harmony is an earthly element of a superior and nobler existence; it is the magic power that lifts her above creatures of an ordinary mold and makes her life a perennial sunshine to those about her." Her accompanist was James W. Wehle "who had more than once spellbound the delighted senses of Buffalo hearers. . . . His 'Home Sweet Home' with the left hand was a performance which elicited not only the enthusiasm but also the admiration of all that heard it."

The interesting productions were not all professional. Regular concerts were given by the local German singing societies: the Liedertafel (1848) and the Saengerbund (1855). There also were the Orpheus (1869), the mixed Continental Singing Society, known later as the St. Cecilia Singing Society, and the Choral Union (1871).

In January and February the ladies and gentlemen of the Liedertafel Society gave "their pleasant little musical and terpsichorean sociables in their hall, formerly the old Kremlin." The programs were mixtures of popular favorites and operatic arias, with interludes of orchestral music. The members of the Saengerbund in the same year presented W. Mueller's comic opera, *Sisters from Prague*. The Orpheus Singing Society gave its first public concert in April, assisted by Wahle's Band. The concert began with *Eine Feste Burg* by a chorus and orchestra, and ended with part of the first act of the opera, *Euryanthe*, by von Weber.

Numerous small German bands were playing on street corners, and Wahle's Brass Band appeared in public concerts. Judging by one letter to the Editor, some of the offerings were not of the best quality: "The noise of a wild, reckless, untamed brass band is about as

Music Hall Saengerfest, 1883



Collection of The Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society

baleful a sensation as can possibly assail the human tympanum."

In March 1875 the Westminster Church put on a concert and an ambitious art show together. "The halls and parlors were hung with costly works of art, representing some of the finest private collections in the city. The entire exhibition embraces 150 pictures of which 93 are paintings and the remaining 57 are photographs, engravings and autotypes." The paintings were sentimental and academic in type; "The First Love" by Myer von Brenen, represented "a rosy German lass and laddie seated together beneath the shade of an overhanging wall and looking unutterable things out of their laughing eyes."

Throughout the late nineteenth century there was more variety in the musical fare. In 1876 Hans von Bulow, "the greatest master of the piano," gave two concerts, playing Beethoven, Bach, Mendelssohn, and Chopin. In February the Young Men's Association again brought to Buffalo the Mendelssohn Quintet of Boston.

An impressive Music Hall at Main and Edward Sts. was opened in July 1883 under the control of the German Young Men's Association. It was financed by Jacob F. Schoellkopf and others to lure the great annual Saengerfest of the North American German Singing Societies to Buffalo. Over 3,000 singers took part in this festival; Dr. Leopold Damrosch conducted an orchestra of 80 musicians. The Hall, named the Teck after Mr. Schoellkopf's native province in Germany, was a reproduction of one of the great German opera houses. On the front of the building was a stone carving of the German imperial eagle holding a crown; stone busts of Mozart and Schubert looked benignly down on Main Street, and Beethoven glowered upon the world in general.

In 1883 the Buffalo Music Festival Association, with Hobart Weed as President, was formed to bring the finest musicians of the day to Buffalo, and in June 1884 at the Music Hall presented the first of four annual three-day festivals. Theodore Thomas of Chicago and his symphony orchestra were engaged for the major part of the program. Many excerpts from Wagner were played as well as English and Italian compositions, and the world's greatest Wagnerian singers were engaged, including Amalie Materna (soprano), Scario (basso), and Winkleman (tenor).

Two years after its opening, the Music Hall was destroyed by fire. As it was not rebuilt until October 1887, the Music Festival Association had to give its second festival in the 65th Regiment Armory. Again Theodore Thomas conducted. Miss Emma Juch, William Winch, and Max Heinrich were the soloists, assisted by a chorus of 800 voices. The third festival was held in the new Music Hall in 1887 with Walter J. Damrosch, the son of Leopold, as conductor. In June 1888 a fourth festival was held again under the direction of Theodore Thomas. For each of these festivals large choruses were drilled by local conductors, among them James Nuno, John Gelbke, and John Lund. A fifth festival sponsored by the Association in 1891 featured the Boston Symphony Orchestra.

The rebuilt Music Hall of 1887 had a capacity of 2,354 seats, including eight boxes, and a stage 45 feet deep by 83 feet wide. There was also a smaller concert hall with 1,100 seats. On the second floor there were offices, reception parlors, Saengerbund Society rooms, banquet rooms, and a restaurant.

During the 1884-85 season the Buffalo Philharmonic Society gave a series of 30 chamber music concerts under the direction of Gustav Dannreuther. Dannreuther played first violin; Henry Boewig, second violin; Ludwig Schenck, viola; and Robert Reitz, violincello; singers and pianists were guests. The works of Beethoven and Schubert dominated the programs. At least one season followed with minor changes in personnel. In 1886-87 the group was enlarged and gave a series of 12 orchestral concerts under the direction of Signor J. Nuno.

In 1887-88 a new orchestra appeared, first as the Buffalo Orchestra

First Music Hall, 1885

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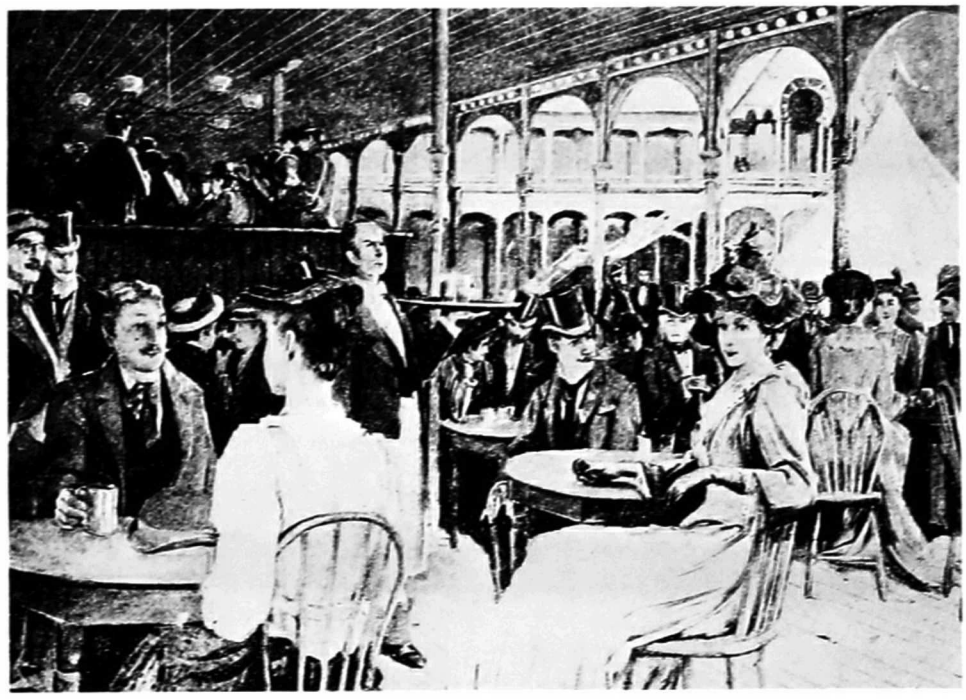

then in 1892-93 as the Buffalo Symphony Orchestra. Eight regular concerts were presented each season for nine years. Under the direction of John Lund, the orchestra expanded gradually from 38 to 48 members and improved in execution. Among the contemporary numbers performed were Dvorak's *New World Symphony* and Bruch's *Concerto.*

Mr. Lund came to Buffalo in 1887 after two years as Assistant Conductor of the Metropolitan Opera. Here he directed the Orpheus Singing Society for 15 years as well as the Buffalo Orchestra. After playing Victor Herbert's compositions on a tour of the country early in the twentieth century, he returned to Buffalo in 1914 to direct the Orpheus Society, the Polish Singing Circle, the Polish Kalina Singing Society, the Larkin Ladies Orchestra, and other musical groups.

In 1893-94 the Buffalo Symphony Orchestra played the first performance in America of Charpentier's symphonic suite, *Impressions of Italy*. At almost the same time the Star presented the first American production of Mascagna's opera, *Cavalleria Rusticana.* The program also included Chabrier's *Rhapsody* and the still controversial Walhalla music from Wagner's *Rheingold.* This program was one more demonstration of the adventurous spirit which appeared early in Buffalo art circles.

Almost every performer of note came to Buffalo. In 1892 Adelina Patti appeared for the last time and Paderewski made his final bow—which turned into one of the most extended farewells in history. Three years later the stars included Lillian Russell with her "magnificent opera company" in *Tzigana* (Gypsy).

By 1893 college glee clubs were appearing regularly for one night stands. The Orpheus was giving concerts and the Saengerbund ambitiously introduced the great Belgian violinist, Ysaye. In November 1893 Sousa's Concert Band made the first of many appearances at the Music Hall.

At the popular level, a band concert was given by Cappa's Seventh Regiment Band early in the 1890's. "The audience," said the *Buffalo Express,* "was a good one, nearly 2,000, and enthusiastic. In Cappa's great descriptive composition, 'The Battle of Gettysburg'...the fifes and the clarinets lead the soldiers in imagination up the heights of Gettysburg until the very center of the battle is reached, and the guns booming in quick succession, the rattle of the musketry down the lines and the shrieks of the wounded and dying—all the terrible scenes of battle are vividly depicted. . . . The effect of the music at the culminating point of the battle is sublime."

One local event, the formation of the Chromatic Club, was to have a permanent influence. Ten annual afternoon recitals presented the best local talent, and three evening concerts, the greatest contemporary artists.

An actor, singer, and composer of popular songs who became famous throughout the English-speaking world in the late 1890's was Chauncey Olcott. Born in Buffalo on July 21, 1860, he was educated here and made his first appearance on stage at the Academy of Music. After a brief apprenticeship as a minstrel, he specialized in Irish roles at which he was singularly gifted. A series of appearances in musical comedies for which he wrote both the score and libretto followed. Among his most successful songs were "Mother Machree" and "My Wild Irish Rose," the latter of which he wrote himself. His popularity continued through the early twentieth century until World War I. His last appearance was in 1924 playing Sir Lucius opposite Mrs. Fiske in Sheridan's *The Rivals.*

The most distinguished composer associated with Buffalo in the late nineteenth century was Father Ludwig Bonvin, S.J., who, although well grounded in medicine, theology, and philosophy, was largely self-taught in music. Born in Switzerland in 1850, he came to Canisius College in 1887 where he directed both the choir and orchestra for over 50 years. He composed more than 400 works. Although most were for the liturgy of the Catholic Church, he also wrote six pieces for orchestra and others for violin and piano. For his English-Latin hymn book, he received a letter of praise from Pope Pius X.

During this period Buffalo was represented by several literary figures of note of whom the most famous was Samuel L. Clemens–Mark Twain. He arrived in August 1869 to become editor and part owner of the

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Buffalo Express. He took this position to prove his sense of responsibility after his proposal to Olivia Langdon of Elmira had been rejected by her father, Jervis Langdon, a wealthy coal dealer. Though Clemens already had a national reputation as a writer, his first great financial success, *The Innocents Abroad* (1869) had not yet returned the huge royalties which later provided most of his income. He himself was convinced that as a writer he could never support a wife of Olivia's social standing; but he felt that as part owner of a successful newspaper and a popular lecturer in constant demand he would be regarded as a young man of substance and promise.

Sitting at opposite ends of a table, the political editor of the *Express,* Josephus N. Larned, and Clemens got along well together—in fact, according to the latter's own statement, they even collaborated on various articles. Larned was a serious, erudite man, a locally prominent historian and librarian so it is generally assumed that all the humorous bits came from Clemens. The latter described their collaboration as follows: "So occasionally after biting our nails & scratching our heads awhile we just reach over and swap manuscripts—& then scribble away without the least trouble, he finishing my article & I his. Some of our patchwork editorials of this kind are all the better for the new life they get by crossing the breed."

Clemens' weekly articles in the *Express* are not well known, but his first editorial, entitled *Salutatory,* published on August 21, 1869, is often quoted. At its beginning he said: "I shall always confine myself to the truth except when it is attended by inconvenience." Some of his feature articles he later included in his larger works such as *Roughing It* (1872) and *Sketches Old and New* (1875). As editor he attacked many local and national abuses, and ridiculed such sensationalists as the tightrope walkers over Niagara Falls.

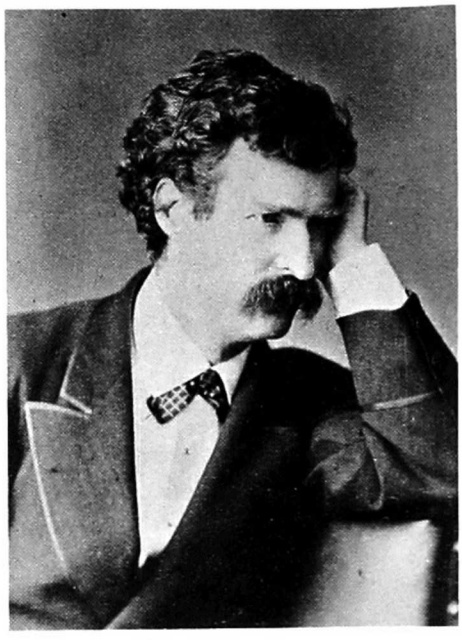
After having written about 20 articles in his first three months, he set off on a lecture tour which came to an end just before his marriage in Elmira on February 3, 1870. This tour earned him about $20,000, enough for him to pay $15,000 on his debts and have enough money at hand to support himself without using his income from the *Express.*

At the end of March he accepted the editorship of a department of *Galaxy Magazine* of New York City at $2,000 a year; and in July contracted with the American Publishing Co. to write by January 1, 1871, a book of his experiences in California, to be entitled *Roughing It.* With *The Innocents Abroad,* by then the most popular travel book in the world, earning him over $1,000 a week, he planned to limit his writing for the *Express* to one or two sketches a month and spend most of his time on *Roughing It,* followed by a summer abroad.

This ideal program, however, lasted only a short while. In the summer the Clemenses had to go to Elmira to nurse Mr. Langdon through his last illness. This necessarily limited the work on *Roughing It,* so that it did not appear until 1872.

Mrs. Clemens, who had never known normal health, was worn out at the death of her father. Her physical limitations increased their isolation from their friends and society during the usual lengthy period of mourning. Furthermore, an Elmira friend who came to help her developed a fatal case of typhoid fever and herself had to be nursed. Clemens later described this period as "the blackest, the gloomiest, the most wretched period of my life." In spite of it all, he could still say in October: "I am drivelling along tolerably well on the book, getting off from 12 to 20 pages a day. I am writing it so carefully that I'll never have to alter a sentence, I guess, but it is very slow work. I like it as far as I have got."

To add to his wife's problems, in November 1870 she gave birth prematurely to her first child, Langdon, which prolonged her invalidism throughout the winter.



Mark Twain

Clemens struggled on with articles for the *Express* and *Galaxy* and with spasmodic work on his book. Other projects of the period included a book about South African diamond mines, a new edition of *The Jumping Frog and Other Sketches,* and a burlesque autobiography. In many of his local writings he expressed his irritation with prices, local politics, etc. His troubles at home added to his irritability and his writing schedule put pressure on him, one of his failings being an inclination to contract for more than he could produce. On March 4, 1871, he wrote to his brother: "I am still nursing Livy night and day and cannot write anything. I am nearly worn out. I go to Elmira ten days hence (if Livy can travel on a mattress then) and stay there until I can finish the California book, say 3 months."

The Clemenses left Buffalo on March 18, 1871, never to return. He wrote on March 17: "Out of the chaos of my household I snatch a moment to reply. . . .I had rather die twice over than repeat the last six months of my life."

With these memories it is not surprising that he disliked Buffalo. In addition to his other disappointments, he had to sell his home

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at 472 Delaware Avenue at a loss of $1,000 and his interest in the *Express* at a loss of $10,000.

Next to Mark Twain, by far the most popular Buffalo writer of the early period was Anna Katharine Green who, though born in Brooklyn in 1846, spent most of her life in Buffalo as Mrs. Charles Rohlfs. She was a prolific and popular writer of detective stories, many of which were dramatized or converted into movies. Her most famous book, *The Leavenworth Case* (1878), appeared in dramatic form at the Star Theatre in 1893-94. Her output continued into the 1920's.

Another writer of this period, although not well known outside Western New York, was David Gray (1836-1888), an editor of the *Buffalo Courier* and friend of Mark Twain. During his lifetime he was highly thought of as a poet, essayist, and lecturer, but his work had to be printed locally to survive.

In the 1870's there were other writers of a temporary and restricted fame. Among the published efforts were *Malbrook*, a novel by the popular Susan Chestnutwood (Mrs. E.B. Perkins) (1870); a *Legend of Lake Erie* by Ward Platt (1877); and *Lilies from the Vale of Thought* by Mrs. Carrie Montgomery (1878).

Voices of the Glen by Henry Howland (1876) revealed the presence of a group of some 20 local poets who congregated at Glen Iris, the summer home of William Pryor Letchworth, for literary evenings. The collection extolls the beauties of the area bordering the Genesee River, which through the generosity of Mr. Letchworth was to become Letchworth State Park. Among the group were members of the Nameless Club, a literary society of the day. The evenings at Glen Iris were given to conversation and games, one of which was described by a contemporary: "They knew poetry as we never shall—do you know what they used to do as they sat around the evening fire? Someone would quote a few lines from a poem and stop. And with whatever word he ended, his next neighbor must begin with another quotation. And so on in turn around the circle."

In the field of literature the 1890's were considerably more productive than the previous decade. Two works by Buffalo authors became known throughout America and Europe.

The first was *The Rosary*, a poem included in a volume, *The Wind in the Clearing and Other Poems*, written by Roger Cameron Rogers in 1894:

"The hours I spent with thee, dear heart
Are as a string of pearls to me;
I count them over, every one apart,
My Rosary.

"Each hour a pearl, each pearl a prayer,
To still a heart in absence wrung;
I tell each bead unto the end and there
A Cross is hung.

"Oh memories that bless and burn!
Oh barren gain and bitter loss!
I kiss each bead and strive at last to learn,
To kiss the Cross,
Sweetheart,
To kiss the Cross."

It was reprinted in newspapers, magazines and on mourning cards; and in 1898 was set to music by Ethelbert Nevin. As a song it sold over 200,000 copies a year for many years.

The second work was the more spectacular--an inspirational essay, *Message to Garcia*, by Elbert Hubbard, written in 1899. It is estimated that about 40 million copies were either sold or distributed free of charge.

That Elbert Hubbard was a remarkable man and had an influence upon his day cannot be denied, but if he was a genius, it was as an advertising man, salesman, and as an astute showman, rather than as a creative artist or economic reformer. His reputation was overblown, both by his supporters and by Hubbard himself, who did not hesitate to create myths about his early life and on occasion make other alterations of fact. Said his second wife in the introduction to *The Notebook of Elbert Hubbard:* "Elbert Hubbard, the most positive human force of his time, is a man of genius in business, in art, in literature, in philosophy. He is an idealist, dreamer, orator, scientist." Said Hubbard to Harry Kemp, a tramp poet and one of his "prize nuts" at the Roycroft Colony: "The people expect startling things . . . and, as the winds of genius blow where they list—when they refuse to blow in the direction required, divine is the art of buncombe."

Hubbard was born on June 19, 1856, in Bloomington, Illinois into a family which had lived in Buffalo. In 1872 he became a soap salesman with W. Weller & Co. and in 1875 associated himself with John Larkin, one of the partners, who had split with Weller and set up his own plant in Buffalo. His success with the Larkin Company as salesman and promoter was phenomenal—it was he who converted the concern into a mail order business with premiums, and developed the club plan. The publication of his first novel, however, made him realize that he would never be satisfied with success and a fortune in business. So in 1893 he sold out his interest in the Larkin Co. for $75,000 and turned to the arts.

As a writer Hubbard was basically a publicist with an occasional explosive new idea, and a coiner of aphorisms, at which he was unusually facile. For example: "A school should not be a preparation; a school should be life. The best way to prepare for life is to live. A truly educated man is the useful man. The sesame to paradise is here and now." His prolonged series, *Little Journeys to the Homes of the Great*, was extremely popular and his magazine, the *Philistine*, was read throughout the country by intellectuals and by thousands of philistines. He was also the highest paid copywriter in the world, the author of a daily newspaper column which brought him $30,000 a year and a lecturer prominent enough to tour the vaude-

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ville circuits as the main attraction.

"Take the train for East Aurory
Where we work for art and glory."
Michael Monahan

Another major project was his development of the Roycroft Shops in East Aurora where he had bought a home in 1884. While on a trip to London Hubbard met William Morris, developer of the Kelmscott Press, which made fine books and shops in which fine house furnishings of medieval design were created by hand. Inspired by Morris' work, Hubbard began an American counterpart in his East Aurora barn with a hand press and allied equipment. The Roycroft settlement eventually included a farm, a bank, a hotel, a printing plant, a book bindery, a furniture factory, a furniture shop, an art gallery, a reading room, and a library. The products were wrought ironwork, furniture, hammered silver, brass, and copper, modeled leather, sculpture, stained glass lamps and windows, hand woven rugs, pottery, paintings—and maple sugar candy from the Kandy Kitchen. Despite his original intention, however, when he found that making things by hand was uneconomical in competition with the machine, he added power to his press and, to quote his biographer, Champney: "The mystique . . . with its tight inner integrity soon faded into the marketable gimmick."

Art moved on to glory.

Altogether the Roycroft concept had little influence upon American art except to bring attention to the problem of designing well-made objects and to inspire other more sincere, more talented craftsmen to create genuinely fine books. But Elbert Hubbard did make a small Erie County town famous throughout the United States.

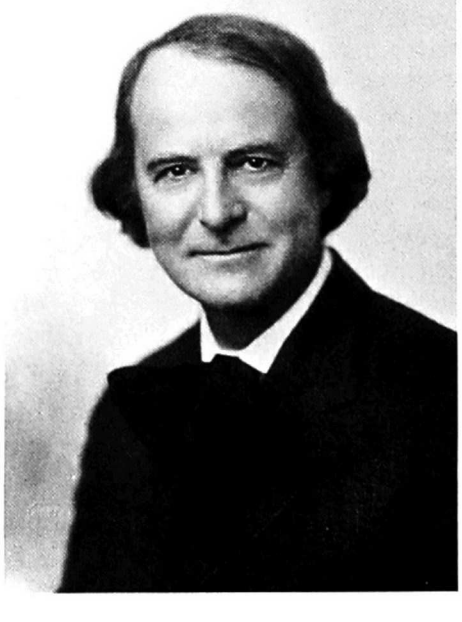
He died as spectacularly as he had lived. When the *Lusitania* was sunk by a German U-boat on May 7, 1915, he went down with the ship. He was the best advertised "genius" in American history.

A third important writer of the period was the Buffalo-born Harry B. Smith (1860-1936). After an apprenticeship as literary and dramatic critic for Chicago newspapers, he turned more creatively to the stage and wrote a long list of librettos for scores by the prominent contemporary composers of musical comedy. His name is mentioned in the *Encyclopedia Americana* and 37 of his works were included in the current volumes of *Who's Who*. Among these were *Robin Hood*, *The Little Corporal*, *The Wizard of the Nile* with the score by Victor Herbert, *The Idol's Eye*, *The Tzigane*, *Tatooed Man*, and others. He also wrote a comedy, *Will Shakespeare* (1893) and *Lyrics and Sonnets* (1894).

Of lesser fame was the respected Philip Becker Goetz, who became prominent in Buffalo literary circles through his poetry and his position as Professor of English at the University of Buffalo. His works included: *Killirrhoe*, a dramatic poem (1896), *Poems* 1898), *Interludes* (1904), a play, *The Summons of the King* (1911), and *Lyrics and Meditations* (1925).

In 1896 William Temple Hornaday wrote a novel of America and Borneo entitled, *The Man Who Became a Savage*. He was a prominent zoologist with a real estate business in Buffalo, who later became famous as the head of the New York Zoo. He wrote several books of travel from a naturalist's point of view.

Elbert Hubbard



Two writers of little note but with intriguing titles were Will S. Richardson, author of *To a Skeleton and Other Happy Thoughts* (1895) and Ira C. Fuller, whose work, *Poems and Essays from Many Authors of This and Earlier Centuries, given through Organism of a Modern Psychic,* appeared in 1897.

The works of George Hibbard and Sophie Jewett spanned the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth.

Mr. Hibbard, Assistant Librarian at the Grosvenor Library, lawyer, painter, and teacher of English, was one of the better Buffalo-born (1858) short story writers and playwrights. Among his works were *Iduna and Other Stories* (1891) and *Eyes of Affection* (1906). He was frequently published in the *Saturday Evening Post, Harper's,* and *Scribner's Magazine*, and often illustrated his own work. In addition he wrote plays, one of which was produced by Augustin Daly with John Drew in the leading role.

Miss Jewett, a romantic poet of substance, who became Associate Professor of English at Wellesley College, was born in Buffalo in 1861. Individual poems were published in *Scribner's, Harper's* and the *Century Magazine*. Collected poems appeared under the titles *Pilgrim and Other Poems* (1896), *God's Troubadour* (1903), *The Pearl*, and a memorial edition of her songs, sonnets, and rondeaus which was published in 1910. Her short poem, "Song", illustrates her delicate feeling and imagery.

"My heart is as a still grass-hidden
nest;
O Lark, thy song is for the sky,
the sky!
Wilt thou drop softly down to me
and rest,
Song-wearied, by and by?"

There were many other poets in Buffalo in the early twentieth century. In 1904 James N. Johnston, himself a poet, edited a volume en-

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titled *The Poets and Poetry of Buffalo* which included examples of the work of over 110 local citizens. Evelyn M. Watson who wrote a number of volumes of short poems, ballads and odes was better known outside the Niagara Frontier. Among her works were *Divine Fire and other Poems* (1922), *Niagara* (1925) and *Fruited Branches* (1940).

Four institutions—the Fine Arts Academy, the Historical Society, the Society of Natural Sciences and the Young Men's Association—were to have a profound effect upon the cultural life of Buffalo.

The Fine Arts Academy was organized in 1862 as a direct result of the first exhibition of fine arts held in Buffalo the previous year. Although it was in financial trouble by 1870, it nonetheless retained its position as a social center. For the annual meeting held in February 1870 the assemblage of ladies and gentlemen was "most select and intelligent as well as numerous." J. N. Larned gave the opening address; the Rev. Anson G. Chester read a poem written by Mrs. S. F. Mixer; and the President, Henry Rogers, spoke of more mundane subjects.

Mr. Larned summed up the contemporary idealistic attitude toward art in his address: "The simplest picture on these walls, if it be on the one hand a faithful shadow of something real and if upon the other, like a magic mirror, it augments by ever so little of beauty or spirit, or meanings, or suggestion, the reality which it reflects, it must be a true work of art....

"As I believe, the only end of art. . .is to fill our eyes with visions that shall impress us as the realities of a more perfect world—more perfect, more complete, and yet familiarly, in every way, the very substance of this actual world in which we live—that I am at no loss to recognize by what an exalting influence the Gallery ennobles us. From this view art becomes, in some sort, a revelation and a gospel, and every true picture is like a window which corresponds in its large or little way with the great doors that open for us, on the other side into celestial infinity."

The collections of the Gallery represented the taste and limitations of the day. Upon its walls were paintings by local artists; "beautiful and faithful copies" of such masterpieces as Raphael's "Madonna di San Sisto," through the courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. Rumsey; a number of original paintings, both American and European, mostly in the popular Academic style; and one or two sound works such as Bierstedt's "Marina Grande in Capri, Bay of Naples." Said Mr. Sellstedt of water color: "Little water color has taken root in our city, but there are happy signs that this refinement of art may not be long wanting."

Buffalo was fortunate in being one of the very few American cities to have a permanent public art gallery. Nevertheless there was restricted exhibition space and little money in the treasury to pay the cost of installing and insuring new works, with the result that the public was kept away by the lack of variety. The small attendance—and consequent lack of admission fees—presented a grave problem. Said a special committee in the spring of 1870: "During the seven years of its existence the Academy has been successful in aiding to promote a love for the fine arts and in the cultivation of taste and judgment in respect to works of art.... The numerous pictures of a high order now adorning the walls of so many of our habitations constitute a proof of the influence of this academy on the public taste. But the Academy during its history has not been financially successful and has now reached a crisis. The facts are that the current expenses have exceeded the current receipts about $4,500 during the seven years.... And the entire expenditures have been $22,000.... The committee makes a broad appeal to the members to sustain the Academy and place it upon a sure footing by paying the debt of over $2,000, and raise $10,000 and invest it as a permanent fund, the interest of which shall be applied to meet the deficit in the payment of current expenses." The friends of the Academy responded with such generosity that the treasury ended the year solvent and with sizeable capital funds.

The Fine Arts Academy was not the only available space for the exhibition of art. As in later times, the merchants on occasion used works of art to draw the public to their stores. In the fall of 1870 Jewett and Mischka displayed a marble bust by T. S. Pease, and Breed and Lent showed M. A. Rockwell's "beautiful picture of Lake Placid." It was the custom also for the better known local artists to sell their works at public auction. In 1874 at the D. D. Benson Emporium there was a free exhibition of Braun's "famous autotypes of Paris, Versailles and all the drawings, paintings, antique and modern statuary of all the art galleries of Europe." On March 8, 1876, St. James Hall exhibited "The Prodigal Son" by Dubufe. This was presented as a masterpiece of French art, "unquestionably one of the finest paintings in the world, size 20′ by 45′. On view for a week only, admission 50 cents." To hold its own against these intruders, the Fine Arts Academy advertised daily in the newspapers.

The first art school in Buffalo was formed by an actor-painter whose stage name was Andrews. He attributed the rapidity with which he painted to spiritual aid; but even with this support the school, which was small, lasted only a short while.

The first school sponsored by the Fine Arts Academy was launched in 1874 under the direction of Mr. Farnham. After a few months its teacher resigned; and there being no one to replace him, the school sank into a state which Grover Cleveland popularized as "innocuous desuetude." This school was revived in 1887 with antique casts as models. Frank C. Penfold and James Francis Brown were the critics. In 1892 it combined with the Art Students Club, a small group of students who had first got together in 1885, and became known as the Art Students League. The League opened in Jan-

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uary 1892 with George Bridgman as critic and instructor in life and painting classes. The majority of the local painters of any prominence got their training at this school.

As a solvent institution, the Fine Arts Academy moved forward with greater assurance but little brilliance. In 1889 Lars G. Sellstedt resigned as Superintendent. In 1890 Millet's "Angelus" paused in Buffalo long enough to broaden the standards of the local artists. In 1891, through the generosity of Dr. Frederick H. James and Willis O. Chapin, the Academy acquired an extensive and very good print department embracing etchings and engravings.

Late in the 1880's, the annual meetings of the Fine Arts Academy were still multi-media social events, but band music and the reading of poetry had become less necessary to divert attention from some areas of the walls. Commented Mr. Sellstedt at the end of the century: "The age of literature and poesy on behalf of the Academy was now ended. Poppenberg's and Wahle's harmonies were fast becoming dreamy memories to be awakened only on extraordinary occasions when ladies were put in charge of things." (Poppenberg's Band was for many years one of the elite bands in the city.)

In 1900 came the momentous announcement that John J. Albright planned to present the Academy with a permanent home to cost no less than $350,000. As Mr. Albright was one of the moving forces in the Pan-American Exposition, he hoped that the new gallery would be part of that event; but many unforeseen problems delayed its opening until 1905.

During the later nineteenth century Mr. Sellstedt was the artist with the greatest influence in Buffalo. A member of the National Academy of Design, he was not only one of the outstanding local portrait painters and teachers, but was also the recorder of its art history through his book, *Art in Buffalo*, as well as the main administrator and factotum of the Fine Arts Academy where he held the office of Superintendent for many years, followed by a period as its President.

Other artists were Charles C. Coleman, a popular landscape painter, who settled eventually in Capri; Charles LeClear, like Sellstedt a member of the National Academy, who moved to New York City where he gained a national reputation as a portrait painter; William H. Beard, a painter of satirical genre in which animals portrayed human roles; and Hamilton Hamilton who was also elected to the National Academy.

In 1892 the Buffalo Society of Artists was born. Many of its members were professionals, but according to Mr. Sellstedt, "The greater majority of its 400 supporters are ladies and gentlemen in what is called society, lovers of the beautiful, whether in its concrete form or its more subtle essence." In January 1893 the Society moved into the vacated quarters of the Art School and stayed there contentedly until it was invited to share the basement of the new Albright Art Gallery. Two public exhibitions a year were usual and monthly meetings were held during the winter at which works of its members were shown.

A meeting of 14 gentlemen in the law office of Orsamus H. Marshall on the evening of March 25, 1862, was the beginning of the Buffalo Historical Society. At the second meeting the Society was organized and its officers elected, with the Hon. Millard Fillmore, President. The object of the Society as expressed by President Fillmore in his inaugural address "was to discover, procure and preserve whatever may relate to the history of Western New York in general and the City of Buffalo in particular." From this concept has developed the present Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society with its full-scale historical agency program.

The size and categories of the collection had increased steadily since the inception of the Society. By 1870 a cross-section of items from both the War of 1812 and the Civil War had already been acquired. Included in the first were two large engravings of the Battle of Lake Erie, an iron shot dug up at the corner of Niagara and Main Sts., a musket used in the defense of Buffalo, and the secret cipher of the American army. Among the more numerous items from the Civil War were military costumes, arms, and the Erie County Draft Wheel. Nonrelated items were New York State Indian artifacts, to become one of the biggest categories, an old iron axe and brass kettle, the wooden eagle from the Eagle Tavern, the figurehead from the Steamer Carolina, and the monumental stone of Ararat, the Jewish City proposed for Grand Island by Mordecai Noah.

The President, Orsamus H. Marshall, in his address, January 11, 1871, said: "Preparations of the society have not been marked by any unusual activity during the past year. The total funds available were $258.00. Among the acquisitions were an officers's journal describing the Sullivan Expedition against the Senecas in 1779. Also papers and records of the Holland Land Co., autographed letters of local importance, also land contracts from the Holland Land Company, newspapers, oil portraits, and an obituary record of 8,000 Buffalo citizens, a record of marriages also. There were several meetings of the club connected with the Society at which papers of interest were read."

From 1865 to 1873 the Society had rooms in the building of the Young Men's Association. In January 1873 it moved to the third floor of the Western Savings Bank Building and remained there until January 1887 when it took possession of the spacious rooms allocated to it in the new building of the Buffalo Library. In 1870 a library was in being with Dr. George S. Armstrong serving as librarian and secretary until his death in 1879.

In the year 1879 the Society issued the first volume in a long

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series of publications embracing original papers, letters, and documents of value in the study of local history. Previous to this several papers of local importance were read before the Society: *The History of the Samuel F. Pratt Family* by William P. Letchworth (1873); *The First Visit of De La Salle to the Senecas* by Orsamus H. Marshall (1874); and *The Life and Public Services of Oliver Forward* by the Hon. James Sheldon.

With over $9,000 in its treasury and five exhibition rooms available on the third story of the new library building rent free for 25 years, the Society was able to add new material each year.

Its relics and mementoes now were extensive, including battle flags and other items of the Revolution, the War of 1812, the Mexican War, the Canadian Patriot War, and the Civil War, Indian artifacts; and relics of the pioneers of Western New York.

Said the President in 1886: "Many came to examine our collection of historical curiosities and objects of interest and the general expression was one of satisfaction and surprise."

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, important specialized libraries were being built up both by the Historical Society and the Society of Natural Sciences. In 1887 the Historical Society library contained 9,360 books, 7,570 pamphlets, 689 maps, charts and volumes of maps, 805 portrait photographs and albums, 291 framed portraits, 118 manuscripts and 23 manuscript volumes, and many volumes of autographs, letters, etc.

In this same year the Society contracted with the city of Buffalo to preserve and maintain the library bequeathed to the city by the Rev. John C. Lord. This was a library of 10,500 volumes, largely theological in subject but including general history.

One of the outstanding events of 1884 was the erection in Forest Lawn of a monument to Red Jacket, the great Iroquois orator, along with the reinternment of his remains and those of prominent Iroquois chiefs. Said the President of the Society: "It has been the Society's purpose to obtain and remove from neglected graves the remains of these great chiefs to a place of security in our beautiful Forest Lawn and erect a monument that would not only be a credit to our society and our great city, but also a memorial to the tribe which produced and reared so many statesmen, orators and warriors of whom any nation might well be proud."

In 1890 the Society received a detailed history of the Buffalo Board of Trade Regiment--the distinguished 100th New York State Volunteers, during its service in the Civil War, comprising manuscript records, Regimental reports, correspondence, and much other material. In the same year it also received from Dr. Joseph C. Greene, a collection of over 300 Egyptian and Syrian antiquities as well as current silver and copper coins of the world.

The 1890's were years of growth. In 1893 attendance was over 30,000, and the Society was out of debt with a permanent fund of more than $26,000.

While the collections were restricted by the constitution to items from Western New York, the enthusiasms of trustees and friends too important to be offended made it impossible, or at least imprudent, to enforce this limitation. After 30 years of indiscriminate acceptance, the treasures included a brick from the infamous Libby prison at Richmond, a shoe of an Eskimo woman, a feather 26 inches long from an albatross captured on a whaling ship, a piece of lace made by Martha Washington, hunger bread (a mixture of roots, grasses and dirt) eaten in a famine district of Russia, and a copper coin from Hong Kong.

Along with this potpourri, however, the local collection had a substantial and everbroadening base. Among the recent desirable gifts were original title papers, deeds, maps, records, and other documents connected with the Holland Land Company, a gift of Major General Nowacki; the iron basket used to convey passengers across Niagara River by cable in 1848; an impressive collection of Indian artifacts, including the Red Jacket Medal presented by George Washington to Red Jacket in 1792; the draughting tools with which Joseph Ellicott mapped the western portion of the State; the Lincoln Memorial Collection, consisting of a great variety of Civil War mementoes; thousands of autographs; 143 volumes of newspapers; and letters from prominent men; and a fireman's hat and silver trumpet.

One activity in 1898 was the restoration of the soldiers' burial ground in Williamsville in which were buried several hundred American and British soldiers of the War of 1812.

The steady increase in the collections created a need for bigger quarters. The Society had a small building fund of $5,000, the gift of the Hon. James M. Smith. The city in 1898 offered a free site in Delaware Park overlooking the lake, along with a contribution of $25,000 toward the erection of a building, and not less than $5,000 to maintain it. This was the beginning of negotiations which resulted three years later in the erection of a new building with money from the city, the State and the Society.

After a somewhat shaky beginning, the Society of Natural Sciences had by 1865 firmly established itself as the scientific counterpart of the Historical Society and Fine Arts Academy. It possessed numerous specimens of insects, shells, dried plants, and fossils and in the following year it appointed its first director, Charles Linden.

A committee on botany had been formed immediately after its incorporation in 1862, and began to assemble a comprehensive herbarium centered upon the plants of Western New York. Within a year, the committee, led by Dr. George C. Hayes and the Hon. George W. Clinton, had collected and pre-

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served approximately 800 speciments of local plants, as well as about 200 specimens from other parts of the United States and Europe. For 20 years Judge Clinton, alone or in the company of David F. Day, made local excursions for additional material, and acquired plants from most of the prominent American botanists as well. He was greatly respected in international scientific circles, for his publications and the Society's herbarium was named after him as an acknowledgment of the value of his work.

In May 1863 the Society was given six animals (all dead), one moose head, and a pair of ibex horns for its mammal collection. Until 1895, however, there were few additional gifts. In any case, such gifts were not too welcome since they usually arrived in poor condition and the Society apparently had no taxidermist capable of preserving them indefinitely.

In 1867 the Society received the Wadsworth cabinet of minerals and the Ward Collection of casts and fossils, which together made an impressive beginning for its Geological Collection. The Wadsworth Cabinet was of permanent value, comprising excellent specimens collected by Charles F. Wadsworth from the world's noted mineral localities.

Since shells were of general interest, and available to collectors both old and young, the Society received large donations in this area from its early period on, so that by 1936 the Conchological collection amounted to over 100,000 speciments.

The nucleus of the extensive collection of microscopic slides was inherited from Coleman T. Robinson in 1872. Included were studies of pathogenic bacteria from the city's bacteriological laboratory, insect preparations by Dr. E. G. Love, fresh water sponges by Henry Mills, and 150 slides of chemical crystals from Dr. Charles W. Bullock.

In 1873 the Bodemyer Collection of European birds was put on view in a special room. This collection was unique for the period, the specimens being grouped in glass fronted cases with painted backgrounds to indicate their natural habitat.

The Society's educational program was begun as early as 1869 by Charles Linden, its first Director, who served through two periods: 1866-72 and 1880-83. As the first science teacher in the one Buffalo High School, he made use of the Society's resources in his classes thus instituting the close cooperation between the Society and the Buffalo public school system. In 1875 the Society also sponsored a course of scientific lectures to bring the development of science within the comprehension of "even the poorest members of the community." The average attendance at these lectures was 350.

From this beginning, ever closer ties were developed with the public schools and other educational institutions. Although the Society was too young and too small as yet to be an institution of national significance, it had already gathered together considerable material of importance to the scientific world. Accordingly when Augustus R. Grote returned to Buffalo from New York City to assume charge of the collections, he decided to enhance the Society's reputation by publishing the results of some of its research. In April 1873 the first *Bulletin* appeared, featuring entomological material compiled by Mr. Grote, who was an authority on *Noctuidae* (moths) and *Sphingidae* moss. Among other important contributors on the same general subject in the 1870's and 1880's were Ottomar Reinecke and Frank H. Zesch, who together published a list of the *Coleoptera* (beetles and weevils) in the vicinity of Buffalo, and Edward P. van Duzee, the foremost authority on the orders of *Hemiptera* (bugs) and *Homoptera* (cicadas, plant lice, hoppers, etc.)

When Dr. W. S. van Duzee, the Curator of Astronomy, moved to Lancaster in 1875, the center of astronomy moved from the city to that town. In his new home he built an observatory, named the Willow Grove Observatory, which was used for public demonstrations. It was publicized as containing the world's largest refracting telescope.

In 1887 the Society moved to the commodious basement of the Buffalo Library Building. With greater facilities at its command, it increased its efforts to acquaint Buffalo school children with its collections. When Frederick K. Mixer became Director (1892-99), he introduced adult evening classes in mineralogy and geology. Among the groups which used the Society's rooms for meetings were the Microscopical Club, the Field Club, affiliated in 1888, the Agassiz Association, and the Electrical Society. Thus during the 1890's the Society became the center of the scientific activities of the city.

In 1887 Julius Pohlman, the Director (1883-89) said, "Our collection of fresh water shells has never been on exhibition before, and is now placed in the rooms adjoining the lecture hall. When fully arranged, the shell department will be fully represented by 1,500 species in cases where they can be examined and compared without difficulty."

In 1889 Dr. William Berchthold published a roster of the birds of Western New York that included 237 species. When the Society moved to the third floor of its new building, the bird collection was conspicuously displayed and grew steadily with regular replacements of the perishable specimens.

In 1895, when the Zoo began to turn over all its dead animals to the Society, the mammal collection took a sudden spurt. A local taxidermist mounted the specimens, but the mounting was so primitive that "the creatures slowly sagged to the earth from which they sprang" and in the process developed other alarming disabilities. Furthermore after 1898 the housing of the carcasses was a problem since the death rate at the Zoo outstripped the birth rate at the Museum. From

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about 1920 on, however, first-rate taxidermists were employed with the result that such dioramas as the bison and the wolf, still on exhibition, were not only durable but comparable to the best in quality. The Society also alleviated the situation by installing miniature reproductions, there being insufficient room for large mammals.

The Department of Ethnology, developed at the Society in the 1890's, was based upon Indian material largely obtained from the diggings of amateurs on sites in Western New York. Over 3,000 items were presented by Dr. Ernest Wende and Frederick Houghton.

In 1897 Miss Elizabeth J. Letson, who was to serve as the Director from 1900 to 1909, organized the Conchological Section, which became one of Buffalo's most popular scientific clubs. Among the activities of the Section was a survey of the local area and the compilation of a check list.

When the Young Men's Association was established in 1836 money was subscribed for a large purchase of books, and the remaining collections of the defunct Buffalo Library and Lyceum were acquired. In 1865 St. James Hall, located on Eagle Street between Washington and Main Streets, was purchased and renovated to house the Association, the Historical Society, the Law Library, the Society of Natural Sciences, the Grosvenor Library, the Fine Arts Academy, Young Men's Christian Union, Young Men's Catholic Association, and the Erie County Medical Association. This was a remarkable concentration of the literary, scientific, and art societies of the city.

In 1870 the Library contained 16,000 volumes and 36,000 borrowed books. The time of Mr. Ives, who had been Librarian since 1859, was completely taken up with routine affairs; so it was decided to employ a Superintendent to purchase the books and "maintain them in good order." Accordingly in 1877 Josephus N. Larned, the colleague of Mark Twain on the *Buffalo Express*, was named for this position. Under his supervision the growth of the Library was pronounced. Shortly after taking office, he installed the Dewey cataloging system, the first use of this system by a large library, and built up a close relationship with the public schools by giving honorary memberships to teachers. He also opened "an alcove for the little folks" which later developed into a Department of Juvenile Literature, and compiled a widely used *History of Ready Reference,* made up of answers to the inquiries he received most frequently at the Library. He continued as Superintendent until 1897 when the control of the Library was transferred to the city.

Altogether Mr. Larned was a man of note. In 1871 he was elected Superintendent of Education, a position he held for five years. He was in addition an editorial writer on the *Buffalo Express* from 1859 to 1872 and part owner from 1866 to 1877. In his later years he wrote several histories, including one of the standard histories of Buffalo.

In 1883 when one downtown building after another was gutted by fire, the Young Men's Association set aside $117,000 for a fireproof building. Although it was intended as the location of both their own Library and the Grosvenor, the trustees of the two libraries were unable to agree on the terms of the consolidation. The Fine Arts Academy, the Historical Society, and the Society of Natural Sciences on the other hand were very happy to be housed together.

In July 1884 the building committee accepted the plan of Mr. C. L. W. Eidlitz of New York. It was in the popular Romanesque style which was impressive though cumbrous, and gave the societies more exhibition space. The building was unique in that it was erected as a cultural center for the city. In 1886 the name of the Library was changed to the Buffalo Library to avoid confusion between the Young Men's Asscoiation and the Young Men's Christian Association. The building was opened on January 7,1887, with the Philharmonic Orchestra furnishing the music.

The move was a fortunate one. On March 18 St. James Hall, which the Association owned, burned down as it had been feared. Facing the situation boldly, the Association immediately built an eight-story fireproof hotel, The Iroquois, upon the site and leased it at an annual rent of $54,000. The net result, however, was a loss of income.

In its new building the Library was able to expand the circulation of books to over 100,000 in 1890. Because of its smaller income it was able to purchase only a few books currently in demand. However in 1887 and 1897, in two separate donations, the Library received one of its greatest gifts, the James Fraser Gluck collection of manuscripts and autographs. Among its notable items were the manuscript of the *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, autographs and manuscripts of Louisa May Alcott, Francis Bacon, Balzac, Edgar Allan Poe, Abraham Lincoln, de Quincey, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Edmund Burke, Charles Dickens, Walter Scott, and George Washington.

Over 40,000 people were using the reading room annually, and the new quarters were soon crowded. It became apparent that the growing demands could be met only through branch libraries. Since this was too expensive to be financed by a privately supported institution, in February 1897 the ownership of the Library was transferred to the city of Buffalo. Mr. Larned resigned as Superintendent in April of that year and was succeeded by Henry L. Elmendorf. Melville Dewey, author of the Dewey decimal system of classification and Director of the New York State Library, inspected the Library in the 1890's and reported that it was known at home and abroad as one of the best administrated libraries in America.

Its progress as a private library can be illustrated with numbers. In 1865 its membership totalled 400; in 1897 2,900. Its first circulation figure was 5;500; its last, 142,659. Its collection increased to 84,999 books

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and 10,000 pamphlets.

Superintendent Elmendorf broke up the system into departments. He also inaugurated a widely acclaimed innovation in service to the public schools: a member of the Library staff visited a school every day before the opening hour, picked up the books to be returned and listed, and recorded the books wanted. Eight separate libraries also were set up in the classrooms, for circulation as well as reference. The program began in the high schools and the next year was tried in the elementary schools where it met with enthusiastic response. Libraries were established in 163 classrooms and a total of 6,407 books were sent out.

In 1916 the New York State Education Department reported: "Fortunately the pupils in the Buffalo schools do a lot of reading of good books outside the schools, which is distinctly unusual . . . . A large amount of the reading done appears to be the result of the wise and persistent work carried on by the Public Library."

In 1897 and 1898 seven branches were set up in stores throughout the city. Books were delivered every day with a total circulation of 28,000. In 1900 the Library added two branches in settlement houses; one at Welcome Hall and one at Westminister House. In 1901 it rented quarters for its first real branch library at 746 Broadway and in 1915 put up its first building for such a purpose.

A second library of great importance to the cultural life of Buffalo was the Grosvenor Library, the gift of Seth Grosvenor, a merchant and financier who died on October 4, 1857. Mr. Grosvenor left $40,000 to the city, $10,000 of which was to be used to build a free reference library, and the interest from the remaining $30,000 to be used for the purchase of books. In 1869 the Common Council of the city appropriated $15,000 for shelving and other library equipment, which added to the gifts by the trustees, increased the capital to almost $80,000.

There was a long delay in the opening of the Library and the purchase of books owing to political and other obstructionism. The second group of trustees, however, were a well-balanced trio and functioned efficiently. They were Ex-President Millard Fillmore, Lorenzo K. Haddock, who had a knowledge of books, and the Rev. Grosvenor W. Heacock, who represented the Grosvenor family. In December 1870 Mr. Fillmore was named President. On March 9, 1871, the Library was officially opened with Alexander J. Sheldon as Librarian. It was located on the second floor of the new fireproof building of the Buffalo Savings Bank at Washington St. and Broadway. At the end of its first year it had 10,000 books in its collection. Among those purchased were many dealing with everyday life such as trade journals, music, amusements and sports. "It is the intention of the trustees to place upon its shelves a class of books that will be more particularly useful to the working classes of our growing city."

The morale among the Library staff was apparently quite low. The misuse of books rose to such an alarming point that the ubiquitous Orsamus Marshall, then a trustee, offered a resolution that bars be put in front of the shelves to prevent mutilation and loss. And when Mr. Sheldon retired, he wrote with obvious bitterness in the margin of the minute book: "I resigned Jan. 1st, 1874, having nearly killed myself through close attention to the library, without having a holiday or vacation for four years, except the five legal holidays, thanks to the narrowminded trustees."

After Mr. Shelden's resignation, James W. Ward was employed as a cataloguer. He was a man of broad background who took an active interest in art, astronomy, microscopy, and botany, and wrote articles for the scientific journals.

The Library staff consisted of a librarian, assistant librarian, and janitor. An interesting comment on the period is that in 1873 the ladies reading room was abolished, "it being expected that such strict decorum would at all times be observed in the main reading room as can in no sense offend the most fastidious person."

Other groups which also sponsored cultural institutions in the nineteenth century were the German Young Men's Christian Association, out of which came the Teck Music Hall, and the Catholic Young Men's Association, which developed a library.

Less well known were the contributions made to the arts of the period prior to 1900 by the Black and Polish communities.

The first Buffalo directory in 1828 listed 59 Black citizens. Before the Germans, before the Irish, before the Poles they were an integral part of this transplanted New England community. Despite the social and economic restrictions placed upon them, they expressed themselves through the arts from the beginning and in this way contributed to the general well being of the whole. As records of their early art activities have apparently not been preserved, only superficial generalizations are possible for the early periods.

The first date available is 1845, the founding of the Michigan Avenue Baptist Church. Perhaps even more than with the later Polish community, cultural activities were centered upon the church. The programs comprised of music, both singing and instrumental, dancing, literary readings, and drama. The cultural leader of the community was the Rev. Dr. Jesse Edward Nash, for 61 years pastor of this church.

Storytellers must have also been common. Almost certainly there were professional Black entertainers along the waterfront when Buffalo was a booming port and the "canawlers" were free with their money, otherwise why would Christie have organized his minstrel shows here at such an early date? The dance bands probably evolved like their fellows in other parts of the country through cakewalk music, ragtime, blues, jazz, swing, bop, and rock.

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Between 1890 and 1910 the community expanded steadily. The most prominent figure in this period was Mrs. Mary B. Talbert, a graduate of Oberlin College, who in the early 1900's was given the Spingarn Medal of the national N.A.A.C.P. as the outstanding Black citizen of the year. She established "The Christian Culture Congress" at the Michigan Avenue Baptist Church which met Sunday afternoons and became the cultural event of the week. On this stage the choirs from Bethel A.M.E. Church, St. Phillips Church and the Michigan Avenue Baptist Church were heard. Performers of national reputation in the other arts also took part. Debates and lectures drew such noteable speakers as Booker T. Washington and Mary McLoud Bethune. Mrs. Talbert was assisted by three school teachers: Mrs. Susie Morse, Mrs. Ida Fairbush, and Miss Edith Thompkins.

The Poles began coming to Buffalo in numbers after the Civil War. Rejected socially by the dominant English and German stock, and restricted to the poorer jobs, they grouped defensively around their church to learn about their own culture and express themselves through it. By 1873 there were sufficient numbers to organize the St. Stanislaus Society, which became both the religious and artistic center of the Polish community. The first strictly cultural organization was the Polish Library, founded in 1889, the first such library in the United States. From this, as with the English and Germans, there grew a cluster of cultural societies.

Six years later the Mickiewicz Library and Dramatic Circle was organized to preserve Polish traditions, language, and culture. A spate of musical groups followed. In 1896 the Polish Singing Circle gave the first of its annual concerts, operas, and operettas. In 1899 the Polish Cadets of Buffalo and the Chopin Singing Society were founded. The latter now has 500 members enrolled with 160 active singers. In 1901 the Women's Kalina Society found its voice. The title *Singing Society* is not broad enough to encompass the activities of most such groups. Several owned libraries and some produced plays and operettas as well as concerts. In addition to their annual concerts, the societies performed at the various celebrations of church and state and on special occasions.

On May 10, 1883, the Thursday Club was born, the first of a group of "learned societies" which are still active in 1970. Some were concerned exclusively with literature; others preferred to range within the total scale of art, science, politics, economics, history, etc. The Thursday Club itself was originally a literary society established to study the great authors of the world. In the 1885-86 season the general subject was *The Last Century in France.* The program of 1886-87 was the first to broaden into a miscellany. The Literary Club, originating in the 1880's, the Pundit Club, the Literary Clinic, organized by Charles Elbert Rhodes in 1902, the Scriptores, the Salisbury Club, concerned mainly with fine books, and the broadly based Scholia were similar groups.

Only a few details are available of the cultural life that existed in the nineteenth century villages of Erie County. This does not mean that it was nonexistent though, as a rule, cultural activities did not appear until the early twentieth century. For illustration, in White's Corners, the predecessor of Hamburg, a merchant built onto his house in 1872 a $25,000 telescope with a nine-inch lens, which was used for astronomical studies until 1892. The library and the arts came later. The Free Library was established in 1902 and was followed by the Chromatic Club and the Hamburg Forum, which brought outstanding lecturers to the town. Years later the Hamburg Players became a well established dramatic group. Presumably other towns such as Lancaster and Springville followed the same general pattern. As has been recorded, East Aurora under the leadership of Elbert Hubbard was noted throughout the country and Europe for its Roycroft Community.

Of the cultural activities in Erie County during the last 30 years of the nineteenth century, it may be said that while the museums and libraries were struggling to maintain themselves, the theatre, music, and literature flourished, although problems were encountered in supporting a civic orchestra. During these days of commercial and industrial growth Buffalo was one of the most important cities bordering the Great Lakes, and the established families who controlled its economy formed a society that was noted throughout the country for its culture and liveliness.

Central High School

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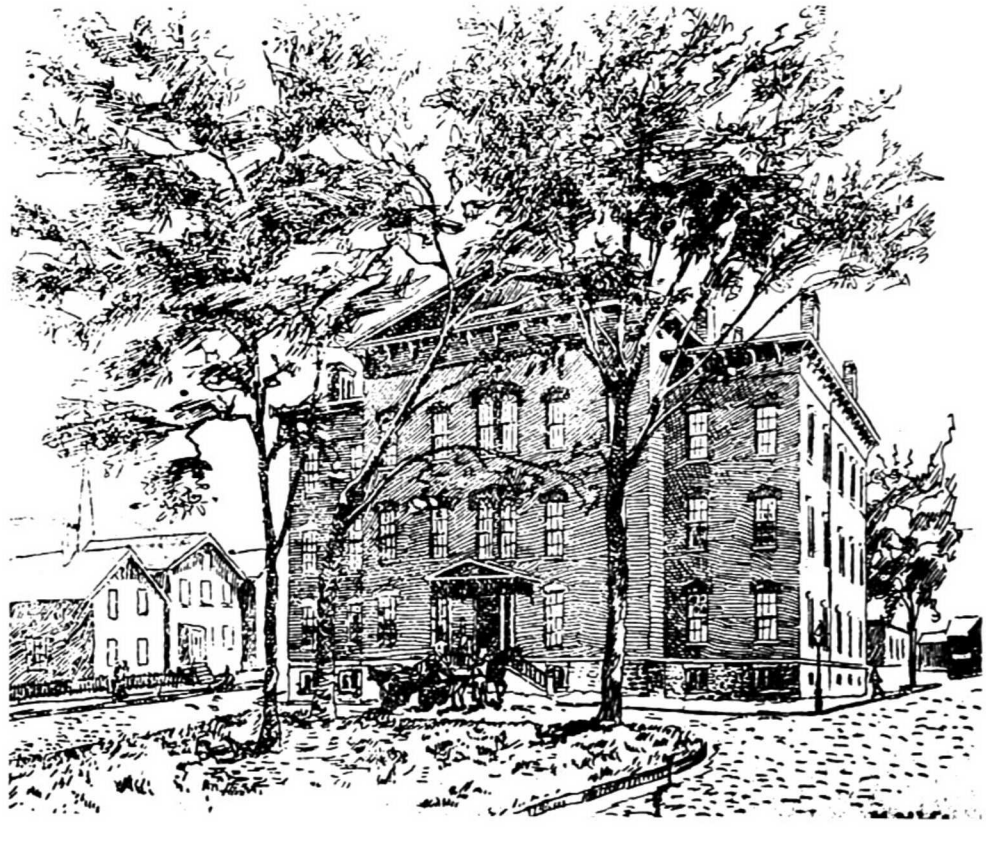
VIII. The Schools in Classical Days

By 1870, a large and influential class of citizens in Erie County had fully accepted the necessity of capable schools, not only for the instruction of citizens but, in the case of the Roman Catholic church leaders, also for the encouragement of faith and morals among their future parishioners. Buffalo had indeed pioneered in the establishment of free public schools and these were still being administered as they had been in 1838 by a committee of the Common Council and a superintendent popularly elected for two-year terms. The work of several capable and determined superintendents had expanded the system somewhat, achieving the ultimate in the establishment of a high school although they did not yet dare to call it by that name. It operated as unobtrusively as possible under the title of Central School, for most citizens were unwilling to accept the notion that there was something above the rank of the common schools in which they had labored for an education. "High" perhaps suggested certain other tabooed thoughts such as highbrow and hightoned. Elsewhere there were a few academies, privately maintained, in which the children of the well-to-do and the aspiring pursued these higher studies or even prepared themselves for the esoteric experience of college. Buffalo had its Female Academy, established 1851. But before any of these, there were the common schools, the history of which is largely either the story of New York State's law and administration or the multiple narrative of the scores of school districts in Erie County. There is little that falls in between as a history germane to the County as a whole, although the districts in sum make up a considerable part of the population. The reason for this situation is found in the outlines of the history of education in the state.

From the beginning, the state government assumed responsibility for the direction of all public schools and, to a lesser degree, for their financial support. There was from the beginning also, a public body, the University of the State of New York, to administer the schools' affairs. When it proved indifferent to the common schools, the Legislature set up in 1812, a Superintendent of Common Schools and a local system of three commissioners in each town to oversee school districts, each of which was managed by three trustees. In 1854, a Department of Public Instruction,

The Buffalo Female Academy



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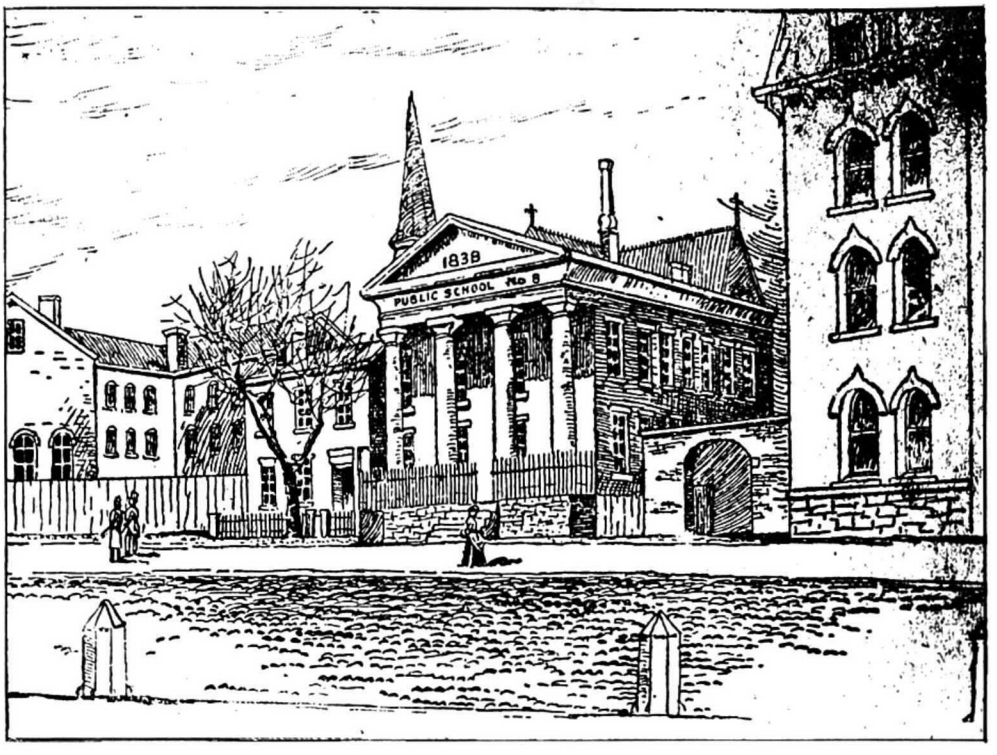
headed by a Superintendent, took over. The Legislature elected the Superintendent and carefully protected the Department when it became involved in a long struggle with the Regents of the University. Unification in 1904 lessened the controversies, but the Department seems to have taken the lead away from the University.

While a variety of local officials, county, district, and town, have had general oversight of the district schools, they have all reported directly to the Superintendent of Public Instruction or his predecessors and successors. District Commissioners took over these responsibilities in 1856, and in 1912 the District Superintendent (three and later four in Erie County) was inserted between the local board and the state offices in Albany, but the boards continued to run their schools as long as their districts were not swept away in consolidations. Attempts to displace them by law in 1917 and again in 1923 and 1924, aroused such a tumult of protests in the towns that they were abandoned. Only when lavish financial aid was offered to prospective consolidation districts in irresistible amounts was there at last a real movement to centralize the schools. This began with the lush promises of the 1925 amendment to the Central Rural School Act of 1914. The central school was to have all the aids paid to districts that proposed to join plus building allowances and a half of transportation costs. A few years of such allurements saw the end of 2500 districts in the state.

These sweetenings to centralizers were in addition to steadily growing state allotments to schools. The movement in the middle of the last century to make public schools free to all pupils without tuition charges had set off a serious effort to provide generous support to schools from state tax funds. After several years' campaigning the advocates of free schools in 1851 succeeded in getting the Legislature to enact a law both declaring them free and providing support so they



could be. In 1867, such allowances at last rose high enough to permit them actually to discontinue tuition charges, and by 1890, state aids were about one-fourth of the amount of the local levies. Aids continued to grow as new programs of instruction were adopted by the schools, until in 1925 and 1927 carefully considered formulas were adopted to include all the desired aids on a rationalized basis.

These state efforts reflected local resistance. Not only did local districts tenaciously oppose all efforts to sweep their little schoolhouses away with schemes of consolidation, but they fully justified their loyalty by conscientiously looking after the schooling of their children. When the township of Elma was finally free to organize as a town, following the liquidation of the Indian reservation, among its first acts was to set up schools. By 1856, when there was still much primeval forest land within its bounds, nine districts had been delineated and some schools set in operation even before town authorities began to function. Since the town was backward in its economy, the building of schoolhouses was a strain that led to sharp controversies. Many such proposals were repeatedly delayed even after the people had voted for them. Following the refusal of the Rice school district to replace a dilapidated structure, it burned with suspicious promptness, and action on another school, in the village of Elma, was finally procured only by an order from the District Commissioner after a quarter-century of postponements. The emotions behind such insistence were powerful, and it is not surprising to learn that in the closing years of the century less than ten per cent of Elma children aged 5 to 18 had quit school. Schooling was a firmly established custom.

The 1870 condition of schools in the state helps to give an understanding of the situation in Erie County. In that year the Superintendent of Public Instruction reported that aggregate school attendance was over a million and that teachers numbered 28,000. Weekly salaries for teachers averaged $8.13 in rural districts and $16.12 in urban. Although school libraries had decreased in their holdings during the year there was hope to be found in the ending of 134 log schools. Eighteen years later the remaining log schools could be numbered: 41 re-

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mained, according to records.

Many district schools in Erie County were in their second structures by 1870. No exact chronicle of their early years will ever be possible because, in the nature of their management, no secure provision for permanent records was possible. Minute books were almost a matter of the clerk's pockets, and most such records have vanished. Some operating districts can refer confidently to their traditions, as Amherst No. 13's beginning in 1817 or Collins' Poverty Hill School's (No. 16, later 7) organization in 1842. Their records, by fortunate chance, remain.

Selection of school board members was always a serious matter, but very seldom did the campaigns for the positions get into public records. The Springville *Journal* published a long and bitter letter in 1872 to condemn a candidate who was buying drinks lavishly in an effort to win votes, the writer approving the other candidate on the slightly irrelevant ground that the morals of teachers must be above reproach. The voters knew what was meant. The school was the civic center of its district and carelessness of its reputation was a serious fault in a school commissioner.

The common school has understandably led an obscure existence. More attention, however, has been given to the academies that for a half century or more provided secondary education to the state's youth. Among the early academies in Erie County were the Springville Academy which opened in 1830, the Aurora Academy (1833), the Lancaster Academy (1843), and the Williamsville Classical Institute (1853). Lancaster lost its academy within a few years but the others remained and have developed into modern high schools with the encouragement of state aids. At Orchard Park, the Quakers in 1870 opened the East Hamburg Friends Institute and included boarding arrangements, thus providing another nucleus for secondary school growth.

In their early years these academies, as they were commonly known, were often under sectarian control without suffering discrimination in the distribution of state aids. The Springville Academy was controlled by a board dominated by Methodists but its condition began to alter with the donation in 1865 of $10,000 by Archibald Griffith of East Concord. The income of this endowment was to be used to pay the tuition of orphans and the indigent. The education law of 1867 greatly increased the aids available but required support of public education by taxes, putting a privately managed school into an awkward position. The board of the school, now called the Griffith Institute, decided that it must be entirely public in its nature. In 1873, it dropped its principal, a Methodist clergyman, and another resigned from the board to assure its secular character. The former principal tried to set up a rival school on the old lines, but drew only some severe comments on his incapacities and a reflection or two on the old board for having retained him so long in spite of his obvious deficiencies.

Griffith Institute was soon ready to join heartily in the move to centralize schools. This had been made possible by the Union Free School Act of 1853, which allowed the board of a united district the powers usually reserved to city boards. A union of three districts around Springville in 1875 set up such a board and in a few weeks it united with the Institute. The school now boasted a faculty of six with five commercial teachers and a music instructor in addition. It was "thoroughly graded," and offered English, language, and mathematics courses. Tuition ranged from $3 in primary grades to $8 for the language course. By 1883, its enrollment in the academic (high school) department was 70. If that seems small, it did not seem unimportant to the citizens of Springville, who read of its doings weekly in the *Journal* for many years, although such reports were necessarily the minutiae and trivia of the school's operation, classes and their subjects, public exercises, and the attainments of faculty and pupils. Such devotion prepares one for the unanimous vote of the 1885 school meeting to double the size of the building.

The establishment of the Union Free School in Springville occasioned reports of such actions elsewhere, and the creation of the Clarence institution attracted attention. This was organized in 1869 of seven districts and one village system, about equivalent to a whole township. Primary grades were continued in the existing school buildings while the upper grades were concentrated in Clarence. Gifts by Dr. Jared Parker encouraged a hope that a sufficient endowment could be collected by gift and tax to make further tax levies unnecessary.

Aurora Academy became a Union Free School in 1884. In its early days it had had a distinguished principal in H.H. Barney, who had come from the Springville Academy and who went on to become Commissioner of Schools in Ohio. In our period it was noted for the long terms served by its principals and for steady growth to its present condition of a large and completely equipped high school.

The development of the Williamsville Classical Institute was broken by its closing in 1869. Five years later its building was rented by District No. 3, which became a Union Free School, opening a high school in 1902. The Orchard Park High School almost directly succeeded the Friends Institute, which burned in 1882 and was promptly rebuilt, opening its union high school in 1885. It, too, has expanded steadily, the system now operating 37 buses.

Before the age of the mastodonic centralized districts the "country school" had a last burst of prosperity. Village schools normally expanded to four rooms and more by 1900 and in the fringes of the metropolitan area of Buffalo enough casual residents appeared

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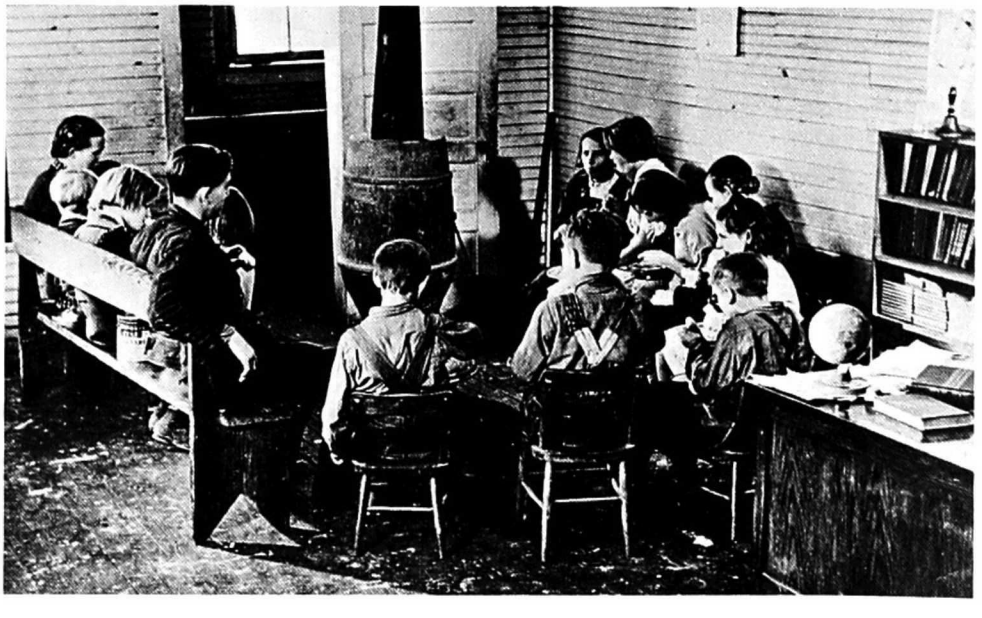
to make two-room rural schools common, as in Elma by the time the Iroquois Central School was organized in the 1950's. But often enough, to the very end, the routine in the "Little Red Schoolhouse" remained as it is said to have been in 1890 by the authors of *150 Years in Aurora.* The teacher sought out the members of the school board to apply, sometimes offering to include the cleaning of the school for the $6 to $20 weekly wage. Of this wage $2.25 went for board and room. Teacher qualification in the minds of board members lay entirely in disciplinary strength and the ability to get the pupils through the Regents' examinations. The school building had an entry for coats, a chunk stove in the center with windows along either side, and a blackboard, desk and recitation bench at the front. There might be a few books and maps, but the course of study was prescribed by the state. Once a year there was Field Day. In Aurora the pupils assembled at Hamlin Park for competitive games and sports, and for spelling matches.

Such schools received authority once a year in the person of the district commissioner or superintendent, but the might of the State Education Department was always felt. By 1890, the requirement of 160 days of school per year was fixed, library funds were provided (to be matched locally), schools were told in 1895 to fly the flag and in the war year of 1898 to salute it. Compulsory attendance was a fact by this time, an effective law having been enacted in 1895. By this time, too, teachers were qualified by passing a uniform state examination.

In fundamentals, then, there remained chiefly the matter of size to distinguish school procedures between city and country, and state law and administration again settled that with the subsidization of central schools in the 1920's and after. The later story of the common schools lies in the development of such very uncommon institutions as the Amherst Central High School. These are more than fair competition for the city schools since they are far more generously supported, and are setting the standards in a way that would raise questions about the limitations the state imposes on the cities, except that the cities have themselves very largely chosen the administrative freedom and the fiscal limitations prescribed in the statutes.

The Amherst Central High School opened in 1929 because the Williamsville and Buffalo high schools could no longer provide for pupils of the Eggertsville-Snyder area. Quarters have been generously built for it, a junior high school has been added, and close cooperation with the Education Department has kept the school at the peak in all requirements. No changes have been made in its legal bases, so it remains one of only four centralized districts limited to high school work. It took advantage of the generous laws of the time designed to encourage consolidation. In its exceptional standards and richness of program it stands as the ultimate contrast to the system of one-room schools it was originally designed to complete.



Catholic mission priests such as Father John Neumann had lost no time setting up elementary schools upon arrival in their parishes, sometimes against the wishes of their parishioners, and by 1870 there were also academies such as the Cathedral College for Boys and the other secondary schools started by the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, one of which developed into the Nardin Academy. None had by 1870 started intensive work in teacher preparation, nor had other institutions except as high school work was accepted as preparation for elementary teaching. Canisius College and the New York State Normal School at Buffalo were under construction or barely opened, and the University of Buffalo was a medical school. Nothing had changed in the operation of the common schools throughout the county.

The sort of change that was to come to the schools could be inferred from the actions of Bishop Stephen V. Ryan (1868-1896) in moving the Catholic schools into a new realm of usefulness. For the discharge of his own functions he demanded subordinates having competence of a high level and he moved energetically to produce them by seeing to the education of prospective priests. Quite logically he extended his interest to good schooling for all, undertaking to provide an elementary school in every parish. Promising students were recruited and ultimately sent abroad to complete their training and in particular to assure their mastery of languages. By the close of his term as bishop he had pretty well achieved his goal.

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Every administrative requirement tended to become a problem, and not only to this parochial school system, for the public schools also were perennially troubled to arrange inspection and training. Even essential conferences on the intricacies of education were a strain. Bishop Ryan used frequent institutes to bring teachers and administrators together, following the practice of his predecessor, Bishop Timon. To these he added in 1875, committees of priests to perform inspecting functions, superseding Timon's executive committee and committee of 60. Following the pronouncements of Provincial and Plenary Councils and the 1875 Instruction of the Holy Office, Bishop Ryan exerted the utmost pressure upon parishioners to send their children to the parish schools, denying First Communion to children who had not taken at least one year in such schools where they were available. His multiple purposes were unmistakable, for he continually urged efforts to provide the quality of education to be found in the public schools, and every evidence that this was being achieved was occasion for congratulation. Testing procedures became more rigorous in 1881, a better system of grading elementary instruction was set up in 1882, and, following urgings from the Third Plenary Council, school boards were established, based largely on the experienced priests of the inspection committees. It remained to his successor, Bishop James E. Quigley, to formalize the diocesan system by the appointment of a superintendent, but there can be no doubt of the intent of this portion of the American Catholic Church with respect to education.

The interesting complexity of American life prevented this direct and simple tale from making up the whole story of diocesan educational effort. Some reference must be made to the vigorous organization work of Reverend John Pitass in the St. Stanislaus parish, for he was inspired not only by all the motives previously noted, but by a burning fervor for the culture of his native land, Poland. His admirers have sometimes smilingly said that they wondered if he even took seriously the Catholicism of non-Polish members of the Roman church, and certainly he left nothing undone that could have forwarded his championship of Polish culture. He himself conducted the classes in Bible and in Polish in the St. Stanislaus school, hiring two lay teachers for other subjects. One of these was a graduate of Cornell University, Jacob Jasiek, who taught English in the school for sixteen years. The Felician Sisters took over some of the instruction of the girls in 1881, but it was many years before he would trust them with more than needlework. The Pitass method was strong, direct, and thorough, demanding that students know their lessons verbatim and also be able to explain the meaning of all, so that his doubts about the ability of others to follow it are understandable. The school flourished, and with it the Felician sisterhood, which was also responsible for many schools in Detroit at a later time. The desirable consequence of the multicultural approach are now beginning to be realized and final judgments of a reasoned sort will soon be apparent. Father Pitass is likely to be universally admired in spite of his sternness and his native loyalties, or perhaps because of them.

Dr. Thomas Lathrop was Buffalo's Superintendent in 1870, finding similar problems and digging into them with the same sort of faith and determination. During that year his position was changed by the Common Council, still the governing body for the schools, to Superintendent of Education, a designation that sounds like a broadening of function today but probably then merely reflected the Council's intent to relieve him of the responsibility for buildings and their maintenance. What he had to face was the fact of swiftly rising budgets. The population was rapidly expanding and since much of the increase was of immigrants' arrivals there was great need to attack illiteracy. Industry was growing rapidly, which meant hope for a rising standard of living for all who could contribute skills to it and thus an incitement to train native and immigrant alike in useful vocations. In spite of complaints that costs were rising Dr. Lathrop recommended greater effort on both accounts, thinking that a $252,000 school budget for a city of 120,000 people was not unreasonable. He would accept fewer schools, but he wanted them better, with teachers and principals more skilled. He suggested abatement of political influences in appointments and substitution of furnaces for stoves. He believed that good air and plenty of light were also desirable. Most extraordinary of all, he required the school principals to agree on uniform courses with specified daily assignments, ten years of which should lead to high school admission, previously won by examination only. This automatic admission had been opposed, for high school was truly an aristocratic institution with 435 registrants and, that year, only 18 graduates.

A superintendent like Dr. Lathrop was bound to feel constant frustration as he examined the public school system with its responsibility for three-quarters of the pupils of the city (the remaining were in private and parochial schools) only to discover that two-thirds of those registered were in the primary grades. Since he took most seriously the potentialities of methodical study at any age and in any condition, the situation looked depressing. For adults he procured permission to reopen evening schools, closed since 1858 when depression had struck, and attracted a registration of 2,700. For the elementary schools he asked for increased work in music and penmanship, the establishment of courses in art, and the hiring of six teachers of German. These proposals were honored in some degree, although the art was chiefly the utilitarian subject of mechanical

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drawing and the German instruction seems to have become a mere gesture toward an important ethnic element.

Most of Buffalo's early superintendents were necessarily men of professions other than teaching, which was an economically sketchy occupation and not even a bridge to administrative posts. It followed that normally these untrained superintendents, unfamiliar with school problems, promptly accumulated burdens of dislikes and irritations that brought them defeat at their very first chance at reelection. None seemed to have considered political means of countering these unfair disadvantages. So Lathrop gave way to J.N. Larned - a physician giving way to a journalist who later became a librarian and a historian. Larned developed Lathrop's program but was strongly rebuffed when he proposed that a Board of Education operate the schools. At last in 1882 came a man who found the means to remain in office. J. F. Crooker was able to win reelection four times, unopposed, before retiring in 1892 to become State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Beyond his support by Boss Sheehan of the Democratic Party there is some question as to how he managed this. His successor accused him of corrupt use of his power to appoint teachers. He may have been right about this, for an important part of his own scheme was the use of the appointive power with attention to the need of political strength for himself.

Superintendent Crooker was for some time little regarded since Henry P. Emerson, who served 1893-1918, wrote so very uncharitably about him, but recent studies make it plain that, while Crooker may have been more politician than teacher, his achievements entitle him to respect. The adult classes started by Lathrop had been abandoned in 1876, it may be surmised because of the depression then reigning, and Crooker revived them in 1885. It was he who dared call the High School by that name, beginning in 1883. In 1885 also the education law was revised to provide school support from general taxes, eliminating the drag on progress set up by the limitations of the many small school districts which had previously furnished the funds. School construction then proceeded rapidly, ten being opened between 1881 and 1886, and primary registration doubled. In all of this, Crooker may have been profiting from changes for which he could claim little credit, but he was soon reporting fully on school affairs in the newspapers and through them his recommendations for manual training, truant schools, physical education, and kindergartens became known. In 1890, petitions to provide high school courses for adults came to Crooker and the Common Council, and they were fully honored. Courses were set up to run 26 weeks and during their second year registration rose to nearly 4,000. Average daily attendance in 1890 was 23,476, up from 14,225 in 1880. In view of this record one may conclude that the schools were growing satisfactorily, although Emerson may also have been right in complaining of the standards of performance in them. The election of 1892 provided an opportunity to debate this question. Crooker had departed for Albany and had been succeeded by William H. Love. The ensuing campaign for the three-year term (now lengthened by the 1892 Charter) was bitterly contested, Love speaking contemptuously of Crooker and declaring that he had been "kicked upstairs" by the Democratic political boss. Emerson advocated free textbooks, which not all of the newspaper editors approved, and tried to talk in tones of practical common sense. But he accused Love of pressuring teachers to support him and the Buffalo *Times* responded with assertions that Emerson had arranged corrupt bargains, eliciting a prompt libel action. Ballot irregularities in the polling brought the count before the courts and one inspector was convicted of fraud. Emerson emerged the winner 25,233 to 25,207 - a very shaky foundation for what proved to be an immensely successful administration extending over 25 years.

Emerson was a thoroughly professional educator. He had come into this system at the age of 28 and departed to retirement in his native Massachusetts at the age of 72. He had received a B. A. from the University of Rochester in 1871 and an M. A. in 1874. He joined the classical department of the Buffalo Central School in 1874 and was appointed principal in 1883, just as it came to be called Central High School. Under him the school grew from 300 to 1,000, and his frequent speaking to its student body and his presentation of others was long remembered, such attentions perhaps having an influence on the great expansion of student activities during his term. His election campaign for the superintendency drew student participation, and no doubt the students were pleased to be identified with vigorous cultural institutions whose champion could now confidently accuse the established political authorities of corruption and inefficiency. In succeeding elections Emerson followed his original line with complete success, Crooker's return to Buffalo in 1895 and his candidacy in 1899 (the term of office had been increased to four years) giving point to Emerson's concentration on that matter. He was to restate it once more at the end of his term when he wrote a history of his superintendency as his report, which has been the source of most of the statements about the wickedness of the 1880's. But 1899 saw the end of effective opposition to him; in 1903 the opposing candidate was merely occupying the place, there was no opposition at all in 1907, and in 1911 Emerson brushed aside a half-serious opponent with a riproaring campaign of speeches from a carriage. His speeches were followed by a treat in the bar with drinks for all. The basis of his 1911 opponent's campaign was Dr. Gaertner's authentic Germanism, and it will be readily believed that Emerson had the measure of him, for he won the

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German wards of the City. In 1916, the superintendency became appointive, two years before Emerson's retirement.

By then also Emerson had become a fixture of civic life as a member of the Saturn, Thursday, University, and Liberal clubs. He was Vice President of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association in 1902 and President in 1903. He served on the State Examination Board 1908-1913 and was awarded the LL. D. of the University of Rochester in 1911.

Henry Emerson not only wanted the superintendency, and kept it by furnishing the voters of Buffalo with the complete image of the firm and direct but kindly schoolteacher, but also knew what he wanted to do with the authority he won through his masterful politicking. Under him the schools developed steadily toward an increased usefulness, in which he believed with the tenacity of a thoughtful man who had considered educational philosophies. School was to him never merely a means of whipping the young into patterns of behavior acceptable to society. It was that, of course, but he could see no reason why they should not, meanwhile, be encouraged and equipped for the kind of life they must lead. This sort of Yankee practicality is visible in much that he did. While he accepted Regents' examinations as a spur to educational accomplishment, he at the same time abolished examinations in the lower grades because he thought they were a harsh challenge to young children without providing acceptable rewards to them. He refined the system of grades, subdividing them to end the holding back of students merely to avoid confusion in their level of promotion. The minutely organized course of study that resulted from these refinements he then modified by declaring that it was not to be regarded as a divine revelation and that promotion standards were to be flexible: a student with uncertain qualifications should still be promoted if it appeared that he might profit from more advanced work. The trained classicist in him yielded readily to the earthy Yankee when he acknowledged that the schools did little to support the industrial system and had better do more; this he provided by steady expansion of vocational, extension, and adult study.

It would even today be an extreme advocate of either repressive discipline or permissive experiment who would find Emerson's attitudes impossible of acceptance. He thought schooling possessed moral and economic utility, even perhaps believed schooling to be indispensable to the good citizen and capable breadwinner, and he insisted that schools could be organized to provide the training needed. He said less as to the need of scholarly competence, but may have considered this cared for in his constant urging of the virtue of high thinking. Thoughtful successors in city school administrative offices still find his statements on educational objectives to be satisfying.

Having ten years' experience of principalship behind him, Emerson knew that his job was to work through the teaching force, and he never stopped trying to recruit it carefully, and to encourage it in self-improvement. Very soon he was given the advantage of increased training requirements. An 1895 law specified two years of subject preparation and one year of teaching instruction and practice, to be demanded of all teaching candidates in 1897. With accustomed conservatism, Emerson wished to continue training teachers in high schools and also proposed after-school courses. Neither did he wish to recruit all his teachers from a single normal school, and in this resolve he was strengthened by the fact that the State Normal School at Buffalo could not furnish the 75 candidates annually needed.

It was nevertheless true that the Normal School was almost a domestic institution for Buffalo and Erie County. Buffalo Superintendent J. S. Fosdick had in 1866 proposed to the Common Council that the State Normal Board be petitioned to set up a normal school in Buffalo. Jesse Ketchum offered land at Thirteenth and York Streets for the building, and the Board of Supervisors agreed to join in the proposal. The State Board rejected the petition but the Legislature was induced the following year to set up the school and it was opened in 1871, the local bodies having appropriated $45,000 each toward the structure. It opened with 86 students (11 males) and by 1891 had an enrollment of 700. The school was forced to offer elementary courses for those in need of them, then two years of the English Course for elementary teachers and

State Normal School

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three years of work in the Classical Course for collegiate departments of the public schools. One year of professional preparation was required of all. A rural training course was added in 1872, but the English Course was discontinued as inadequate in 1891 and admission requirements rose with the new statutory requirements in 1895. Since each increase in standards occasioned a temporary decline in enrollment, Emerson was no doubt correct in judging that the school could not provide candidates in sufficient numbers.

But the bad old days in the hiring of teachers were about to depart, and Emerson was as satisfied as anyone. Examining committees had been in the habit of requiring only that candidates be 18 years old. They were supposed to refuse those who had not achieved 70% marks in the important subjects (principals must pass in all). The superintendent chose from the examiners' lists, and Emerson's rule was to go as low as the third quarter of the list only if there was good evidence of the candidate's competence other than grades. Now that training was required, he seized the opportunity to appoint a principal and three teachers for a training school to be housed in School #10. Its professional training term extended gradually, to a year and a half in 1903 and to two years in 1905. To this Emerson clung even when the Normal School had greatly expanded, and it was left to his successor to abolish it in one of his first official acts.

Just as promptly as in the improvement of teacher preparation, Emerson committed himself to developing proper supervision of instruction with the object of achieving better results. His first appointment made during his first year in office, 1893, was Dr. Ida C. Bender as supervisor of primary grades. She was a graduate of the Normal School in 1878 and of the Medical School of the University of Buffalo in 1890. She had taught at School #14, was President of the Women Teachers' Association, 1891 to 1913, a collaborator in textbook writing with Emerson, and an intimate of the Emersons. The second supervisor was C. Norman Millard for the grammar grades, later a leader in vocational education.

Other supervisors followed and became adjuncts to the system of institutes that was the system's real center of teacher advancement. Special instructors in music, drawing, and other fields worked with the teachers rather than attempting to give special instruction to the multitudes of pupils. Grade meetings were frequent, as many as eight per month. Results were far from sensational, the teachers doggedly resisting the suggestion that they were perhaps as much in need of help and direction as their own pupils - no doubt a reaction to be expected. Emerson's tact in conducting such improving gatherings failed to avert this hostility, even though his principals clearly saw that real issues were taken up in their meetings with Emerson resolutely maintaining an open mind on them. Within the schools a system grew up for warning teachers of the approach of a supervisor, and the usual resentments of subordinates for authorities were to be found without the need for detective work.

Dismissals of incapable teachers of course occurred, frequently in Emerson's early years, when he even dismissed a principal on the grounds of incompetence and insubordination. Annual renewal of appointments produced apprehensions in spite of Emerson's attempt to be early in his actions and just in judgments. Between 1900 and 1910, the Teachers Educational League grew militant and joined the Union Trades and Labor Council, which Emerson declared was within their rights. Emerson had been as cautious in spending on salaries as on everything else, which was one reason for his high standing in the community, but the teachers felt that he had hardly done as well as he might for their welfare. In 1910 tenure was granted and Emerson recommended an increase of about 25% in salaries, setting up schedules with a $500 minimum and a $900 maximum. This was less than the teachers had requested, but it carried and furnished some measure of assuagement to outraged feelings. Emerson had also added (in 1896) a retirement system of very modest proportions.

Not only the continual and rapid increase in enrollments but also the nature of the new additions to the school population caused continual strain to those who, with Emerson, were bearing the responsibilities of the school system. In 1895, which was a banner year for school legislation, an act to make education compulsory guaranteed more pupils and of a different quality. Immigration was at its peak, and Buffalo was soon to have a population better than 50% foreign-born. The traditions of Irish and German Catholics were hostile to public education and the Italians were resentful of what they regarded as efforts to impose charity. When the law went into effect, Emerson declared his intention of proceeding slowly and gently in its enforcement. He had already taken steps, and indeed the truancy problem had been under discussion for more than a decade, with no one very assured of a solution. In 1894, Emerson had proposed a special school for the most recalcitrant truants and some success had been won by dealing with these strictly on the basis of their special talents. Emerson wanted to strengthen these and to call them "parental" schools, but he found little response to either proposal. Instead, truant officers and, finally, an office of Compulsory Education, complete with school census, were added.

To attract and hold students, Emerson really depended upon his system of making schooling practical, efficient, and inexpensive. He noted that better teaching and free textbooks had made some difference in 1894, when enrollments had risen by 5,000, and he wished for a large supply of the efficient teachers that were needed. Efficiency meant more than kindly help for pupils, which he incident-

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ally felt could be overdone to their moral detriment; it implied that the schools should offer what pupils could absorb and employ. Manual training (1895), typing (1904), cardboard work for boys and sewing for girls (1894), kindergartens in schools (1898), mechanic arts (1904), domestic science (1904), and special training for defectives (1906), all followed from these premises. The development of each is a story in itself, many of them leading to great consequences in the system.

The problem of premature school leaving was still overwhelming in spite of the encouragement afforded by these moves, to which might be added the early effort to include cooking (1897), and the addition of vacation schools and school libraries. Emerson's efforts to assist and enrich must have been felt, even though the incipient dropout was unlikely to benefit directly. Things had improved since the 1880 figures in Buffalo showed one-third foreign-born, school absenteeism at 25%, 12½% of boys finishing 10 grades, 4% entering Central (High) School, and 1% graduating. But everywhere the figures were disheartening; in 1910, a foundation study of 386 cities showed that 72% of public school pupils were gone by the end of the seventh grade. The causes of this were not only economic and prejudicial; a Buffalo industrialist, Charles Rohlf, attracted a good deal of attention by declaring that the schools created a lot of ignorance through producing educational misfits. It was this rational doubt that Emerson was attempting to meet.

Buffalo was by no means hopelessly reactionary, nevertheless, and did not need to feel humiliated as compared to others. The city received due credit for developing a complete system of vocational education that, by 1911, enrolled 562 students under 20 teachers; the interest in it was so general that its catalog went into a second printing. State law was again the basis for the new organization. The 1908 enabling act had been urged by the Board of Regents and Commissioner Andrew C. Draper and it was extended by the addition of agriculture, mechanic arts, and homemaking in 1910. Since almost all of the subjects had already found some representation in the Buffalo curriculum, the credit for willing experiment still belongs to Emerson and his system. What was now possible was setting up a course beginning with the seventh grade and running through the eighth, after which continuation in the mechanic arts (later Technical) high school was possible. Pupils in the vocational course took arithmetic, bookkeeping, spelling, English, and physics as well as their craft specialty. The first such school was the Seneca Vocational School in School #5, opening September 13, 1909, with 12 pupils to learn cabinetmaking under a single instructor. Printing and carpentry were quickly added,and at the end of the year 60 pupils were enrolled under three teachers. Three more schools opened in 1910: Black Rock, Broadway, and Rother Avenue in Schools #20, 44, and 58. They aggregated 250 pupils, ten teachers, and six trades, electrical construction, patternmaking, and wood turning having been added.

Emerson, who had been pointing out the difficulty of providing apprenticeships under current industrial organization, now continually urged the unlimited possibilities of this sort of schooling as a substitute or a supplement. He also faced some unique problems in the recruitment of teachers, for the state regulations demanded that the instructors not only qualify as expert in their crafts but that they be high school graduates or their equivalents and have completed a normal or college course in industrial pedagogy. Candidates were also examined in English composition, drawing, shop mathematics, methods, and the theory and practice of their trade. Somehow they were procured - or their equivalents. By 1913 the worst was over, state aids and salaries had been increased, and guidance work was begun with the cooperation of the Chamber of Commerce, unions, employers, and social agencies. Enrollment was high and entrance requirements could be enforced. Students accepted longer school hours and organized themselves into apprentice clubs, which had real meaning since unions accepted vocational school time to fulfill their own apprentice requirements.

Emerson's program, which was actually the modern public school system, was completed by sharpening the purpose and broadening the range of the adult education department. This was nearly as old as the free schools themselves but had twice been suspended under economic pressures. Now conditions became ideal as it was clearer and clearer that school training was essential in the industrial world. Good supervision was finally attained in 1902, and chief supervisor C. N. Millard (appointed 1900) moved to make the curriculum a practical one with the pace of instruction stepped up by the employment of lectures. Greatest demand came from elementary school graduates, foreigners learning English, and aspiring bookkeepers, and every improvement in facilities by state mandate (1903) only made more evident that the real problem was curricular. The surge of interest in vocational education solved this, for the new vocational and practical science courses were overrun and better instruction in mechanical drawing brought a great demand. The best day teachers were employed in adult classes after 1904 and, with the heyday of vocational work after 1910, no problems were left except to cope with the steadily rising demand. Dr. George E. Smith, evening and vacation schools supervisor after 1910, was appointed to deal with this problem. Numbers ranged steadily upwards, reaching a peak of 32,000 in 1926.

In 1913, after 20 years of a very considerable success, Emerson was faced with a new kind of challenge. The city decided upon a new type of

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government, legislative and executive authority to be united in a Commission which included Mayor, Council, and department heads. For the schools, it meant the establishment at long last of a separate Board of Education, but Emerson and others immediately perceived that the unlimited power of the Council-Commission would reduce the Board to unimportance. When the Board finally took up its work in early 1916, Emerson found that he, as Superintendent, was to be present at Board meetings by invitation only, although this bit of lunacy was soon ended. Before any of the steps toward reorganization were taken, Emerson had moved to influence it so far as he could by suggesting an independent survey of the Buffalo school system. New York City had employed this survey procedure in 1911 with useful results, and the New York State Education Department now agreed to undertake an examination of the Buffalo schools. Ten qualified men spent 14 weeks at the task and their conclusions justified Emerson's own heightening criticism of the system under which he and the teachers had to work.

This 1914 report went to some length to soften any criticism at all by reciting the formidable list of Buffalo's innovations: the first superintendent, the first free public schools, early centralization of site selection and repair of buildings, early differentiation of seventh and eighth grades, early establishment of vocational and technical training as well as kindergartens. At present the examiners detected new and unusual efforts in medical inspection, open-air schools, vocational guidance, and generally excellent housing. The immense amount of time put into classroom observations did, of course, produce some evidences of shortcomings in the system. Inspection of classroom teaching remained a sore point; the survey committee found it ineffective. The teaching force was condemned rather sweepingly as inefficient, wasteful of pupil time and taxpayer money, to which was added a scorching denunciation of its lack of respect for authority. But these excoriations, together with others on the shortcomings of business procedures, were blamed on the type of organization, by which was meant control by a committee of the Common Council, as had long been the custom. Of this the examiners observed that the city government was farther than ever from a proper nonpartisanship in maintaining educational services. They thought a reasonable index of political inefficiency was divulged by the high unit costs of the four new high schools then under construction (which were otherwise praised). Their cost per pupil ranged from $522 to $618 against a national average of $264.

Much of the detail of school management won their attention, and practical help emerged from their criticisms of record keeping, programming of studies, promotion procedures, and teaching methods, which tended to be formalistic and rigid. But most of its recommendations dealt with the sensitive area lying between political and professional management. Proposed changes in basic law to ensure proper freedom of action to the Superintendent and to the Board of Education were the real heart of the report. This constituted a triumph for the school authorities, as did the complimentary summaries on high schools and industrial schools.

On the whole, Emerson had concluded triumphantly. The survey plainly is favorable, and his final activities were in the nature of holding actions until the new Board of Education found its feet. When open conflict developed between the Board and the Council, the State Education Department was in position to recommend legal changes that would clarify the constitutional situation. Mayor Fuhrmann, in some irritation, dismissed the Board in 1917 while the bill was being considered in the Legislature but the result was a happy one for school independence, although far from ideal since fiscal dependence on city government remained absolute. With this relative victory, Emerson had to be content. He resigned in 1918.

While the public schools were thus taking a shape that might be regarded as near the best that could be hoped for, the Catholic school system was facing the same problems and struggling for equally hopeful solutions. There was, of course, no political difficulty created by dependence upon city governments, but there were disagreements

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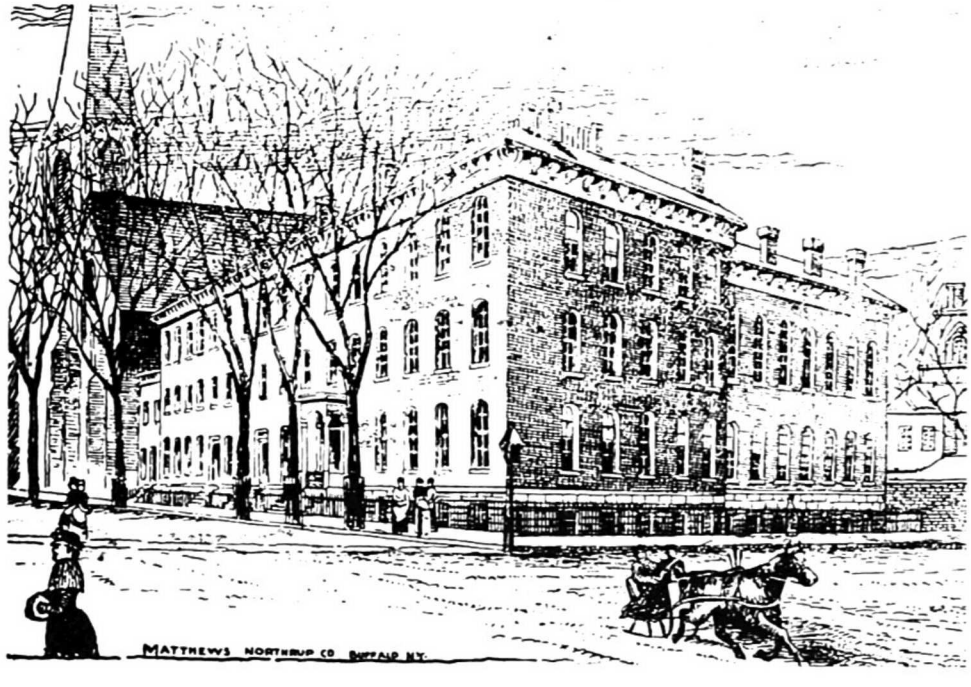
as simple and fundamental as local hostility to teaching orders such as that which the Franciscan Sisters were made to feel for some months in Hamburg. Even such devoted servants of the Roman Catholic Church as Bishop Timon could be difficult when he felt that teaching orders tended to move in directions that were not his own. It was the familiar problem of supervision and maintenance of standards that moved Bishop James E. Quigley, the head of the Buffalo diocese, to appoint a superintendent in 1900. The first incumbent was Father Edmund F. Gibbons, who found himself in charge of 77 schools and 24,000 enrollees. At least he did not face serious building challenges, for only five parishes lacked a school (these were balanced by the five parishes that had built schools before erecting churches). Father Gibbons was soon distracted by appointment to the pastorate of St. Vincent's Church in Attica, Father John McMahon as Assistant at the same time (1904) taking over many of the burdens of administration. But Father Gibbons continued to interest himself in school activities, lecturing weekly beginning in 1909 on methods of religious instruction and, shortly after this, undertaking the instruction of novices at St. Joseph's. The burden on Father McMahon continued to increase as 28 new schools were built between 1904 and 1910 while the good Father was pastor of Mt. Carmel parish with the largest Italian school in the Diocese—of which he was principal.

It is therefore rather more than surmise that the diocesan schools did not suffer from overadministration by large staffs of bureaucrats, and it is even something of a surprise to learn that the Superintendent's office effected considerable reforms of the curriculum during this time in spite of its heavy burdens. An English studies syllabus of 1903 specified a uniform course of studies to be pursued in that language so that it was not neglected in schools where Polish, German, French, and Italian were used as a basic tongue. The intent was to establish English as the language of instruction for all subjects except religion, and even in that tender spot supplementary instruction in English was recommended. The other languages were to be taught by early convening of school for those who wished such courses, and school notices were to be in English. Promotion was not to depend upon anything in foreign languages. If this has a modern ring, so did the rest of the indicated course of study. There was only one point upon which the church wished to differ with the public schools, and that was the provision of religious and moral instructions in its own tradition.

One of the greatest difficulties, because it absorbed so much labor, was the maintenance of satisfactory standards. The beginning of Regents' examinations in 1866 was helpful. They were constantly used as a gauge of excellence, and at times success in the schools was measured largely by the proportion of pupils who passed them. Their own expectations were not ignored by the responsible boards and committees; oral examining within the schools began 1874, and in 1881 written examinations were added. Superintendent Gibbons immediately ended the oral examinations, which were a relic of the paternalist day of committees descending upon the schools with high expectations and weighty sense of responsibility to wreak chaos among the teachers. The new system was based on diocesan courses of study and were designed to measure the efficiency attained in conducting pupils through them, with standardization and equalization of promotion as secondary objectives. Committees were still employed to give other perspectives on the results, but under direction of professional supervisors. Still, there was great satisfaction when a Chamber of Commerce committee declared that Transfiguration School in 1919, had excelled every other school it had examined for its performance with the Regents' examinations.

The complexities of the diocesan system never matched the public schools with their adult and vocational functions, but the Church nevertheless assumed some responsibilities involving considerable specialized effort. The St. Mary's Benevolent Society for the Deaf and Dumb had opened a school in 1857 and added to it steadily, in 1897 erecting the large structure on Main Street north of Humboldt that is still in use. In 1876, it had opened the first trade department in any

Miss Nardin's Academy



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Buffalo school, teaching shoemaking and printing, and as practice work fulfilled for ten years the contract to produce the weekly *Catholic Union*. Under state law, support was possible by assuming the instruction and care of public wards, so observance of normal standards was necessary. Instruction emphasized speech up to the fifth grade, after which the usual courses of instruction were followed. Moral and ethical teaching was provided separately for non-Catholic pupils.

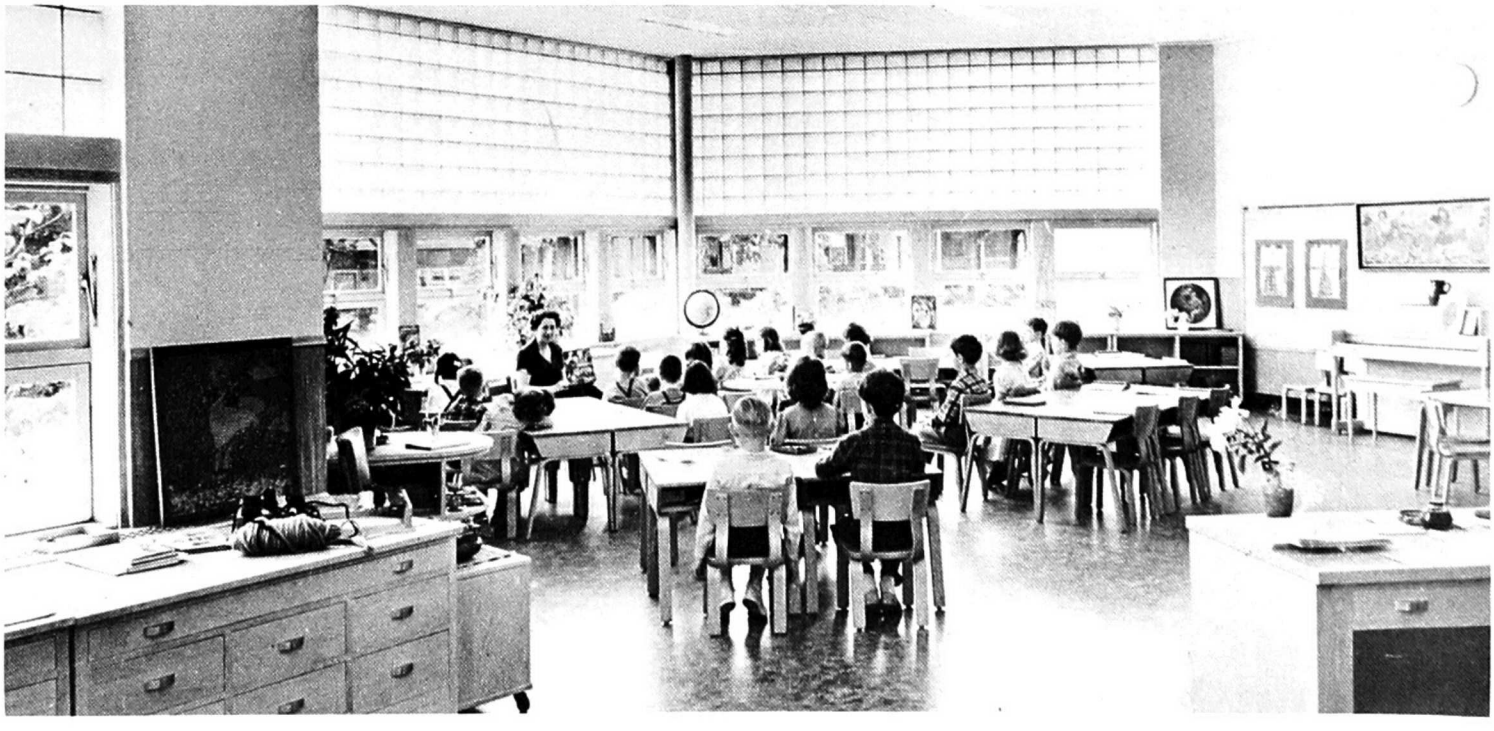
Not so complex were the orphan asylums and special training schools that were a familiar part of the Catholic school scene from 1848. Of these the St. John's Protectory, founded 1864 with many others throughout the nation in the troubled war period, only became the largest in its later development under Father Baker. Operated by the Sisters of St. Joseph, it specialized in domestic training and the teaching of trades. All shared the broad demands set up by the dual task of maintaining and educating the children. There were eight engaging in elementary instruction.

Teacher training was therefore a constant problem, and one so expensive that it was never completely solved to the satisfaction of the diocese. The Ladies of the Sacred Heart started their own normal training in 1883, but this served only their own order. The academy they developed (later Nardin) was no doubt of service in training teachers as all academies and high schools were, but the diocesan schools relied on a system of apprenticeship and examination to recruit its staff. Those who passed the Regents' examinations for teachers could win permanent certification for all schools and repeated examinations became the schools' reliance. With success there, plus experience, qualifications were established. Most teaching communities, eight of which had local novitiates, had started training work by early in this century and were joined in this in 1925 by Mt. St. Joseph's. The Grey Nuns of the Sacred Heart opened D'Youville College in 1908, getting a charter from the Legislature over the opposition of a member of the State Board of Regents. It was the third degree-granting institution in Buffalo, after the University and Canisius College, and several orders used it for training courses. In the 1930's the Sisters of St. Mary of Namur developed Mount St. Mary Normal School in Kenmore.

These were the movements that occupied the diocesan system to the time of the Second World War and the adjustments that then and thereafter seemed necessary and practical. Father Gibbons was succeeded in the superintendency in 1917 by Rev. Francis Kanaley who gave way to Rev. John Peel in 1922. Rev. Peel established a complete obligatory course of study and saw to its revision in 1940, shortly before his retirement for reasons of health. Administrative services such as centralized purchase of textbooks became possible and offices were opened on Niagara Square. Only greater resources were needed for the system to extend its work further for the public service.

To review, by 1870, a large and influential class of citizens in Erie County had fully accepted the necessity of capable schools not only for the instruction for citizens, but, in the case of the Roman Catholic Church leaders, also for the encouragement of faith and morals among their future parishioners.

The first schools were those outside of Buffalo where the construction of a school was frequently one



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of the first undertakings of a township. These schools were administered under various combinations of state and local bodies until 1925 when consolidation of districts was finally attained. Legislation in 1851 had declared the schools free and provided some support and by 1867, tuition charges had been discontinued.

Several academies, often under sectarian control in the beginning, for more than half a century provided secondary education to the state's youth. Many, encouraged by state aid, have developed into modern high schools.

Catholic mission priests had lost no time in setting up elementary schools in their parishes. By 1870 they had also established academies though none had begun intensive work in teacher preparation. Regents examinations begun in 1886 provided a means of comparison with the public schools. Although the Catholic schools never matched the public schools in adult and vocational functions, they did provide special services which might have otherwise been lacking by the operation of orphanages (with attached schools) and special training schools such as that established for the deaf and dumb in 1857.

Buffalo pioneered in the establishment of free public schools under several capable and determined superintendents. Three superintendents, Thomas Lathrop, J. F. Crooker, and, most particularly, Harry P. Emerson, promoted the growth and development of the primary and secondary schools. Subject matter was expanded and made more flexible, teacher preparation and hiring was upgraded, and vocational, extension and adult study became firmly established. In general, the schools began to meet head-on the requirements of business and industry for more skilled workers.

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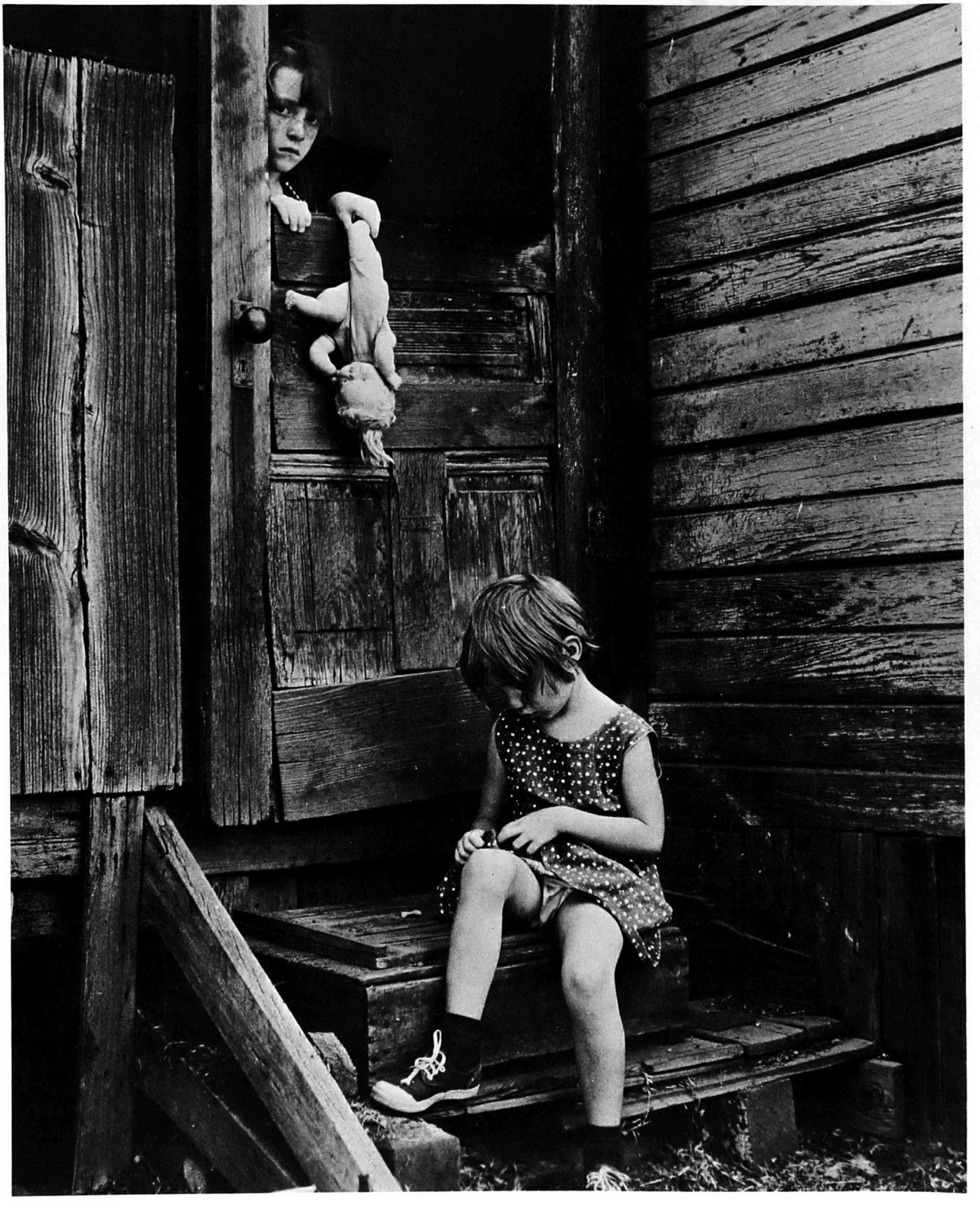

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IX. The Puzzle of Social Welfare

The English system of poor relief as developed in the reign of Elizabeth I still was the basis for the handling of the difficulties of the poor and miserable of Erie County in 1870. A responsibility of local government, the tendency was to hide the fact of the problem's existence. The County had set up an almshouse in 1828 and added an Insane Department a few years later. Even intemperate children of intemperate families found a place here until the Orphan Asylum was created, which was before 1837. A new building was erected in 1851 on Buffalo Plains--now the site of the University--and it was followed by a hospital. The inmates were bound out to work whenever possible and worked on the farmlands while immured. The quality of care they received is indicated by the fact that it was the recent immigrant groups that suffered the heavy death rates, and dead were those who had been the lone and friendless.

Church women organized promptly, beginning with the Unitarians in 1831, and gave the impetus needed to take care of the orphans. In 1852 the Buffalo Association for the Relief of the Poor was organized; its deliberations suggested profound dissatisfaction with the system of tossing human incapables into a Poorhouse to keep them out of sight and in a hopeless state. Cholera epidemics had struck in 1849 and 1851, revealing further inadequacies in the arrangements to care for sick, orphaned, and destitute people. Under Bishop Timon the Catholic Church had set up the Sisters of Charity Hospital and opened the St. John's Protectory as well as struck out in other directions with the greatest success, as in the work with the deaf.

Following the Civil War, social services continued to be a semiprivate concern conducted on a small scale. They remained the almost sacred property of the churches and religious societies. Strictly denominational and mutually exclusive, each group catered to the needs within its own circle of influence. Any large-scale plan to relieve poverty or investigate community problems was considered either undesirable or simply infeasible. There were few exceptions to this policy during the war years 1861-65. Poverty was still considered to be a moral problem, and, since moral problems were in the domain of the churches, poverty was therefore a church matter. It was a simple proposition and one that had always worked before, but the public's attitude toward the sick and impoverished was beginning to be affected in subtle ways. Through the Buffalo Association for the Relief of the Poor and the personalities of Bishop Timon and his tireless Sisters of Charity, there was becoming evident a new reaction to social ills. Though still shut away and treated "indoors," the destitute were no longer necessarily considered moral lepers.

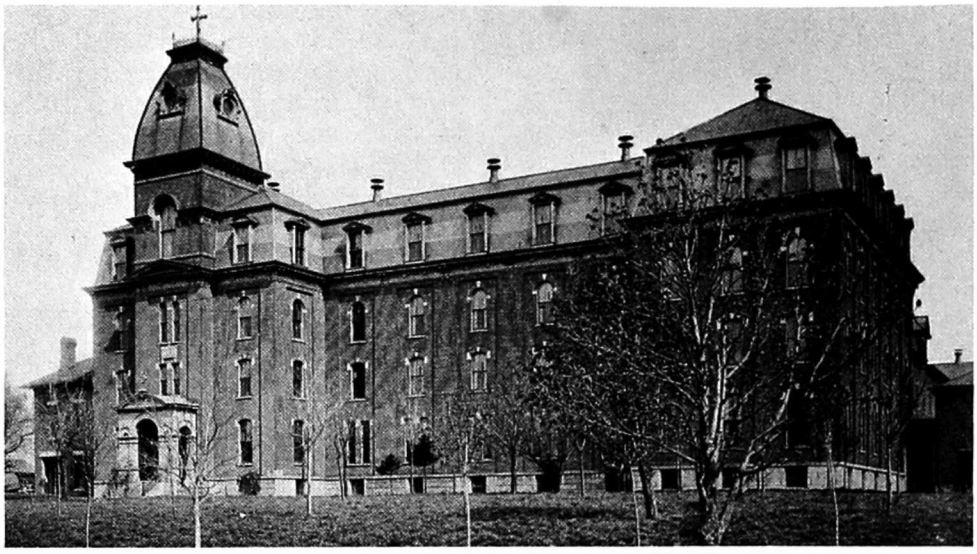
Rev. John Timon

In the 1860's, the Provident Lunatic Asylum, the first hospital for the mentally ill in Buffalo, had come to be known as *Providence Retreat* and was distinguished in the treatment of both drug addiction and alcoholism as a disease, a far-sighted approach for 100 years ago.

By 1867, public clamor for the relief and care of orphan chilren was beginning to make itself heard. Perhaps this was due to the drastic increase in widows and orphans that always follows a major war; or perhaps it was due to the inadequacies and ill-concealed horrors of the County almshouse. The churches were again called upon to bring reform.

The Evangelical Lutheran St. John's Orphan Home for boys and girls was founded in 1864 by the First Evangelical Lutheran St. John's Church, the oldest German congregation in Buffalo. Two years later the Charity Foundation of the Protestant Episcopal Church purchased the Edwin Thomas House and grounds at Seventh and Rhode Island Streets and converted them into an orphanage, a home for the aged and destitute, and a hospital. The property was enlarged again in 1869.

Nor were the hardships of old age neglected during this period. In 1861, the Sisters of St. Francis had come to Buffalo and begun their work in caring for the aging. The following year their services were in such demand that they were able to open a building on Pine Street. This was the well-known St. Francis' Asylum for the Aged, or simply, St. Francis' Home, which specialized in the care of the aged and infirm. In 1864 the Catholic Protectory, founded 10 years earlier, was officially incorporated under the care of the Society for the Protection of Destitute Catholic Children.

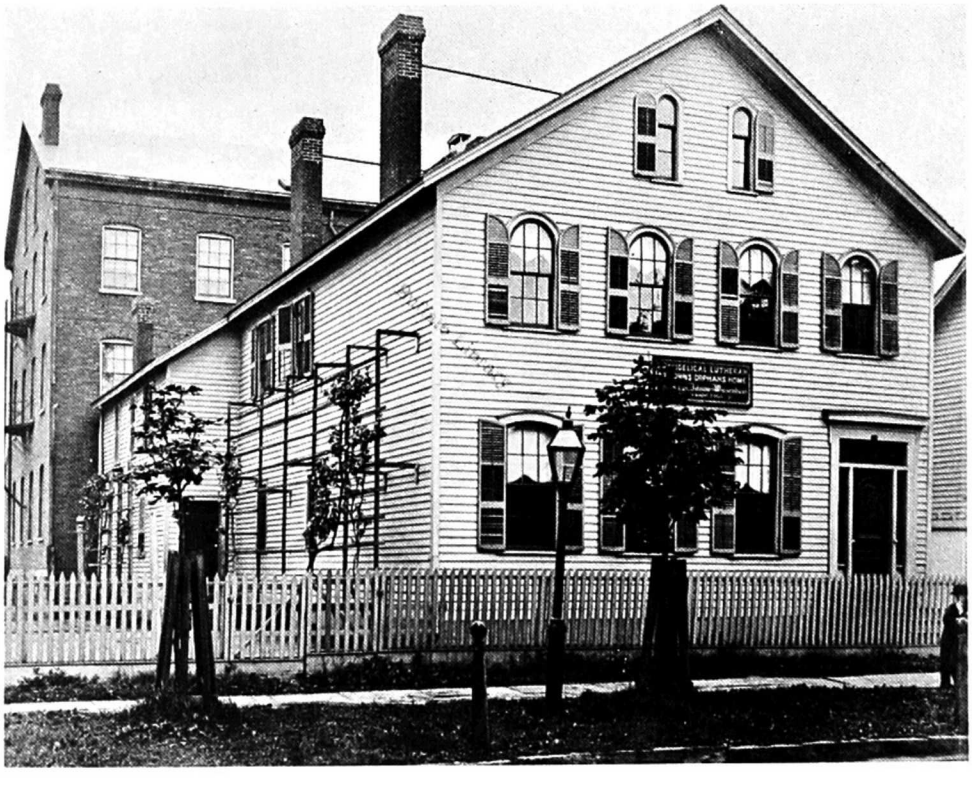


Buffalo Hospital of the Sisters of Charity

Despite these small advances in humanitarianism, the Erie County Almshouse (now located north of Buffalo) continued to be the major repository for social problems. Records refer to a fire in 1862 and the addition (in December 1867) of a new hospital with better sanitary facilities. No one seems to have exhibited much public interest in the confined destitute then. One surprising exception occurs in the October 1, 1867, report of E. Tobee, Acting House Physician. Referring to the Almshouse residents, he notes: "Impaired in body and mind, indifferent whether to live or die, the last trace of ambition gone, they cannot, without the greatest perseverance, be induced to make any effort toward taking care of themselves. In an extreme degree is the spirit of self indifference manifested by this class of public charity." The doctor concludes his rather depressing report by observing that the new hospital "does not answer the end for which it was intended." He especially notes the lack of heat during the winter and the inadequate accommodations for the number of patients in the Insane Department. The daily number of insane paupers averaged 134 and only 61 single beds were provided leaving 53 patients to lodge on the floor, share bedding space, or seek the best accommodations available.

When people were faced with the prospect of such doubtful benevolence it is not hard to understand why the daily newspapers were dotted with variations of the following from the *Express* June 10, 1867: "An abandoned woman named Bridget McCarrick, residing in the Piper Block on Canal Street, committed suicide Friday evening by means of laudanum."

Lutheran Orphans' Home



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Eventual recognition by the public of the shortcomings of the almshouse system brought action. In 1867, New York State organized the Board of State Commissioners of Public Charities. The Board was to have a representative from each of the eight Judicial Districts of the State appointed by the Governor with the consent of the Senate. The representative was authorized to visit and examine the affairs of "all Charitable and Correctional Institutions of the State, excepting prisons, receiving State Aid." He was also responsible for reporting on the "condition of each of the city and county alms or poor houses." Some of the reports submitted after visits by the appointed investigators read much like the old State "Poor Law Survey" of 10 years previous in which the Almshouses were described as the "most disgraceful memorials of the public charity." Erie County's Poorhouse, for all its deficiencies, was found to be in better order and condition than most, though it was by no means ideal.

About the same time, more and more social interest was being evidenced by private individuals and special groups, notable because they were only loosely affiliated with a church. Some attempts at aid were independent efforts by persons whose consciences were awakened by the changing postwar scene. It was these individuals and groups who were eventually to evolve the philosophies and practices of a systematic and well-planned social service organization.

This concern extended to animals as well as to humans. The Erie County Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, organized in 1867 by the wife of the Rev. Dr. John C. Lord, was the second of its kind in the United States. Early attempts of the Society to secure a location and acceptance were difficult and often fruitless. Businessmen and merchants resented interference in the way they treated their own property. Horses and mules were often worked till they dropped from exhaustion and then sold to the slaughterhouse or soap factory. So-called polite society was shocked that a woman should dare concern herself in matters "outside of the home." Nevertheless the persistence of Mrs. Lord and her followers eventually won out. They secured a place in the Bowen Building at the corner of Pearl and Huron Streets and soon were conducting a Humane Education Committee. Its purpose was to visit the schools and train children in kindness to animals.

In May of 1867, Rev. Edward Bristol with the assistance of Francis H. Root began plans for "the establishment of a temporary home, protection, employment or assistance to worthy females who are destitute or friendless, and to provide a permanent home for aged women who are homeless." Forty-one women, representing the various Protestant Churches, made up the first board of managers. The Society opened its first Home for the Friendless on Seventh and Maryland Streets in a house entirely furnished by donations. The first year there were 26 residents and 132 the second. The house acquired some permanent occupants when it was enlarged in 1872.

By 1867, the streets of Buffalo were crowded with new settlers, war veterans, and young drifters wending their way westward, passing through, or just looking. The forlorn character of this prominent but thoroughly insecure group aroused Charlotte Mulligan to action. Having lost her brothers in the Civil War she was sensitive to the plight of these young men and felt a desire to help them. Through her efforts the Guard of Honor, for religious and benevolent work, was organized January 16, 1868, at a meeting in the Buffalo Female Academy building in Johnson Park. Miss Mulligan spent her life as the guide and leader of this society, later located at 620-622 Washington Street. Its purpose was to provide a temporary lodging for homeless young men and help in finding employment. The Guard of Honor Home was active as late as 1911, still offering a Sunday School and Bible classes as well as lodging.

Protestant church women continued to set up protective homes. The Women's Christian Association, now the Y.W.C.A., was organized in 1870 for "benevolent work among poor women." Its first enterprise, which followed its declared charitable intent, was a boarding home at Eagle and Ellicott Streets from which it moved to Niagara Square and then, in 1904, to the building vacated by the Y.M.C.A. at Mohawk and Genesee Streets. A year before this, a group of women had formed the

St. Francis Home

Ladies Hospital Association for Indigent Women. They began services in a large house located at 1500 Main Street.

On September 27, 1869, a society was incorporated to provide a home and a better way of life for "fallen women." The first board of directors (exclusively feminine) prevailed upon the goodwill of Joseph Guild (the husband of a board member) to buy a house on Vermont Street and give them free use of it for one year. This was the beginning of the Ingleside Home for unwed mothers. It stemmed from the original missionary work of the Rev. G.P. Cook in Buffalo's infamous Canal Street district. "Chaplain" Cook who worked with the support of the Y.M.C.A., became impressed with the need for an organization to provide care for the large number of women pregnant out of wedlock who, thereafter barred from advantageous marriage, and finding employment difficult to procure, many times ended in the brothels and groggeries of Canal Street. He saw that many could be persuaded to reform their lives if they were only given a chance, a place, and someone who cared. An association of conscientious and charitable women were won over by his arguments and began a weekly prayer meeting in a room on Evans Street near The Canal. Many neighborhood women began to attend, soon enough to evidence the need of a permanent location.

In 1870, the Home was moved to a house on Virginia Street. When the need remained too great for even these new quarters, George W. Tifft supplied the Society with a large building on Seneca Street which they used for several years. In 1884, the property of the Alberger Homestead at Cold Spring (Harvard Place) was made available, and the Home has been there ever since. Although it has expanded its property and staff, adding new wings and services as the times dictate, the Society still adheres to its original purpose "to provide medical care and social work" in the contemporary term that best synthesizes 100 years of service to unwed mothers.

Young Women's Christian Association

These successes were followed by an equally valuable triumph in the beginnings of the Childrens' Aid Society in 1872. Although it was a decade before the magnitude of this undertaking became apparent it foreshadowed what has been a long period of service.

But the women were not narrowly concentrated on such extensions of the home sphere. The Ladies Hospital Association, which had been managing the Home for the Friendless, was invited by the trustees of the Buffalo General Hospital to merge itself into the hospital board. They agreed and for the next 20 years became the "mainstay and support of the institution." They were active not only for urging the most modern and efficient equipment but also for promoting the growth of its buildings, facilities, and general economy and were largely responsible for the Hospital's fund raising campaigns.

The men were not to be completely outdone, however. A Thanksgiving dinner given in 1872 by the Young Men's Association of the Grace Methodist Episcopal Church brought together a large group of semi-indigent children of the city, most of whom made up the working corps of Buffalo's newsboys and bootblacks. This event inspired William Pryor Letchworth to help Buffalo recognize the need of a home for boys who were trying to earn their living on the streets. A society for this purpose was organized soon afterwards and in 1882 opened a home at 29 Franklin Street. From the beginning it was known as the Newsboys' and Bootblacks' Home and retained its location until 1908. At that time a bequest from Mrs. Helen Thornton Campbell aided the society in constructing and furnishing a large building at 261-265 Delaware Avenue which served as headquarters for the Children's Aid Society. The old building on Franklin Street was taken over by Erie County and became the County Lodging House

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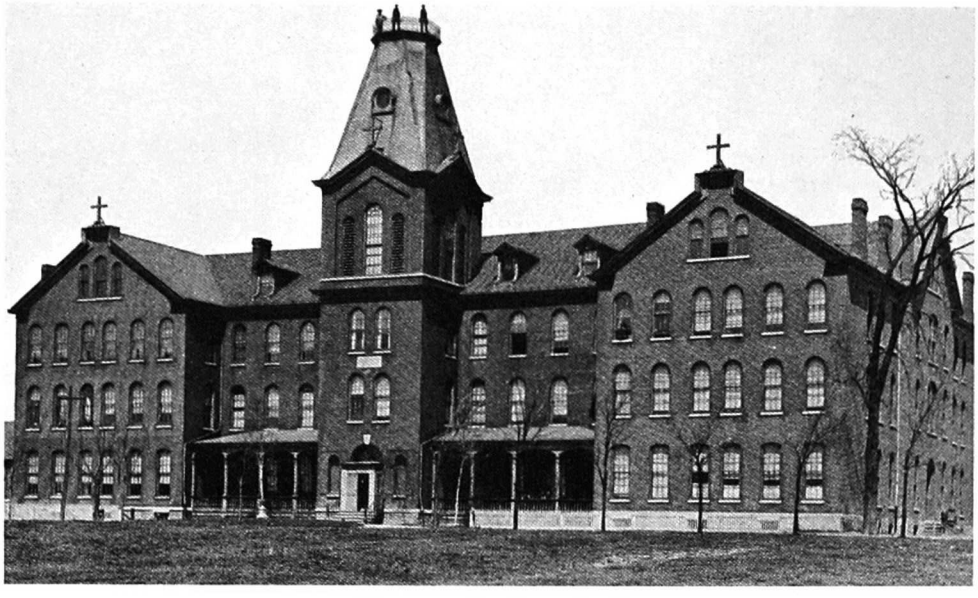
where thousands of homeless men have found temporary shelter and food.

The St. John's Protectory and other private orphan asylums, which had been laboring in this field for decades, multiplied with the increasing population. In 1868 the Evangelical Lutheran Home for Boys opened. It was rebuilt in 1877 following a fire, and a new, enlarged building was added in 1878.

Lutheran Church Home

In 1872, Buffalo's second Catholic Bishop, Stephen Vincent Ryan, moved St. John's Protectory and St. Joseph's Male Orphan Asylum to Limestone Hill—an area south of the city in what was then West Seneca—and placed a young priest, Reverend Nelson H. Baker, in charge. Later these and other institutions would become world famous as "Father Baker's Homes." The German Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum which came under full Diocesan control in 1876 was administered by the Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis. In 1874 the German Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum was relocated to Best and Northampton Streets and assumed occupation of spacious buildings and grounds, while, in 1876, the orphanage at Seventh

Buffalo Children's Aid Society



German Orphan Asylum

and Rhode Island Streets run by the Charity Foundation of the Protestant Episcopal Church added a foundling and maternity hospital known as the "Sheltering Arms for Infants."

The Buffalo Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, which first took form in 1874, was incorporated in 1879 as the Queen City Society, and merged with Children's Aid in 1915. Its aims were to remove children from degrading or harmful surroundings and to place them in good homes. All of these actions for the protection of children indicate an increasing concern as well as a resolution to improve the methods of assisting them. The success of the private agencies won them proper recognition.

During 1873, an Act of the New York State Legislature had ordered the removal from public almshouses of children under three years of age, providing that henceforth they were to be cared for in institutions specifically organized for children. In 1875, following the State legislation, dependent children were taken from the Buffalo Insane Asylum and placed in separate institutions, or, whenever possible, were placed in homes with families. This attempt to create as natural an atmosphere as possible for the growing child without resorting to "binding out," remains to this day the most preferred method of child welfare and is employed as often as circumstances permit. In the 1870's this placement system came to nationwide attention as the "Erie County System."

The year 1873 brought the shadow of a national depression. The Civil War had been over for nearly a decade and continued deflation, added to financial instability, created panic and industrial depression. Financial empires collapsed and workmen were idled throughout the country. In Buffalo their needs and the needs of their families overwhelmed the city's philanthropic resources. Each year the situation would continue to grow worse until the public would come to realize that a new form of philanthropy was essential. Almsgiving in the name of charity would have to be replaced by some form of practical public assistance. Perhaps the first effect of the unemployment problem was evident when the Y. M. C. A. in Buffalo opened the Holly Tree Soup and Coffee Room on Pearl Street to provide a meager meal for those without work or funds. By 1876 one in 10 Buffalo residents was receiving poor relief, and in the year following the situation grew worse with railroads on strike, riots flaring, and Federal troops patrolling the railroad yards.

These were times when every blessing was thoughtfully added to the total that seemed suddenly to be meager indeed. This was still the age of much personal charity among neighbors, and medical practice included large elements of philanthropy. Though not much space can be devoted here to the numerous Medical Societies and their charitable works, mention should at least be made of the Buffalo Eye and Ear Infirmary incorporated in 1876. It later extended its services to "outdoor" work among the poor of the city. The Buffalo Surgical Infirmary, incorporated December 5 of that same year, furnished surgical services free of charge for those unable to pay.

An Act of the New York State Legislature was passed April 23, 1870, to provide better care and treatment for the insane. The city of Buffalo bought and donated 203 acres of land on Forest Avenue near Delaware Park for a hospital site. Although ground was broken in 1871 and the cornerstone was laid September 18, 1872, the building was not ready to accept its first patients until eight years later. Meantime the insane and feeble-minded continued to be sent to the County Almshouse at Buffalo Plains north of the city, where another building for the insane was added at this time.

At this point a new departure toward the first organized social welfare program in the United States became possible and was provided in a practical way by the establishment of the Charity Organization Society (C.O.S.) in 1877 while the difficulties of the depression years were fresh. Copying the model of the London Charity Organization Society, its purpose was to coordinate private charitable efforts in order to eliminate abuses of fraudulent beggary, and to assure that relief was provided where it was needed.

Although apparently unrelated to its formation, the old Association for the Relief of the Poor (formed in Buffalo in the early 1850's) had borne a surprising re-

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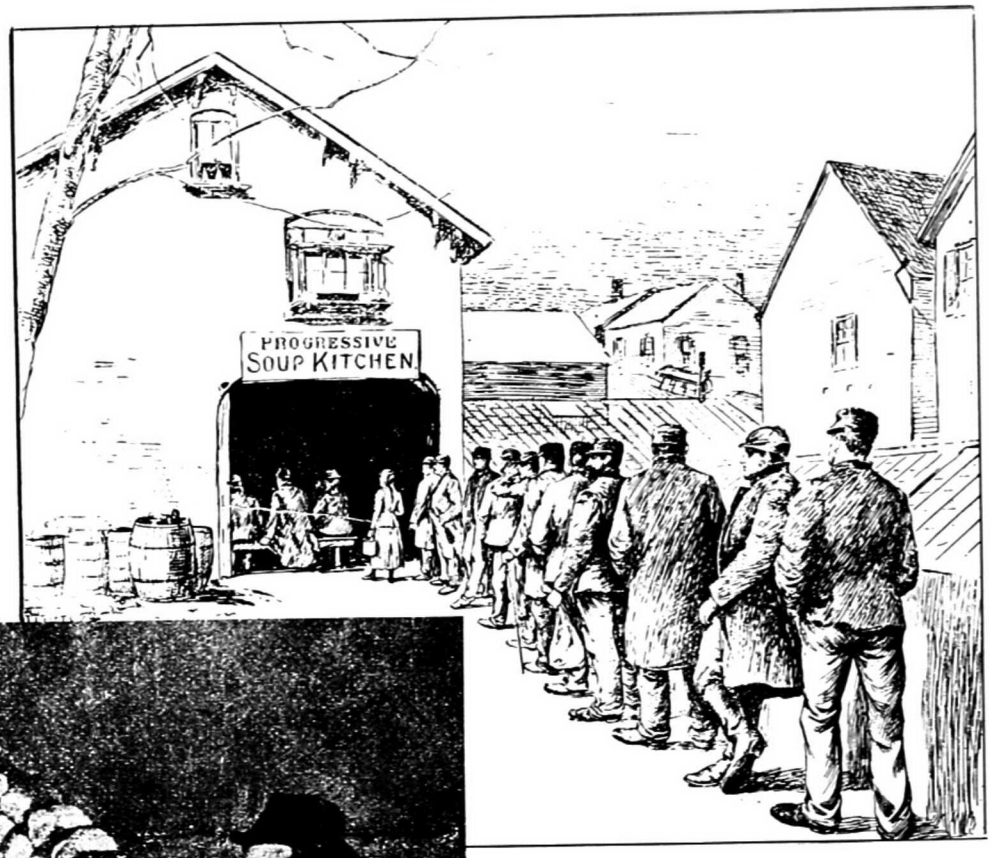
semblance in form and philosophy to the Buffalo Charity Organization Society. Little is recorded regarding the success or failure of that early social welfare group, but that its purposes were far ahead of its time is reflected in the following quote from the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser and Director:* "This Society has for its object the suppression of three great evils: indiscriminate alms giving, professional begging, and the actual wants of the poor." After thorough investigation, the Association would either approve or reject the applicant's request for aid. This was very much like the later C.O.S. or modern day casework techniques except that the 1850 Association raised its funds entirely by voluntary subscription. Perhaps this was a reason for its failure to last.



Buffalo in 1877 was not much different from other large cities in the United States. A reasonably accurate description was given by Frederic Almy in his 1927 review of the work of Buffalo's Charity Organization Society.

"Incipient poverty was then ignored, and the doles then given without investigation were worse even than the doles after investigation which followed. Hospitals then had a stigma like that of the almshouse. Public health work had not begun. Trained nurses did not exist. Medicine and surgery were primitive as compared with today. Probation, parole, and the indeterminate sentence and character work in reformatories and prisons were unknown. Even the importance of prevention and cure rather than relief was talked of, but the tools now in use had been neither made nor imagined." Mr. Almy prefaced his remarks by noting that in the 1870's ". . . no devotion and no intelligence could by any possibility have prevented, cured, or even relieved poverty, sickness and waywardness . . . ."

Like England of 1840, America in the 1870's was experiencing a rapid growth of urban population. Towns grew up around the dark hulk of industrial factories faster than accommodations for their people. Workers of all classes crowded in. Rents went increasingly higher, forc-

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ing the inevitable result of slum neighborhoods and sub-standard living conditions. These became, in turn, producers of crime, disease, and social decay. It is, therefore, not too surprising that America would soon adopt a method of treatment based almost entirely on the English plan.

The man responsible for bringing that plan to the attention of Buffalo was Stephen H. Gurteen, assistant rector in St. Paul's Episcopal Church and Warden of the Guild in 1877. He spoke in alarm of the dangerous situation of the country and in the summer of 1877 went to London to study the Charity Organization Society. Returning after a few weeks, he gave a series of lectures, brought out a pamphlet, and proposed the establishment of such an organization in Buffalo. It turned out that one of the parishioners of St. Paul's, T. Guilford Smith, was also aware of the London Society. Not only was Buffalo quickly provided with this type of service, but Gurteen and Smith traveled to other cities to assist others to organize. Smith, in fact, had gone to London before 1873 to study the Charity Organization Society and the principles of careful investigation of applicants had been used by the Guild. In the summer of 1877, the Common Council of Buffalo likewise instituted investigative procedures to be administered by the Police Department. This burden was lifted from the Department, which was ill-equipped to handle it, by the organization of the C. O. S.

Smith's previous knowledge helps to explain why Gurteen's advocacy met with such ready acceptance. A planning and organizational committee, which was quickly formed, included David Grey, then editor of the *Buffalo Courier,* T. Guilford Smith, a lawyer and secretary of the Union Iron Company, James H. Dormer, a prominent Catholic layman, Ansley Wilcox, then a twenty-year-old law student, and such influential men as Judge George W. Clinton, James O. Putnam, and William P. Letchworth, Chairman of the State Board of Charities. The composition of the Board clearly reflects Gurteen's determined interdenominationalism. It is this very principle, however, which throws question on the actual contribution of Gurteen to the C.O.S. He excluded himself and other clergymen from working on the Society's Council, pleading that American nondenominationalism demanded this, and was soon off on another protracted journey to investigate charities in England and France. Since he was thereafter involved in a controversy within St. Paul's Church that resulted in his dismissal early in 1880, he could not have spent much time putting his lofty principles into practice, nor did he accomplish anything in this field elsewhere in the half-dozen years before he retired.

The constitution was approved and signed at the first meeting of the committee, making the Charity Organization Society of Buffalo, New York, the first city-wide agency of its kind in America. Nearly identical

Outside poormaster's office

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to its counterpart in London, only one major principle differentiated it from its English cousin, the distinctive "American Principle" of nonsectarianism or " ...the complete severance of charitable relief, whether official or private, from all consideration of religion, politics, and nationality."

The principles of the C.O.S. conformed to the new theorizing about society based on vaguely scientific premises usually referred to as positivism. Gurteen was almost as aggressively for this "science" as he was in opposition to participation by religious organizations, in which the new clergyman was perhaps not so much scrupulously secular as fanatic in his Americanism. The C.O.S. was to stand above the administrative ruck and assist to bring system and reason to bear on the problem of distributing public assistance. It was not itself to give relief except in emergencies, but to investigate need and coordinate the activities of the many private agencies in the field. Gurteen, in 1880, summed up this view of things in a *Handbook* that was very likely to be found on the desks of administrators. The basic principles were: exclusion of any kind of distinction in religion or politics among the needy, prohibition of proselytism of any kind, maintenance of the autonomy of existing benevolent societies, and substitution of a business for a sentimental attitude toward the problem.

This was a totally new approach to public charity. The Society was to be primarily an investigative agency, a guardian of public philanthropy, a huge placement office whose unusual philosophy was summarized in its motto: "not alms—but a friend." The Society was dedicated to the detection of fraud, relief of the honest poor along with their rehabilitation, encouragement of thrift and self-help, and the suppression of social abuses. As such, it aided not only private individuals and societies but also the city poormaster by investigating free of charge, thus supplementing the investigations conducted for him by city police offices.

The city's poor were to be carefully led from pauperization to a love of self dependence; methods of budgeting and thrift were to be taught along with placement and encouragement in jobs and skills. Street begging was to be suppressed, compelling the able to work and the disabled to seek the many, less degrading alternatives that were available to them at that time.

After saturating the populace with information about the intent and workings of charity organization and after receiving its general support and encouragement, the new society began the monumental task of guiding city-wide poverty relief.

From the central office, circulars were sent to all church, relief, and benevolent societies and fraternities, to all asylums and hospitals, asking for particulars as to their modes of operation, etc. The books of the Poormaster were copied, and, with the help of the Buffalo Police, blank forms were delivered at every house in the city asking for particulars of the relief that any citizen was giving to any pauper or pensioner. Of the 30,000 distributed, some 3,000 were returned with such data. In this way, the registering of all relief recipients in the city began. Persons on outdoor relief filled one set of books; persons on indoor relief filled another (including those in homes, hospitals and asylums); and a third set kept record of those who had been arrested for crimes, drunkenness, etc. These records had to do with official relief only. A record was then made of all cases on the books of benevolent societies and still another of cases being relieved by private individuals. An alphabetical index was then arranged for quick reference.

If anyone had doubts as to whether all this work was worthwhile or any criticisms as to its imperfections, their protests were silenced by the initial results. "The registration showed that in some cases the same person was in receipt of relief from three or four different societies, from a dozen different individuals, and from one or more churches, besides being on the poor books. It was a lesson Buffalo will never forget." Of course this discovery was fully reported by the newspapers, helping the Charity Organization Society score an initial victory over its critics.

According to the plan organized by Gurteen, the Buffalo Society began with nine trustees representing a variety of backgrounds, religious affiliations, and business experience. Included were: John Allen, Jr., Abraham Altman, James H. Dormer, Edwin T. Evans, Sherman S. Rogers, Francis H. Root, Dexter P. Rumsey, Solomon Scheu, and E. Carleton Sprague. In 1881, six more trustees were added: Edward Bennett, Josiah G. Munro, George P. Sawyer, T. Guilford Smith, Sheldon T. Viele, Ansley Wilcox, and Thomas Cary.

Article 32 of the Society's original Constitution proposed the establishment of certain provident institutions to lessen poverty. These schemes further emphasized the fact that the Society's prime purpose was to prevent or cure the disease of poverty rather than merely to give doles to the poor. Its committees for this type of work eventually grew so numerous that Frederic Almy, at one time, suggested that it be more accurately called the Community Organization Society. Listed in the first annual report, committees on district work included (with chairmen): Mendicity, Ansley Wilcox; Provident Dispensaries, Robert Keating; Penny Banks, Henry W. Sprague; Creches (day nurseries for the children of working mothers), James H. Dormer; and Sanitary Conditions of the Home of the Poor, Louis M. Brock. General Chairman of all the above named committees was T. Guilford Smith.

After his second journey to Europe, Rev. Gurteen returned very impressed with the workings of the Paris Creche which not only minded the children but provided primary schooling as a part of France's free educational system. In his personal "war on poverty" Gurteen placed the formation of a Buffalo creche high on the list of activities to help families help themselves. It was understood from the start that a model

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kindergarten and training school for nurses would be necessary parts of the institution. The committee delegated to find a suitable building and grounds, soon discovered an ideal piece of land on Michigan Avenue. Investigation revealed that the property was owned by Benjamin Fitch of New York City, a former Buffalo resident who owned other valuable properties here.

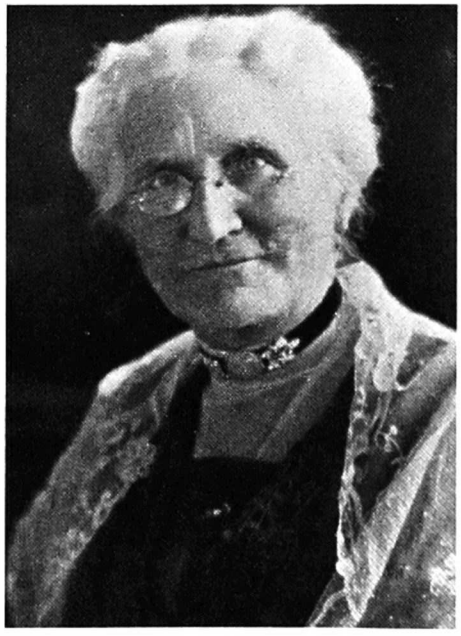
After an exchange of letters and a personal visit by Gurteen, it was learned that Fitch did not intend to lease his property but rather to donate it entirely to the Charity Organization Society, contingent upon certain conditions prescribed by him. The agreement was made, the property turned over, and in November of 1880, the Fitch Creche opened in a comfortable four-story building under the enthusiastic leadership of Miss Maria M. Love, who had been active in many facets of charity organization, we well as in many other civic activities. She served as chairman of the Fitch Creche Advisory Committee until her death in 1931.

The Fitch Creche became a model for nursery schools in other cities. According to the original plan, it established a kindergarten in 1884 and in 1890 pioneered in the development of training courses for nursery maids. The fame of the Creche spread rapidly. In 1885, it was granted a diploma of honor from the New Orleans Exposition, and its model Creche, presented in 1893 at the Chicago World's Fair, won a bronze medal. Besides supplying organizational information to interested U.S. cities, the Creche was receiving similar requests from many foreign lands—quite a distinction at that time for anything "made in America." It lasted until 1933 when, like so many other successful institutions (including the original Buffalo Orphan Asylum), it fell victim to the Great Depression.

Almost as soon as the Creche was opened, Fitch presented a second gift to the C.O.S. in the form of a deed for several more parcels of property. Under the terms of the deed a part of this property was sold and the proceeds were used to erect a building on the corner of Swan and Michigan Streets which Fitch had also donated. Called the Fitch Institute Building, it is still standing. It was there that the C.O.S. opened its Provident Dispensary and the city's first accident hospital. The Provident Woodyard also opened in 1880 to supply work for the honest unemployed. Another new institution, the Trinity Cooperative Relief Society, had been planning and trying out settlement houses, and when the Fitch Institute opened they established headquarters there, having operated for four years at the Trinity Parish Building on Mohawk Street. William H. Gratwick was its President while Maria Love, Emily Ganson, and Elizabeth Rochester were notable workers.

In 1895, this Society took on the responsibility of administering investigation and aid in one of the C.O.S. districts. Its work was concentrated on Buffalo's east side, and in 1895 the Society was able to open the Trinity House Settlement at 258 Elk Street. Eight years later, the Society moved to larger quarters in the Watson House on Babcock Street. As many as 1,348 men, women, boys, and girls made use of its facilities during the course of a single week. It was incorporated as the Babcock Street Community House in September of 1920 with Mary E. Lewis as superintendent and John Isaac as president.

Maria M. Love



Like the earlier Association for the Relief of the Poor discussed previously, the Charity Organization Society had divided Buffalo into districts, although they now corresponded to police precincts rather than political wards. Within each district a paid agent of the Society personally supervised its operations there. He or she was responsible to the nonsectarian central committee, which, after deciding upon the individual case from City official investigation, made recommendations to the Overseer of the Poor who then distributed the public funds (usually as a temporary relief measure). Applications for private relief were forwarded to the private benevolent agencies best able to handle the specific case. Through its efforts city ordinances regarding tenements and schools were passed.

During the mid-eighties it was also busy organizing employment centers and labor bureaus.

The Charity Organization Society opened a new branch office at 287 Pearl Street in 1895, and by 1897 it had divided the city into about 100 districts. These were known as Church Districts for, in each, a particular church accepted the responsibility of investigating the wants of the district and the needs of its inhabitants without regard to their religious affiliation or political preferences. The Society at that time had records of over 14,000 poor families in Buffalo and, for its own administrative purposes, had the city divided into five major districts.

It is impossible to set the exact limits of the Society's influence in creating new philanthropic programs and associations, but the list of these direct creations is impressive. The influence is likewise to be charged to the existing stout impulse for social improvement that its founders had only meant to channel and to encourage. In 1882, at the semi-centennial observances of the city's chartering, Henry Ware

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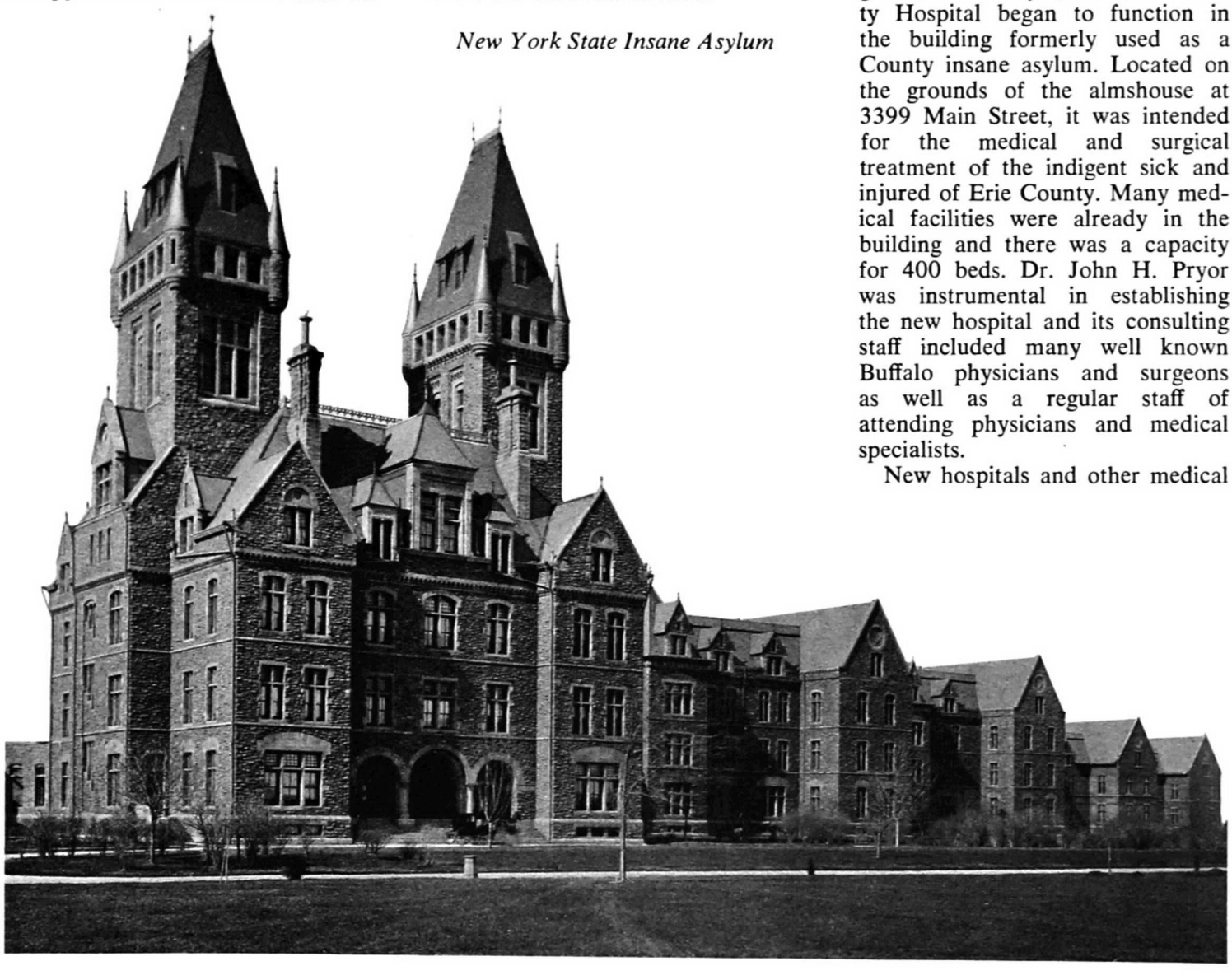
Sprague noted that since the Civil War, Buffalo had established itself as a city of foresighted benevolence second to none in the country:

> ...the hospitals, asylums and other benevolent institutions... are an expression of the humane character of our era and of our city. There are in Buffalo today about two hundred and fifty corporations and associations for the promotion of temperance, for the care of the insane, the deaf and the dumb, for the benefit of the widow and the orphan, and the relief of every form of suffering and sorrow.

To local initiative and devotion was added alertness to participate in statewide movements. In this way it happened that the Conference on Charities and Correction was organized in Buffalo by the Social Welfare Council. In 1885, the State Charities Aid Association, Erie County branch, which was working to improve conditions of treatment for the insane, began meeting at 57 Johnson Park, the home of Charlotte Mulligan. Many of the welfare leaders in New York State at this time believed (usually with good reason) that the condition of this type of patient was not fully appreciated by county asylums and poorhouses. Many times the situations were intolerable. The Association members advocated that full and complete care for the insane should be taken over as a responsibility of the State. The movement they began, gathered strength and culminated finally in the State Care Act of 1890.

New York State Insane Asylum



Erie County also continued to profit by State administrative efforts. The State Hospital for mental disorders operated a school for special training of nurses within it. More attention was given by State authorities to the problems of charitable institutions, which was professionally helpful. The State Board of Charities was made a constitutional body in 1894 and Article VIII, Section 11 provided that representatives from the State board visit and inspect all institutions run by the State for charitable purposes. Further, a State Commission in Lunacy "shall visit institutions for the care of the insane." The same directives applied to the State Commissioner of Prisons. More directly advantageous, on January 1, 1894, the County Hospital began to function in the building formerly used as a County insane asylum. Located on the grounds of the almshouse at 3399 Main Street, it was intended for the medical and surgical treatment of the indigent sick and injured of Erie County. Many medical facilities were already in the building and there was a capacity for 400 beds. Dr. John H. Pryor was instrumental in establishing the new hospital and its consulting staff included many well known Buffalo physicians and surgeons as well as a regular staff of attending physicians and medical specialists.

New hospitals and other medical

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services were appearing, all of which were useful to the administration of charities, but directly to the point was the District Nursing Association formed in 1885 to provide free nursing for indigent people in sickness. Elizabeth C. Marshall was instrumental in its organization. After its incorporation in 1891, it maintained three diet kitchens and employed three trained nurses for home visits. Moral in inspiration but also intended as a health service, the Women's Christian Temperance Union of Erie County began work locally in 1885 and has since expanded its activities to include anti-narcotic as well as anti-saloon campaigns.

The provision of care for children was a continuing story that was to become more difficult as the city grew and, with it, the adult need to extend work responsibilities to women so that the family might reap all the expensive advantages of urban living. But in this problem the unavoidable duties to the orphaned, of course, came first. The Church Charity Foundation of the Protestant Episcopal Church had been active in establishing homes for children and the destitute in Buffalo since 1858. In 1895, they erected another orphanage and the Hutchinson Memorial Chapel of the Holy Innocents at Front Avenue and Seventh Streets.

On July 6, Bishop Stephen Ryan, successor to John Timon in the Buffalo Diocese, purchased the Squier mansion at the corner of Main and Riley Streets. Some additions were begun and, when completed on March 19, 1887, the Sisters of Charity moved in to continue the work of the old St. Vincent's Female Orphan Asylum. The institution enlarged its facilities in 1899 when a large building was built on the rear of the property (corner Riley and Ellicott Streets) which then served as the orphanage and technical school. In 1901, a summer home (the Villa St. Vincent) was provided for the children at Youngstown on the Niagara River. Immaculate Heart of Mary Orphan Asylum at William and Kennedy Streets, which was also founded in 1895, is still run by the Felician Sisters of St. Francis.

Rev. Daniel Walsh assumed the directorship of the Working Boys' Home when it was opened in 1888 under Bishop Ryan. A private residence was purchased and the home was run quite similarly to the principles followed by the Children's Aid Society Boys' Home. In October 1897, the Home moved to a large building at 35 Niagara Square. Training of the boys was planned to include religious and moral as well as industrial instruction. The director was assisted by several Sisters of St. Joseph and an auxiliary Ladies' Aid Society afforded some volunteer help to the institution. Msgr. Nelson H. Baker had charge of the Home for a time during the 1920's. The Niagara Square location accommodated about 45 boys, admitted free or at nominal rates. The Home's present location is at 4 Vermont Street.

The problem of the friendless young seems to be balanced by that of the difficult aged. There was less room for either in the relentlessly restricted urban family, so it was perhaps inevitable that homes for the elderly should appear. Several Lutheran Churches joined efforts in establishing the Lutheran Church Home for the aged members of their congregations who needed its shelter and care. The Home was located on Walden Avenue until 1906 when the present building at 217 East Delavan Avenue was built. This building is a spacious, three-story brick edifice fronting on spacious grounds, and has received modern additions.

But it was also true that Buffalo leaders saw that subsistence was needed by all groups, and that betterment was within Erie County's resources. Many of the poor children of Buffalo had never been away from the dank alleyways and crowd-

Erie County Hospital

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Church Charity Foundation

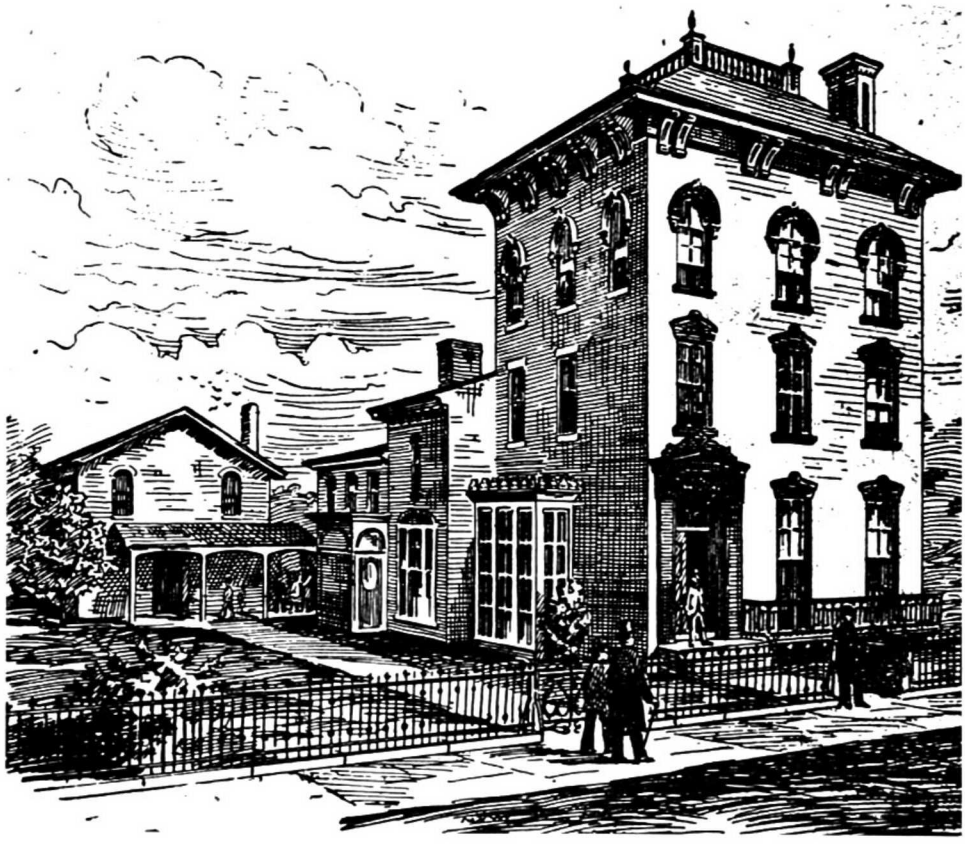
ed streets of their home neighborhoods. This was not unusual for 1897, since the means of travel for any long distance were limited and the money for traveling was strictly a luxury. Dysentary, consumption, fever, and related diseases made regular visits to the slums and took their usual toll of young children. Mortality was always high among children, particularly in the tenement cities of the 1890's. Inadequate, unnourishing foods coupled with animal and human filth, and nursing by dangerous patent medicines, produced a nightmare of squalor reminiscent of the bleakest scenes in Dickens.

The barefoot boy fishing in the old mill pond was just a poet's fantasy to the city dweller. Their children wallowed in the mire of the streets. They sat on curbstones and splashed bare feet in open sewers. The air was bad enough in the winter, continually damp and smoky; but in high summertime it was unbearable. A foul miasma shimmered from the blackened brick streets compounding the gasses of garbage waste and putrefaction. It was in such environment that the city child grew up, if he survived.

A teacher at the regular Sunday School of the Universalist Church of the Messiah Teacher, Alice Moore, decided to do her part in fulfilling the social gospel. In 1888, she and her Sunday school class, cooperating with the Christian Endeavor Society of their church, raised $133.91 and used it to send 106 children on a summer vacation in the country. The group also appealed to the nearby towns and farming hamlets for hospitality and the response was heartening. The children were to be received as boarders or guests for short terms during the summer of 1888. The following year Daniel Rhodes of Clarence Center offered the free use of a cottage to the ladies and accommodations for 66 children. This was, of course, gratefully accepted and 366 other children found "country vacations" with generous farm families elsewhere. The total cost of this venture amounted to $706.69.

In 1890, the Fresh Air Mission was incorporated under a general statute with the purpose of "giving to the worthy poor especially to poor children, free from infectious disease, and living in the City of Buffalo, the benefit and enjoyment of fresh air in the country." The wish for a permanent location was realized when the corporation that summer purchased a large farm, formerly used as a summer resort and located 30 miles outside of Buffalo, near Angola. It offered a spacious house, in addition to barns

Working Boys' Home



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and stables, and the extensive property and picturesque location on the shore of Lake Erie was considered ideal for the camp. The buildings were modified to conform to the Mission's new use and in the summer of 1891, nearly 400 poor children of Buffalo were able to enjoy a summer vacation there. The resort had to bear an Indian name, Ga-Ose-Ha, the Indian word for "Cradle."

By 1893, the Mission had become so popular with the citizenry of Buffalo and environs that the voluntary contributions necessary for its support were not difficult to raise. In the summer of that year William H. Wright, Jr., introduced little savings bank boxes shaped like miniature cradles throughout the city. The simple request, "Please give one nickel anyway," had a childlike appeal that not only got good response but also may have served as a prefiguration of the equally popular March of Dimes appeal that would sweep the nation in later years. The first year, these tiny banks alone raised upwards of $1,000, and gave the 47-acre Fresh Air Mission its enduring nickname of "Cradle Beach." In seven years they had raised $13,614. The action of numerous volunteer workers was the guiding force of the Mission's growth. Credit has been particularly given to "the pioneer arduous pioneer service" of Alice O. Moore and Paul Ransom.

A Cholera hospital also found temporary use at Angola in 1893 and the next year took up permanent location at Athol Springs on the lakeshore when the Town Hotel was purchased and refitted to care for sick children and their mothers. Though from its inception the hospital was separately incorporated, it remained identified with the Fresh Air Mission. Doctors DeWitt H. Sherman and Irving M. Snow were its medical directors aided initially by funds from the Society for Christian Endeavor.

In 1893, when another depression struck the nation, New York State Labor Statistics disclosed that in December, only 470 businesses in the entire State were maintaining a force of full-time employees. In the city of Buffalo alone, 15,000 people were out of work. Not only the local poor departments but also the private relief organizations were called upon to extend their services far beyond their original intentions.

A step forward in welfare relief was made by the large masses of unemployed who organized meetings and asked for employment in public works in place of charity. Emergency work relief projects were organized by many permanent charitable organizations as well as the overnight agencies set up specifically to deal with the problem.

The Citizens' Relief Committee, formed in December 1893, raised $65,000 which was used to employ 6,277 men an average of 15 days at 70¢ per day. The Charity Organization Society was the prime mover behind this committee, which employed needy men in the construction of a park boulevard. It was hard work consisting of stonebreaking and ditchfilling and was designed as something of a labor test to separate the deserving from the undeserving poor. The Dollar Relief Society, another private agency, carried on a sewing project for unemployed women throughout the winter of 1893.

Buffalo's Poor Department, working with the C.O.S., gave cash relief in the form of a ticket for $2 worth of goods. This ticket was given to each applicant approved after investigation. His or her name was written plainly on the ticket as well as the number. They corresponded to a similar inscription kept in the record books of the Department. This system enabled the applicants to buy provisions at any store they wished to patronize. Orders for shoes and coal were also given when and where needed, often for the entire winter. A large family could get a $2 ticket once a week while the average family received one every two weeks. Following the principles of the C.O.S. the amount given was regulated by the need of the applicant. However, no more than $2 could be given at one time.

By April 30, 1894, the official city budget allowed the Poor Department $168,200 for welfare relief. This was barely enough to cover the need. The labor unions, so bitterly opposed only a decade before, were beginning to prove their value. They helped in slowing the rush to welfare centers by paying out-of-work benefits to their members.

Provident Loan Companies made their initial appearance during this period of slack employment. They were authorized in many cities for the purpose of extending loans to the needy at very low interest rates. The loan companies were based on a plan which had been in operation in France for many years and whose principles no doubt were brought back by Rev. Gurteen, T. Guilford Smith, and other leaders of the Buffalo C.O.S.

By 1896, 66 districts in the Buffalo area had been accepted by Catholic and Protestant Churches and other religious societies as their responsibility for coordinating relief programs with the C.O.S. Its provident schemes (such as the Penny Savings fund and the Provident Loan Company) were accompanied by such seemingly unrelated projects as the establishment of the city's first Free Municipal Bath House located on the Terrace and the Potato Patch Plan with locations throughout the city.

In the summer of 1894, the mayor of Detroit suggested a kind of "back to the land" movement to help relieve the depression there. Vacant land around the city, instead of lying fallow or serving as dumping places and junkyards, could be better utilized by the unemployed. The land could be cultivated, as much city land was in still active farms, crops planted and tended carefully by these "city-farmers," and their produce harvested to serve as a means of subsistence in the coming winter. Many other cities thought this plan was a good idea and modified it to their own localities. In some places it was operated under public auspices, in others, under private sponsorship.

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In 1895, Buffalo provided its unemployed with 19 parcels of vacant land. Plots of 1/3 acre went to 578 heads of families, most of whom were on relief. The investment cost the city about $2,000 and the return (in terms of potatoes and other vegetables) brought the city between $10,000 and $12,000. Many of these gardeners found the plan to their liking and the reduction of their relief payments was certainly to the city's liking. In fact, the experiment was so successful that, in 1896, the State Legislature authorized the city of Buffalo to appropriate up to $5,000 annually to continue the Potato Patch Plan. It was continued right up to the turn of the century.

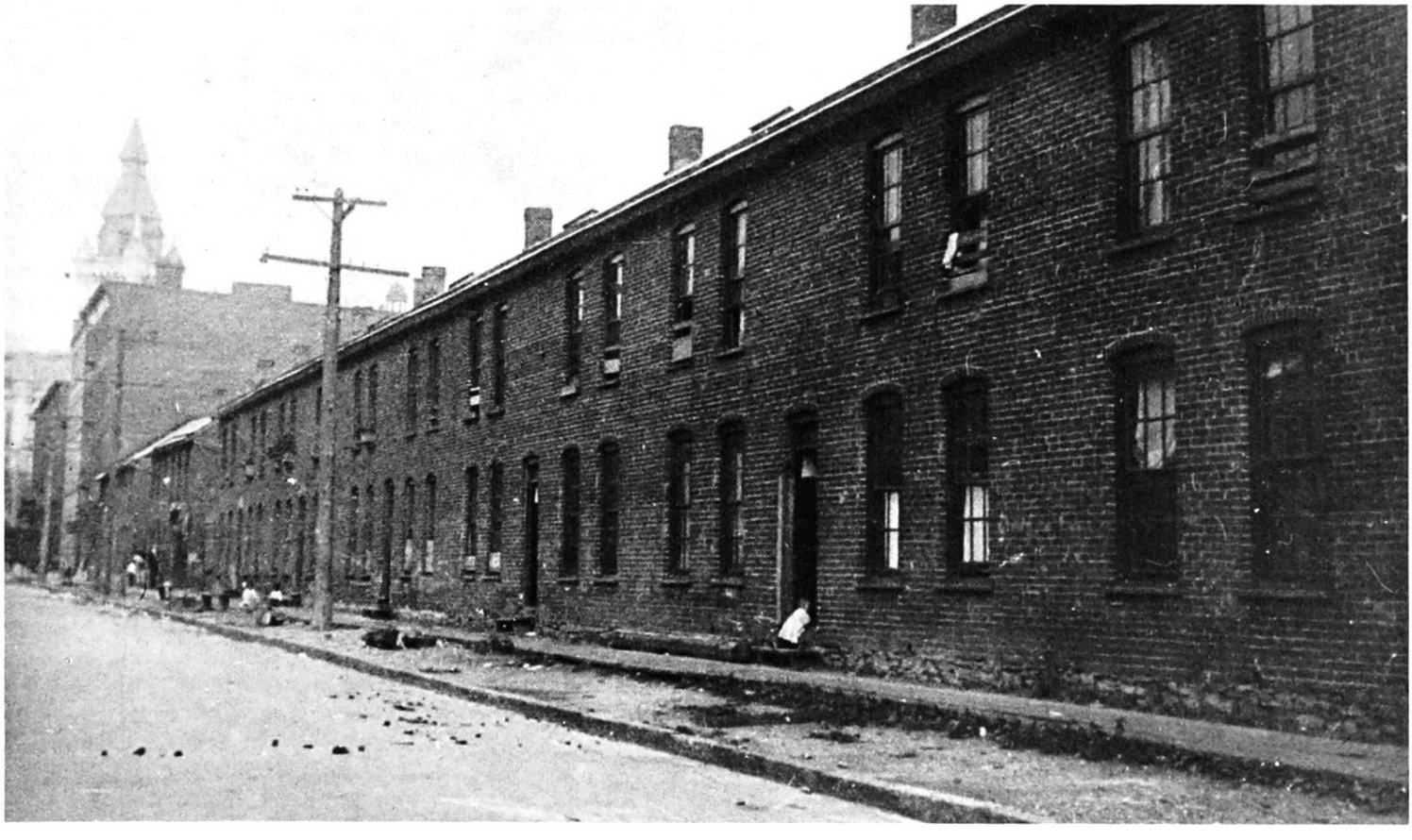
The Christian Homestead Association began its work in 1891 by continuing the rescue mission work on Canal Street that had been instituted earlier by Joanna D. Cutter. It opened a lodging house for homeless men on Lloyd Street on the waterfront and by 1894 was providing for about 130 men per day. The Association later moved to the Lackawanna area of West Seneca.

The Saved Army of Gospel Messengers was established in 1888 and incorporated in 1918 as a nonsectarian organization. It maintained a free lodging house for men at 309 Michigan Street and a temporary home for women at 94 Johnson Park.

On September 17, 1894, the Westminster Settlement House was opened as the first of its kind in Buffalo. Soon afterwards, Welcome Hall and the Neighborhood House opened their doors and a year later Trinty House was established. These settlement houses took on the responsibility of social work, each in a designated area as specified by the Charity Organization Society.

Members of the Westminster Church along with its pastor, Rev. Dr. S. V. Holmes, had been looking for just such an opportunity for active service to the community. They began by leasing a small cottage on Monroe Street and soon expanded their work until they acquired all the property around the location, including some lots on Adams Street. A two-story dwelling also served as a gymnasium, kindergarten, diet kitchen, provident penny bank, public library, depository, and several clubs for boys, mothers, etc. Classes were started to provide instruction in carpentry, chair caning, cooking and millinery. The house staff consisted of headworker and assistants, a district nurse, a kindergartner, and various volunteer workers (often joined by the assistant pastor of Westminster). A choral society gave a yearly recital and a summer camp at Fort Erie in Canada was maintained for people of the neighborhood. The chief support of the House was borne by the Westminister Club, a men's society of the church.

Ballington Booth (one of the sons of General William Booth, founder of the Salvation Army) organized a Buffalo branch of his Volunteers of America in May 1891. The Women's Home and headquarters were located at 93 Broadway. The Men's



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Home was opened at 496 Michigan and a Fresh Air Camp (accommodating about 311 mothers and children) was established at North Adams for two weeks every summer.

It is perhaps impossible to explain why the Salvation Army met with so little success on its first attempt to establish a branch in Buffalo. Perhaps people were at first perturbed by these uniformed, horn-tooting, hymn-singing followers of General William Booth. Their militant social evangelism, at first glance, seemed the antithesis of logical charity. They would have to work hard for acceptance here. Their record today stands as the best proof of their work and almost universal acceptance. Probably no other social service organization in history has been the butt of so many jokes, satirical books, cartoons, and comedies. The stiffness of their stage portrayals, their single purpose of man's salvation, their almost totally blind devotion to duty has made them natural victims of comic repartee. But the comedy is gentle, the wit inspired by admiration and curiosity. They have shown that true Christian charity inspires a smile rather than a moan, bright hope rather than bleak despair. Since its beginning (in London in 1865), the Salvation Army workers have been beating their drums for the Lord and have earned the respect and love of mankind wherever those drums are heard.

Captain and Mrs. William Evans introduced the organization to Buffalo in 1884, holding their first meeting in Lafayette Square and later ones in the old Court House building at Clinton and Ellicott Streets. Public lack of response to their work was discouraging and the local unit disbanded after about a year. No further attempt to organize was made for the next five years, but in 1889, Major Richard E. Holz came to Buffalo and established headquarters in a building located on the site of the present Ellicott Square. Six years later the Stafford Building at 158 Pearl Street was the Salvation Army's headquarters and branches had been established at Black Rock, Cold Spring, East Buffalo, and elsewhere, as well as a special "German Corps" in a hall on Broadway.

In the winter of 1894, they opened the city's first Men's Shelter with an Industrial Home and Woodyard on Commercial Street, the gateway to Buffalo's infamous red light district. From there they jumped right into the heart of the district and took over the operation of the old Union Mission at 129 Canal Street. Its name was changed to the Rescue Mission but it was commonly called the Salvation Army Slum Post.

By the mid-nineties, Buffalo's wild and wicked towpath section (later Dante Place and now site of the Marine Drive Apartments) was beginning to die of old age, but still exercised its questionable charms for several decades. It was still a breeding ground for all manner of crime and vice, and it would remain so until the 1920's, 1930's, and even 1940's before it finally succumbed to the bulldozer and wrecking crane.

An 1874 report of the Buffalo Board of Fire Underwriters lists 29 buildings with no fewer than 19 saloons and one "Theatre Comique" on Commercial Street. Canal Street, not to be outdone, lists 51 buildings and at least 34 saloons; 5 "special" saloons, and 1 "refused-to-allow-survey." If the thirsty sailor or jaded visitor happened to wander off these joyful thoroughfares, the dark, crisscrossing alleys of Water, Evans, State, River, and LeCouteulx Streets offered similar hospitalities and the murky water of the Erie Canal was always there to accommodate the incautious tourist.

It was on such a formidable battleground that the Salvation Army took its stand and the work at the Slum Post eventually won the attention and respect of the community. In the fall of 1894, the old building of the First Baptist Church on Washington Street was secured for the Salvation Army's No. 1 Corps. This remained headquarters until permanent buildings were established at Numbers 11-13 East Mohawk Street after 1906.

In 1899, the Salvation Army established a Rescue Home for Women and Children at 325 Humboldt Parkway. Major Mary Wagner was its first matron in charge. In 1903,the home, intended as a temporary shelter for women in need, moved to the large dwelling bought by Colonel William McIntyre at 69 Cottage Street. "To help discharged women prisoners, to look after their spiritual and temporal welfare, and to aid prison reform in the State of New York" was the stated purpose of the Prison Gate Mission of the Salvation Army founded by Mrs. Johnathan L. Slater. This Mission, operated with the Rescue Home on Humboldt Parkway in 1900, was later moved to the Cottage Street location when the two consolidated

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in 1902. In the 1920's the home provided for about 40 adults and 26 children.

One of their most important Buffalo projects was the establishment in 1903 of the Salvation Army Industrial Home at 97 Seneca Street. They are perhaps best recognized for their work of salvaging, repairing and reselling or using practically all kinds of discarded or waste material. More important, it is through this program that many men, homeless and out of work, earn a respectable and useful living.

In 1908, the Home reported 18 men employed regularly as "wagon men." These men were the collectors of the salvage materials that helped provide work for tailors, shoemakers, cabinetmakers, upholsterers, and other craftsmen besides the unskilled laborers and transients that were always welcome there.

The present Salvation Army's Men's Social Service Center is located at 1080 Military Road and still handles this important work along with their downtown salvage store at 391 Ellicott Street. The Booth Memorial Hospital at 740 Jefferson Avenue and the Citadel Corps, Western New York Division Headquarters at 960 Main Street are modern-day examples of the Salvation Army's active involvement in community social service. This will be discussed further in Chapter XVII.

By 1900, care of the poor had moved from the exclusive province of the churches into the realm of community concern as understood by various local and state governmental agencies as well as by socially conscious individuals. Chapter XVII will consider some of the events and pressures which forced the issue increasingly into the areas of responsibility controlled by the Federal Government.

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X. The Victory of Women's Rights

The period between the Civil War and World War I was one of the most exciting times for women in America. In Buffalo, as in other cities throughout the country, masses of women were, for the first time in history, leaving the narrow confines of domestic life and making themselves heard. Although women by no means achieved full equality in this era, the advances made were an important step toward the achievement of that goal.

The labor shortages and need for charitable services caused by the Civil War gave women unprecedented opportunities to assume useful roles outside the home. In Buffalo, women did a tremendous amount of fund raising and volunteer work for the war effort. Some formed the Ladies' Christian Commission which carried on a variety of social welfare activities during the war; others served in the new Buffalo General Hospital, at that time largely used as a military hospital; and many, whose husbands were in the war, were called upon to manage family businesses for the first time.

Advances in the economy proved even "more emancipatory for the average woman than the freedom of the war years." The industrial revolution brought many new conveniences into Buffalo homes. Gas lines, running water, and a variety of labor saving devices such as sewing machines made life easier for the housewife. These conveniences, coupled with the cheap source of domestic help provided by the Irish immigrants, gave the middle class women of Buffalo much more leisure time in which to pursue activities outside of the home.

The industrial revolution also provided new employment opportunities for females. In 1870 under 10% of American women were employed; by 1920, the figure had risen to over 16%. An early awareness of the new trends in employment is manifested in an article that appeared September 21, 1870, in the *Buffalo Express*. The reporter dedicates the article, entitled "Women Who Work: The Practical Advocates of the Woman's Rights Principle," to "those enterprising, energetic women who have braved the world's haughty and insolent gaze by invading the field of masculine labor." He found that "between four and five thousand women [were] employed in the various industrial and mechanical pursuits in Buffalo." His investigation revealed that a major reason for the increased employment of women in the city was the very low wages they were willing to accept: "Employers save at least 50% in hiring female help."

One of the first places that Buf-

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falo women found employment was in the stores. Employers, who had been paying from $18 to $20 per week, found that they could hire saleswomen, who were just as effective as men, for between $8 and $12 per week. The printing and clothing trades were also large employers of women in Buffalo. The author of the newspaper article felt that the new employment trends are "the most practical exemplification of women's rights in this vicinity," but at the same time feared that many women were being exploited by "penurious and selfish employers."

An increasing number of women were also entering the professions in Buffalo. For example, there were approximately 250 women teachers in the city in 1870. One of the most successful writers in Buffalo in the latter part of the nineteenth century was Anna Katherine Green, who achieved fame through her considerable skill in plotting detective stories. Her most famous novel, *The Leavenworth Case* 4 *Lawyer's Story*, is said to have sold over 150,000 copies.

Elizabeth T. Letson and Cornelia Bentley Sage were two of several women who sought entrance into the professions during the post-bellum period. Employed to systematize the library and conchological holdings of the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences in 1897, Miss Letson did such an outstanding job that she was appointed director of the Society's museum in 1900. In 1910 Miss Sage became the first woman director of a major United States art gallery upon her appointment to that position at the Albright Art Gallery. After her marriage she became director of the California Palace of the Legion of Honor in San Francisco. In the business world, Mary Rebecca Cass became general manager of the F.N. Burt Company of Buffalo. Her male predecessor stated: "I know of no better or more competent person than Miss Cass to assume my duties. I anticipated some reluctance on the part of the directors to place a woman in the most important office of the business and there was some hesitation." Miss Cass proved, however to have extraordinary ability in the management of company affairs. Although none of these women could be called typical, their achievements are examples of the new opportunities that were becoming available to women.

Better education was recognized as an integral part of the drive for female emancipation as women became increasingly aware of its necessity in order to prepare themselves for the increasing opportunities. A growing number of the daughters of the well-to-do in Buffalo attended college during this period. Few went to the University of Buffalo, which was devoted to medical and legal training. The more daring attended the new coeducational institutions, while a number of the socially elite went to such women's schools as Vassar, Wellesley, or Bryn Mawr.

Americans were very aware of the changes taking place during the era, and much literature published between 1865 and 1920 concerned itself with the new role of women. Books such as Helen Bennett's *Women and Work* informed women of the economic value of college training. Francis E. Willard's *A Woman of the Century*, a book of biographical sketches of women published in Buffalo by Charles Moulton in 1893, contained the following preface:

> The nineteenth century is a woman's century. Since time began, no other era has witnessed so many and so great changes in the development of her character and gifts and in the multiplication of her opportunities for their application. Even to those best informed on this subject, we believe that by a glance at these pages they will be astonished at the vast array of woman's achievements here chronicled, in hundreds of new vocations and avocations.

In *Women and Labor*, Olive Schreiner questioned the appropriateness of conventional sex roles noting that, in the majority of the earth's species, "the female form exceeds the male in size and strength and often in predatory instinct." She felt that some change in conventional sexual roles might increase the general happiness of mankind. The Reverend Thomas Webster, in *Woman, Man's Equal* (1873), noted that half the capacities of the human race were wasted because women were tied to the home. Writing 40 years later, Mary Beard pointed out the contributions women were making in such fields as education, housing, social service, and government.

Many Buffalo women became active in social welfare pursuits. One of the most outstanding was Charlotte Mulligan, who in 1868 founded the Guard of Honor, an organization which maintained a lodging house for temporarily unemployed and homeless men. She was also active in helping the mentally ill, and headed the Erie County branch of the State Charities Aid Association. Meanwhile, other women worked to better the

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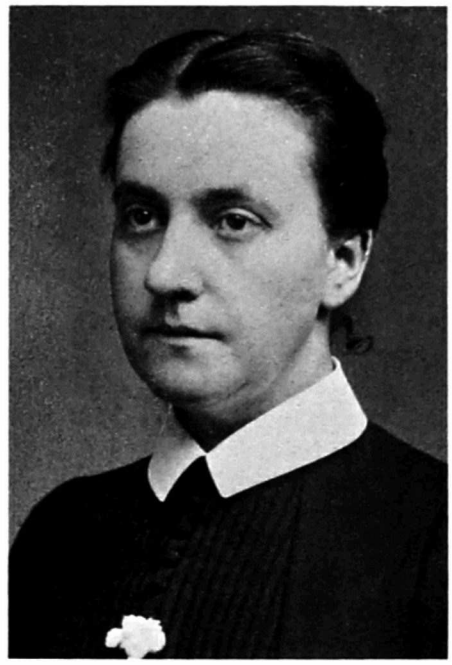
lives of orphans, unwed mothers, the aged, prostitutes, the mentally and physically ill, and even animals. As women were usually excluded from the elite male social clubs, they joined together in special interest clubs of their own during the post-Civil War period. Miss Mulligan organized the Scribblers, a pen club for women writers of Buffalo and the Twentieth Century Club, one of the most durable of civic organizations. A Women's Teachers Association had 500 members by 1889. Several study groups, such as the Monday Class and the Literary Club of the Church of the Messiah were also organized. Many of these local clubs joined the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs and Societies, whose object was "to bring into relations of mutual helpfulness the various clubs and organizations throughout the state." The newspaper reports of that organization's second annual convention held in Buffalo in 1896 emphasized that the women in these clubs had maintained their "womanliness," and had not "lost sight of their first position as wife and mother." The paper agreed with a speech by Mrs. Croly, the vice president of the statewide organization, in which she stated that "it is a good thing for the busy mother to be taken from her narrow circle and given a place in the club, where she hears other women talk and begins to take part herself. Clubs have brought pleasure to many narrow lives, and they have put flowers into the lives of middle aged women."

Foremost among the Women's Clubs of the city was the Buffalo Women's Educational and Industrial Union. "The Union," as it was known, was formed in 1884 when Mrs. Abbey Diaz of the Boston Union spoke in Buffalo and suggested that much could be accomplished "by a nonsectarian organization which should include all classes and conditions of women." Its purpose was to "promote the material and intellectual welfare of women in our city." This organization must have met a popular need in Buffalo since it had a membership of 600 within the first two years of its existence and endured for 31 years. At first The Union used rooms in the Charity Organization Society building, but in 1886 it purchased the Babcock Homestead. In 1894 it built an impressive building in Niagara Square as a center for its many activities, including lunch rooms, a free library, and committee rooms.



Charlotte Mulligan

The Union actually consisted of clubs within a club, with active committees or departments reporting back to the entire group at annual meetings. The Department of Domestic Training was a pioneer in the movement to put domestic work on a systematic basis. Classes were held in sewing and child care, and an extension program for Italian women was conducted in their neighborhoods to make the assimilation process an easier one for these new residents of the city. The Department also trained young girls in household skills in a school known as a Kitchen Garden that met once a week. Such schools were eventually established in several neighborhoods as were similar classes for men. An Education Committee provided classes in many different areas, including reading, penmanship, arithmetic, typewriting, art, and foreign languages. Many were free, thus providing opportunities which would otherwise have been out of the reach of most women. A major aim of these classes was to help women become fit for employment, and about 2,000 girls received instruction during The Union's 31 year history.

The Union took pride in its philanthropic endeavors. In her sixteenth annual report, printed in The *Evening News*, May 2, 1900, Mrs. George Townsend, who as president for 22 years was responsible for much of its success, gave a broad definition of The Union's charitable work:

> Union philanthropy implies that all have needs. In the old time, when we worked apart, separated by cliques and classes, philanthropy meant reaching down with a long arm to feed the hungry and clothe the naked—it was a ministry to the material. Now [in our Union] the Protestant, Catholic and Hebrew women join hands and strive to forget that class or sect exists. Union philanthropy seeks out the idle woman and gives her new aims and objects, it comforts the sorrowing woman by lifting her out of the shadows into the light of loving service for humanity; it teaches the women of wealth that life is not only for getting and spending.

Union members visited and befriended needy women who came to their attention. One project sent young women who could not otherwise afford it to the country for a couple of weeks during the summer. During the depression of 1893-94, The Union fed and clothed 40 families for four months, and gave temporary relief to many others. All told, several thousand people benefited from the work of the Philanthropy Committee.

The Hygiene and Physical Culture Committee of the Union spon-

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sored lectures on health and in 1886 opened a gymnasium for women. When other public gymnasiums opened, The Union ceased to be the center for this special work, but it did educate the public to the necessity of physical fitness for women. Indeed, according to one author, "The physical emancipation of women had been achieved."

The Employment Committee of The Union maintained an employment bureau for women. The demand for work was already greater than for workers. In a report in 1900, Mrs. James Drill, chairman of the committee, announced that there had been 665 applications for employment, only 257 of which were supplied. The committee also investigated firms that published fraudulent ads and tried to keep women aware of this problem. In 1903 a Women's Exchange was opened by The Union, to provide women with a place to display and sell their handiwork. The Exchange moved into its own quarters at 687 Main Street in 1910. Concerned with making the life of the working woman as comfortable as possible, a "Noon Rest" cafeteria was opened on Delaware Avenue to provide working girls with decent meals at a reasonable price. Average daily attendance at the cafeteria was more than 90. The free library and rest rooms provided at the Niagara Square headquarters of the Union also helped ease the lives of many of Buffalo's working women.

The most dynamic of all the departments in The Union was the Protection Department. Using local lawyers as consultants, this group lobbied, published circulars, and carried out letter writing campaigns in order to protect and enhance the social and legal rights of women. The department first directed its energy to recovering unjustly withheld wages of servants and seamstresses, aggregating over $35,000 , which ended this sort of injustice. In the same line, a booklet on law relating to domestic service was published and distributed. Topics such as prior agreement on wages and the notice required before dismissal were especially noted. Extended employment opportunities for women were also sought by this department. After three years of agitation, a police matron was finally accepted on the Buffalo Police force in 1887. The same year two women were appointed to the Board of Managers of the State Insane Asylum. In 1909-10 the committee successfully devoted its energies to procuring an increase in salary for the city police matrons and to making police janitresses members of the force so they would be eligible for benefits.

The Protection Committee worked very actively for the passage of laws by the State Legislature that would benefit women throughout the state. One law required the appointment of a woman physician on the medical staff of every mental hospital in New York State. A second secured equal legal rights for both parents regarding the guardianship of children.

Believing that women must know their rights in order to be fully protected, Mrs. Mary L. Rice of the committee in 1891 published an abstract of the laws of New York State affecting the rights and property of women. This booklet was widely circulated to the women of the State through the efforts of The Union. One Buffalo lawyer stated that the abstract was so clear, comprehensive, and accurate that he would have thought only a trained lawyer could have put it together. Lec-

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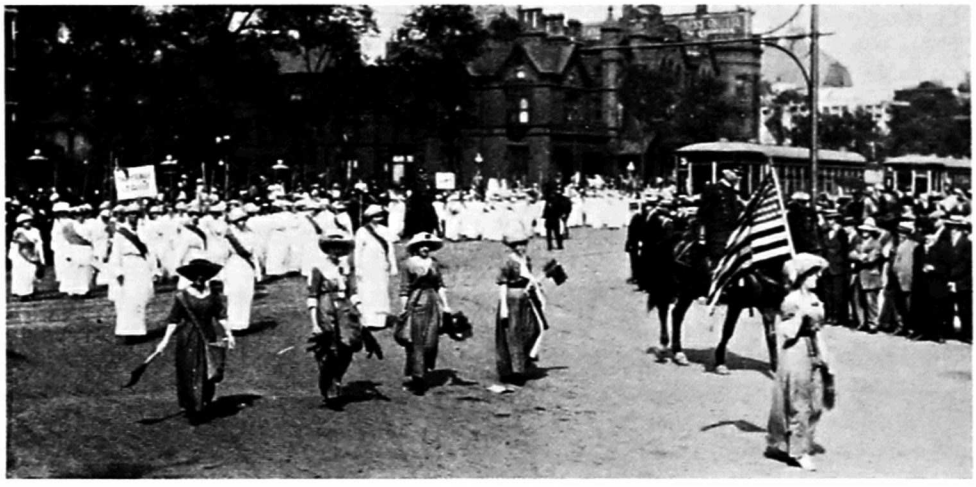
tures were also conducted by the department to inform women of their legal rights.

Individual women were helped as the committee was able. The 1902 report recounts an appeal by a woman for release from Buffalo State Hospital. The committee worked with hospital authorities to secure this, and it was reported that the woman went home and did well. Assisted by Congressman D. S. Alexander, the department successfully helped the widow of a Civil War veteran who had tried in vain for many years to claim $65 in back pay and a pension of $8 per month.

The Union made many significant contributions to the women of the State through the Protective Committee. Its importance was recognized in the handbook of the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs and Societies, which, in its listing of clubs, called the work carried on by the Buffalo Women's Educational and Industrial Union "one of the grandest...in this state."

The Protection Department, which had enlarged women's consciousness about their rights, naturally resulted in stimulating thoughts about their role in politics. The fact that The Union was itself a highly political organization contributed to concern about universal suffrage. The nominating conventions and the exciting elections involved the female members in political processes and led to increased awareness of the power of the vote. Every issue proposed in The Union was subject to a secret ballot, usually preceded by a hectic campaign. The issue of universal suffrage, which was certainly not confined to Buffalo, was to become an increasingly vital and hotly contested area of women's move for emancipation.

The women's suffrage movement had no official ideology, instead representing a composite of all current philosophical positions. The women involved agreed that they were entitled to the vote but were often in conflict as to why they should be given the vote or what they would accomplish once they were enfranchised. This battle was to persist until 1920 when the Nineteenth Amendment was incorporated into the Constitution. The movement was an intense one, and often the pioneers, as the early suffragists were called, were subjected to ridicule, scorn, and even violence. From the beginning, the leaders of the movement were white, native born, middle class women who were demanding equal participation in a societal structure which they basically accepted. The movement was officially commenced in 1848 in Seneca Falls, New York, where the first official protest against women's political, economic, and social inferiority was developed. A document, entitled "The Dedication of Sentiments," demanded the vote for women, a proposal so radical that Elizabeth Cady Stanton, one of the leading pioneers, was hesitant to support it. However, with pressure from Lucretia Mott, another pioneer, Mrs. Stanton agreed to the demand, and the issue became an integral part of the drive for equality.



The momentum gained from the Seneca Falls convention was diminished during the Civil War because the leading suffragists were almost all diverted by staunch abolitionism. When the war ended, however, their efforts for equal rights and the ballot were resumed. Instead of responding to their demands, the political leaders turned to the question of Negro rights and ignored the women's issues. The suffragists confronted another obstacle as they disagreed on what public statements should be

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issued on the Fourteenth Amendment, which made the word "male" a part of the Constitution. Some of the suffragists felt this wording should be strongly opposed while others believed that Negro men should be enfranchised even if discrimination against women persisted. This difference of opinion precipitated a split in the suffrage movement, and gave rise to two separate organizations: the National Suffrage Association headed by Mrs. Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, an exclusively female group that opposed the Fourteenth Amendment, and the American Woman Suffrage Association, led by Henry Ward Beecher and Lucy Stone, both proponents of Negro rights and the new amendment. The two groups existed until 1890 when they merged into the National American Woman Suffrage Association (N.A.W.S.A.) . By 1890, two states had introduced equality in municipal elections, 15 states had granted women the right to vote in school elections, and Wyoming had entered the Union as the first state with full suffrage for women. The united suffragists led 41 state amendment campaigns between 1869 and 1915 with nine victories and 32 defeats. The growth of women's clubs, the spread of female college education, and the increasing number of women factory workers propelled more and more women into the movement, and between 1910 and 1915, it gained tremendous momentum.

The character of the suffrage leaders also changed after 1900. Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony were radical thinkers who kept the suffrage movement on an unconventional track. They were effective both as presidents of N.A.W.S.A. from 1890 to 1900, and as prosyletizers. The new leaders who took over by 1900 were more conservative, and cultivated their connections with working and foreign born women, two groups which the pioneers had ignored.

The results of 60 years work became evident by 1916 when one state after another began granting the franchise to women. In 1917, New York State, by means of a referendum, ratified a full suffrage Constitutional amendment. These triumphs made enough members of Congress responsible to female voters to assure the passage of the national amendment.

The suffrage movement in Buffalo was consistent with the national trends. Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony came here in 1867 to address a group of 175 men and women assembled to discuss women's right to the ballot. Mrs. Stanton, long famous for her fiery oratory, called upon the women of Buffalo to read their State Constitution and learn what their status was. She excoriated a system that permitted paupers, kept in almhouses at her and other women's expense, to vote, while the loyal mothers of millions of soldiers "had to stand and look on at the wholesale desecration of republican institutions." She remarked that women could not get things in a "more tangled condition" than they presently were if they were given the control of the government for the next 6,000 years. In keeping with her radical philosophy, she vehemently advised the women of Buffalo not to pay their taxes until they were allowed to vote, a position somewhat weakened by the *Commercial Advertiser*, which mentioned the local authorities' disagreeable habit of selling the possessions of those people who refused. It added that these authorities are "sufficiently intelligent to make no discrimination in favor of women," and concluded that Mrs. Stanton's plan could never succeed. Mrs. Stanton also urged the appointment of a female postmaster for the city of Buffalo. Miss Anthony supported her colleague's demands, and asked the women attending to circulate a petition requesting four women representatives at the State Constitutional Convention.

The *Buffalo Express* demonstrated a more open-minded attitude toward the suffrage issue than the *Commercial Advertiser*. In an editorial on June 23, 1873, the *Express* presented a review that weighed the theoretical and practical aspects of universal enfranchisement. It proposed that since the law had recently granted women the right to manage their own property it should also give them the ballot, a right that demands less ability than do financial affairs; and argued they were best

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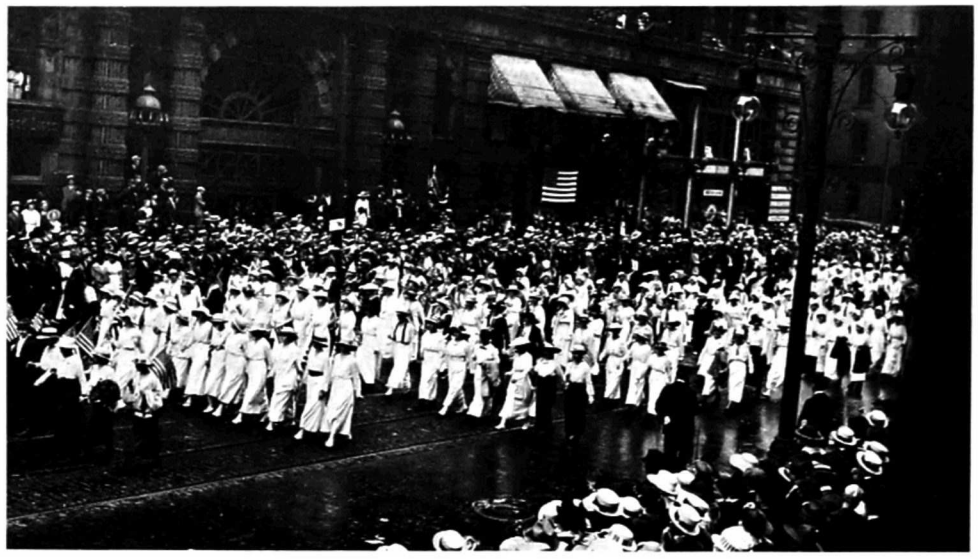
equipped to defend their own rights. It concluded its arguments in favor of suffrage with a discussion of the "mental differences" between men and women. "Men, as a class, embody strength, courage, enterprise, logic, truth, and radicalism. Women, as a class, embody grace, purity, love, patience, benevolence, intuition, and conservatism. It would seem, naturally, to make a good government for all the people, if both sets of qualities would be represented."

Despite these favorable comments, however, the *Express*'s summary of arguments against suffrage, labeled as "grave reasons," was presented in stronger terms. The paper feared that enfranchisement would permit a "great relaxation, if not a practical abrogation of the marriage tie." Suffrage would result in equality of husband and wife, and the female partner would no longer have to submit to her husband. The *Express* also questioned the fairness of granting the vote to a group that could not fulfill its military obligations and serve on juries. Even the duty to use the ballot might be ignored by many women and only accepted by the "most brazen" of the sex. As women owned little property, there would be great danger in permitting them to become the majority of the electorate. "People who own no property are as a class quite poor guardians of the property rights of others, just as an aristocracy is a poor protector of the rights of plebians."

These fears of possible consequences of female enfranchisement persisted until late in the nineteenth century. However, just as on the national scene, the new generation of local suffragists seemed more confident and less radical than their predecessors. The successful involvement of Buffalo women in their clubs and their work, and the attempt of the suffragists to involve foreign born women, served to broaden the movement and make it less threatening. The *Express* demonstrated this change of feeling toward the suffragists in an editorial of October 14, 1908.



> Long-haired men and short-haired women no longer predominate in the women suffrage movement. . . .The women look, dress, and act like other women. They have an added intellectual interest. They are now able to make converts without making martyrs.

The intellectual interests referred to possibly were the fruits of the already mentioned literary clubs' activities, for their members seriously pursued cultural activities and did not meet for purely social reasons.

Buffalo gained stature in the suffrage movement when the National American Women's Suffrage Association held its annual convention here in 1908. The city was chosen as a tribute to the pioneers of Seneca Falls on the 60th anniversary of their first meeting. Women prominent in philanthropy, medicine, law, social reform, and education arrived for the meeting. The *Express* described it as a "brilliant assemblage, which included some of the best known women in America." The paper's changed attitude toward suffrage from its position of 1873 was evident, not just in its editorial policy, but in its reporting as well. The convention received front page coverage and the leaders were described in highly complimentary terms.

The State Convention, which immediately preceded the National Convention, gave local women the opportunity to clarify their demands before the national meeting. The state members called for equal pay for equal work, demanded that the word "male" be stricken from the Constitution, and supported its peace committee's demands to Congress that the number of ships in the United States Navy remain stable.

This convention merged right into the National one, and several of the prominent Buffalo leaders welcomed the assembled group. The variety of organizations represented by the Buffalo women demonstrated how widespread the suffrage movement had become in this city, now including women who, 20 or 30 years earlier, had not been so involved. Mrs. Helen Rogers extended a welcome on behalf of the women in the professions and stated: "We have reached the anterooms and lobbies of most professions, but before we get much farther, we must be invested with full citizenship." Mrs. John Horton, president of the Buffalo City Federation of Women's Clubs which represented 7,000 women in 36 clubs including the politically vigorous Women's Union, also made a welcoming speech. The Federation included

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the Buffalo chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the largest chapter in the state, and the second largest in the nation. Dr. Ida Bender, president of the Women's Teachers Association, stressed the zeal and earnestness of the teachers and their commitment to women's rights. Dr. Bender was an impressive women who, according to the *Express*, epitomized the dedication of Buffalo women to the members of the national organization. Mrs. Francis Graham, president of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, spoke of the cooperation between temperance and suffrage, and gave official recognition to the close alliance between these movements. But it was noticeable that these women whose commitment to female equality was so manifest, still chose for the most part to use their husband's first name.

The whole tone of the convention differed from those at which Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony had presided. The Reverend Anna Shaw of Michigan, a minister and physician known for her oratorical abilities, presided. In her opening address, she paid tribute to the brave pioneers of Seneca Falls who presented their radical demands, but advised her listeners of 1908 to be patient in their battle. She acknowledged the great strides women had made and pointed out that the female sex had accomplished more in the past 60 years than in the preceding 600. She sounded the cry of "no taxation without representation" as her predecessors had; however, the citizens of Buffalo and the country had become so accustomed to the demands of the suffragists that their rhetoric no longer sounded radical. The legitimacy and acceptance of the movement was reinforced by the interest of men's clubs of the city. Reverend Shaw was invited to be the first woman to speak before the Equality Club. She spoke aggressively when she told her audience that women were fighting for their equal rights because it is men "who have turned the tables, and not the women who have broken away from womanly customs. When you place our work equal with yours, you must place our rights of government there." The members of the Equality Club received Reverend Shaw enthusiastically, and the *Express* applauded her eloquent and passionate appeal.

After the convention, the suffrage movement gained momentum in Buffalo, and became increasingly attractive to many women. As the seriousness of the cause grew, men realized they could no longer safely say, "Women will have the vote when a majority of them want it." It became a highly controversial issue, and the letter and editorial columns of the local newspapers frequently featured it. Indeed, the movement had grown so strong locally that it had become a part of the society page. In a column entitled "On Milady's Calendar This Week," the society editor of the *Express* wrote on October 17, 1908, the following:

> It is safe to state that Buffalo women and Buffalo men know more about suffrage today than ever before since womankind first asserted that equal rights are the only rights in a republic, and that the government by the people must be a government by all the people, and not by one half.

College women were actively involved in suffrage by the 1900's and the College Equal Suffrage League of Buffalo participated in the National Convention of N.A.W.S.A.. These women accepted it as their duty to take a positive stand in favor of women's suffrage, and to bring this important question to the attention of women all over the United States. Buffalo society was impressed by the "hundreds of women together for a common purpose." Their welcome to the suffragists "grew in heartiness every day," and the debutantes of 1908, who had long been sheltered from the harsh voices of women's rights, became intrigued with the suffragists.

> "Really, truly," said a deb to her chaperon, "I do like the suffragists." The chaperon looked up. "So do I. I hope next season it will be good form to be a suffragist." The deb shrugged and said, "It doesn't bother me whether it is done or not. I am going to be one....I have never seen so many cultured and charming women at one time, and I solemnly renounce bridge, scandal, luncheons, and fudge parties to work for the cause of suffrage. Hip, hip!"
> The chaperon paled and said, "The war has begun."

Female suffrage in New York State was defeated in 1915 when it was first placed before the public as an election issue. However, when it was again proposed in 1917, the United States was at war, and women's enfranchisement had become entwined with the war issue. The Buffalo *Express* supported the ballot for women in that year, and was true to its pledge of 1873 to advocate female suffrage when the majority of women spoke out for it. President Wilson also supported the Woman Suffrage Amendment and was frequently quoted by the suffragists. The local Catholic clergy committed themselves to the battle, and wrote many letters to the paper to affirm their position. One priest said: "The conviction grows stronger with me that when women vote many evils now regarded as irremediable will be under easy control, and much good accomplished that now is desired. That woman suffrage is assured is a matter of rejoicing."

However, enfranchisement was not as guaranteed as the priest assumed, and the paper contained many advertisements and letters predicting dire consequences if women received the vote. One advertisement that was repeated in the *Express* for several days read:

> Vote NO on Woman Suffrage tomorrow. It means as much to

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you right here as it does to the MAN IN FRANCE. The soldier in France may be there for a long time. His is the fight to make secure the liberty we have now. His fight is in vain if he lacks the backing of every man and woman.

You can help him serve the state when you vote NO on woman suffrage.

Woman suffrage at this time would divide the thoughts of the American men. It is a dangerous experiment....Granting it in this state would add thousands of women to the already disloyal vote.

The groups supporting suffrage ran opposing advertisements describing suffrage as democratic, expedient, patriotic, and just. They pointed out that Spokane, Washington, where women had voted since 1910, had the lowest infant death rate in the United States. Also, they stressed that women had assumed so many responsibilities during the war that to deny them the vote would be unpatriotic.

The controversy grew in intensity as election day approached. The amendment was approved in Erie County as well as New York State, and the women of the city, who had fought the battle for years, shared with one another their happiness when news of the victory came. The approval of the amendment in New York State was particularly important because it guaranteed enough votes in Congress to enact the proposed Constitutional Amendment. Buffalo, as the second largest city in the State, played a crucial role in the suffrage movement, and contributed significantly to the acceptance of the Nineteenth Amendment.

Many leaders of the suffrage movement had originally been involved in the temperance crusade which was the first mass movement among American women. Many women who were active in the abolition cause during the Civil War, but who were not ready to rally under the suffragist flag, directed their attention to this issue.

The Women's Christian Temperance Union, (W.C.T.U.), founded in 1874, developed, under the leadership of Frances Willard, into one of the most effective of the feminist organizations. The local and state branches of the W.C.T.U. declared war against drink, perceived by them as the primary reason for social evils ranging from the broken home to the allegedly decadent character of politics. It was a non-sectarian organization, although the majority of its members were Methodist. Most effective in its local branches, it also had well developed state and national organizations.

Lillian Russell — Bond Drive in Lafayette Square.

The three levels of hierarchy were held together by the Corresponding Secretary who was significant in her role of policy making. Miss Willard served as the first Corresponding Secretary, and it was on her initiative that the organization developed a broader orientation than temperance work. She appealed to many of the conservative women in her crusade by rallying them around the cause of "Home Protection," a role which was in keeping with women's traditional position. However, Miss Willard had more progressive ideas than many of her members and actively advocated the ballot for women, the eight hour day, and a living wage. In addition to a signed pledge to abstain from all liquor, and to employ all means to discourage the use of and traffic in alcohol, the women pledged, in the name of temperance and God, to diverse social reforms. They worked for peace and arbitration, for the establishment of kindergartens, for prison reform, and for women's rights. Therefore, although she gathered "her forces under a Conservative banner, Frances Willard marched women out to fight for progress." The temperance movement also affected the struggle for equal rights. Many staunch suffragists had initially been temperance crusaders who were rudely rebuffed because they were women. Susan B. Anthony as a temperance lecturer faced so much prejudice against female activity in public affairs that she soon became a fervent advocate of equal rights for women. Other leaders such as Anna Howard Shaw and Alice Stone Blackwell were as committed to the W.C.T.U. as to suffrage organizations.

As more temperance leaders moved into suffrage and the W.C.T.U. became more progressive under Miss Willard, the gap between the two causes began to lessen. Reformers of the era believed the pro-

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hibition of liquor was as vital as the prohibition of child labor. When the suffragists were demanding the ballot as a matter of justice, the W.C.T.U. was calling for the vote on the basis of what the nondrinkers could achieve with it. There were some suffragists who feared the close ties with the temperance leaders because they felt that the threat of prohibition would turn many men against their movement. However, not many suffragists were hostile to temperance, and "in the main, suffrage and prohibition had the same friends and the same enemies."

By 1900 with the advent of Progressivism, liquor was condemned, not only as an individual weakness, but also as a power in the hands of a "Vested Interest." Many suffragists saw liquor as another force linked with "Big Business and Commercialized Vice" to control government and society. Corrupt legislators were bought with money from saloons, and the big business patrons of the saloons dictated how their representatives should vote. This conspiracy theory shifted the primary interest of the women from mere advocacy of temperance to a campaign to take power away from big business, the liquor interests, the political machines, and the drinking population in order to give it back to the people. Progressively influenced, temperance leaders came more and more into agreement with the suffragists as they concluded that their crusade depended on obtaining the ballot, in order to effect such reforms as initiative, referendum, and recall. The women of 1874 who had worked for temperance had tried to legislate their private morality, and reform the individual. By 1915, temperance was no longer a reform in itself, but a means to much more comprehensive reform, and those concerned with it looked on their crusade as a means to revitalize public morality, and alter an entire societal structure. Prohibition, incorporated into the Constitution as the Eighteenth Amendment, went into effect on January 17, 1920. It had become part of the larger women's rights movement of World War I, and was as predictable an outcome as the enfranchisement of women. Although Prohibition preceded the vote for women in the Constitution, in a majority of states, women received the ballot before Prohibition was passed.

Buffalo's temperance movement followed the national trends. On March 5, 1874, a local W.C.T.U. was organized at a mass meeting of ladies at St. James Hall. The *Buffalo Express* described the gathering in the following way:

> The great temperance agitation now sweeping the country has at last reached Buffalo, and already the ladies of the Queen City are girding on their armor to do battle against King Alcohol. They have a plain, common sense view of the matter, and worked with a quiet determined earnestness that cannot help resulting in something good. The enthusiasm of the Buffalo women is clear, although it does not partake of the character of the Western Amazons.

Many of the most prominent ladies of the city were present at the meeting, but no men, or "lords of creation," as the women ironically styled them, were permitted. The focus at the 1874 gathering was on the responsibility of the women as mothers, daughters, wives, and sisters, to save their loved ones from alcohol. The cry was not for broader rights but for an emphasis on womanly duties. The crusade was undertaken in the name of God whose strength, combined with their own exertions, would conquer "the common enemy and alleviate the countless misery."

Although many of the speeches involved pleas to save dear ones chained by intemperance, the women of the movement did outline certain concrete tasks. They planned to petition the Mayor and the Common Council to close the saloons on Sunday, and to boycott shopowners who sold liquor. There was some talk of abandoning domestic work to "crush out the heavy tramp of the demon king." However, their efforts, undertaken as wives and mothers, were intended to defend their homes, and the women declared that they would "work slowly and energetically and the results will come in time." Their aim was to elect sober men as legislators who would guide the ship of State, and to marry "safe men to carry us over the waves of troubled life." Their power was the eloquence of tears, the effectiveness of prayer, and when necessary, the petition of law. Clearly then, the ladies of the W.C.T.U. felt, not that they were renouncing their womanly attributes, but were acting in their most noble tradition.

The W.C.T.U. was strong in Buffalo for a period, and both the Protestant and Catholic churches worked with the women. At the end of the 1877 W.C.T.U. convention held in Buffalo, Bishop Ryan praised the women for their "holy cause and most sacred trust." Many of the city's Catholic boys at the time of their confirmation pledged to abstain from liquor until they reached manhood. The members of the Juvenile Temperance Societies of the Methodist Church took a pledge against alcohol, tobacco, and profanity. Laymen in the city called for the schools to propagandize against the use of alcohol. However, even this strong local branch, working as it did with full support from church and lay groups, was never able to make Buffalo a center for the temperance crusade. "It failed to make tremendous gains in a city where beer-drinking Germans and whiskey-loving Irish made up a large part of the population." Nor did the local press, aware of the large proportion of the population these ethnic groups composed, ever take a stand for prohibition. Instead, editorials written to decry declining morals and gambling argued that total prohibition would only enhance the attractiveness of alcohol, an objection which was to prove only too valid in the 1920's. The women of the city had to

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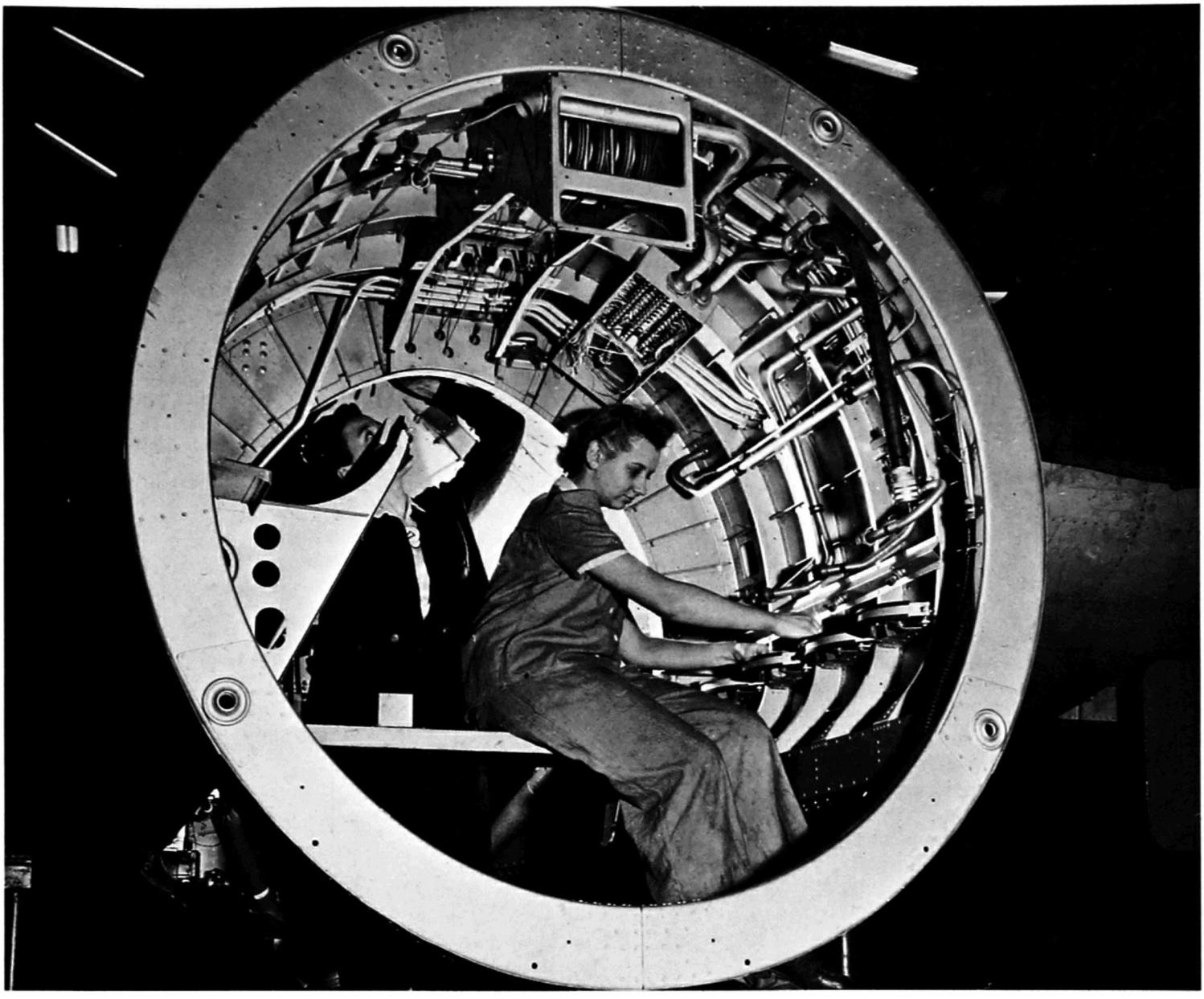

Curtiss-Wright Corp. women installing control cables for World War II airplane engine.

content themselves with the success achieved nationally by the movement.

The Suffrage Amendment to the Federal Constitution led to considerable attention to the female vote by the political parties as well as a gradual increase in participation by women in all aspects of civic life. Both parties immediately provided for advisory representation by interested women party members and in the course of time recognized their capabilities by creating vice-chairmanships in the County Committees to be occupied by women. Women candidacies also came to be accepted as a matter of course and some candidacies led to public office.

In the economic sphere there was less overt recognition of the newly declared equality until the Second World War ended all questions of where woman "belonged." In the war years their place seemed to be primarily in the factory as well as in other occupations and professions and the welcome they received was not factitious. They were needed, and as a consequence won considerable extensions of freedom. This was particularly the case in teaching, where the prompt and indignant discharge of women teachers for the offense of marrying is also beginning to be a dim memory.

Nonetheless, all was not yet well. The entertainment of female members of civic councils proved inconvenient to many male members, who found conviviality an inducement to deliberation, so their appointment was discouraged. Less

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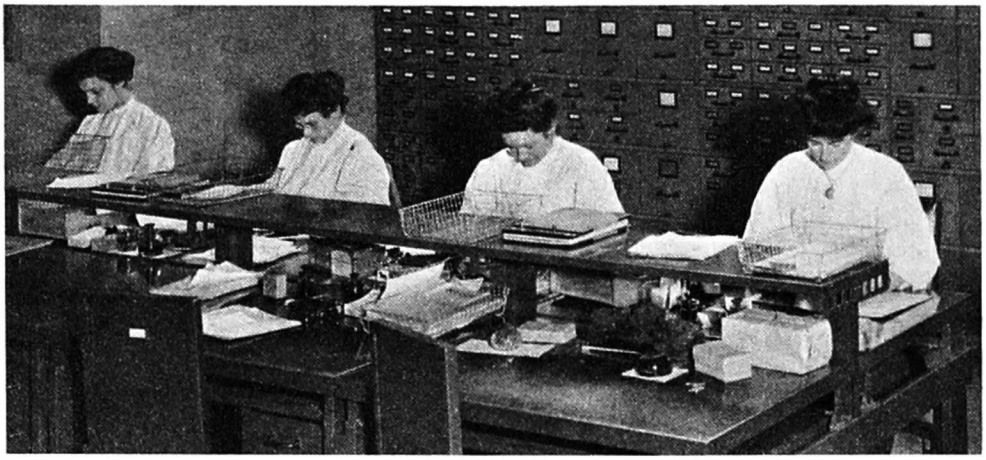

subtle was the still widespread tendency to underpay women workers on the grounds that they were only temporary or were bearing fewer burdens in their families than were their male coworkers.

Confident in their demonstrated abilities, women have recently reconsidered their status and have undertaken new action to prove that they neither can nor will accept a condition short of true equality. The ends are no longer temperance and suffrage, but abortion, reform, political representation, and equal employment and educational opportunities. The National Organization for Women (NOW) in Buffalo, founded by Mrs. Mary Schwartz in 1969, like its predecessor, the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, is part of a national organization dedicated to bringing women into the decision-making mainstream of American political, economic, and social life, and there are other parallels to that organization. Like The Union, it is composed of action-oriented committees which report back to monthly meetings of the entire membership. One of these, the Abortion Committee, acting in concert with women's liberation groups throughout New York, accomplished a major goal with the passage of the Cook bill by the State Legislature which legalized abortion performed by a physician. It then turned its efforts to widening the availability of abortion through the establishment of clinics, and raised funds to finance an abortion counseling service operated by local clergy.

An active employment committee has fought discrimination against women by Buffalo employers in conjunction with the Regional Office of the State Human Rights Commission. It has publicized its goals through advertisements in the area newspapers, and by speaking to community groups and on radio talk shows. NOW's University Committee also has worked for equitable employment practices, particularly in regard to bringing more women into the professional schools of the State University of New York at Buffalo, and women now sit on the Admission Committee of the Medical School as a result of the organization's efforts. Students in the University may presently enroll in courses concerning the position of women in American society and the women's rights movement, some of which will be taught by members of NOW.

A very active speaker's committee, a monthly bulletin, and periodic orientation meetings for potential members are utilized for publicity. NOW's cause is also carried through political channels, and it sponsored one of its members for the State Assembly.

Like The Union, NOW has deliberately tried to include women from all spheres. Although its original membership was white, middle class women whose mutual association was the University, it is becoming a more balanced group as it attracts both minority and working class women.

The participants in the National Organization of Women and other women's groups, who are committed to contemporary causes, are continuing in the tradition of their sisters in Buffalo who worked valiantly at the turn of the century. If the dedication and perseverance of the current groups matches that of its predecessors, then women's rights will certainly be further extended.

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Electric Tower

Pan-American Exposition

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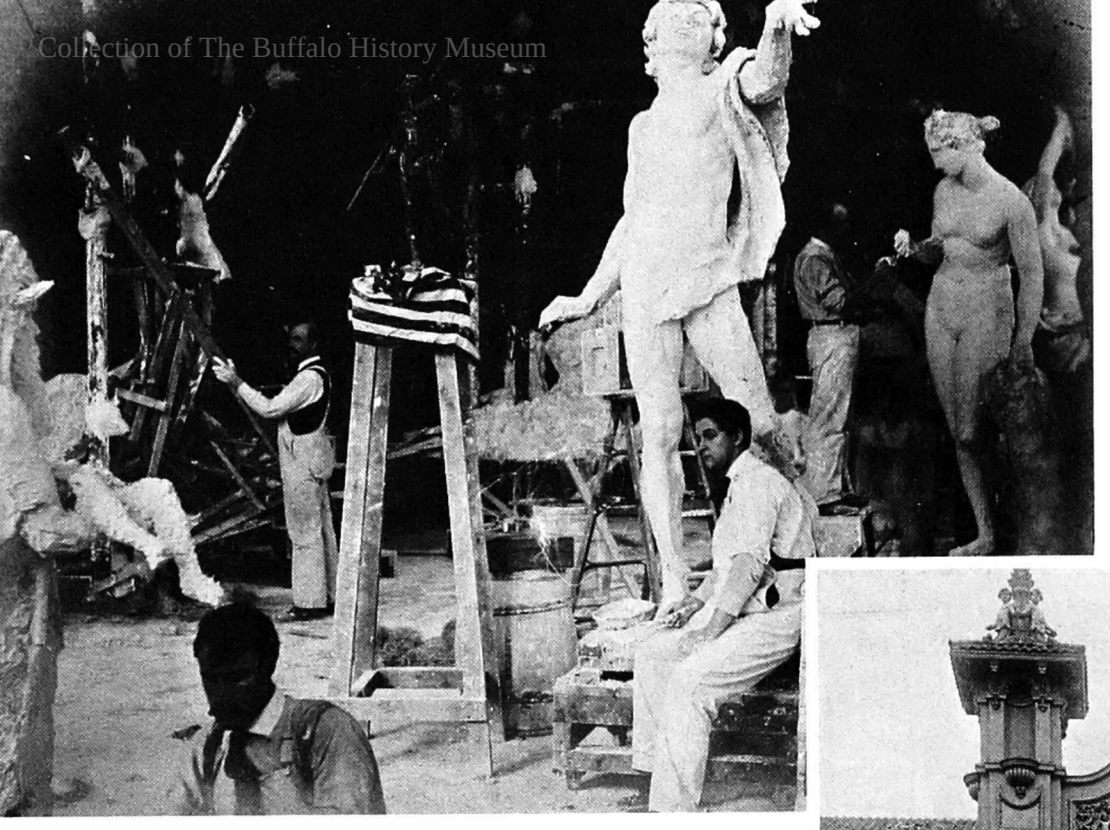
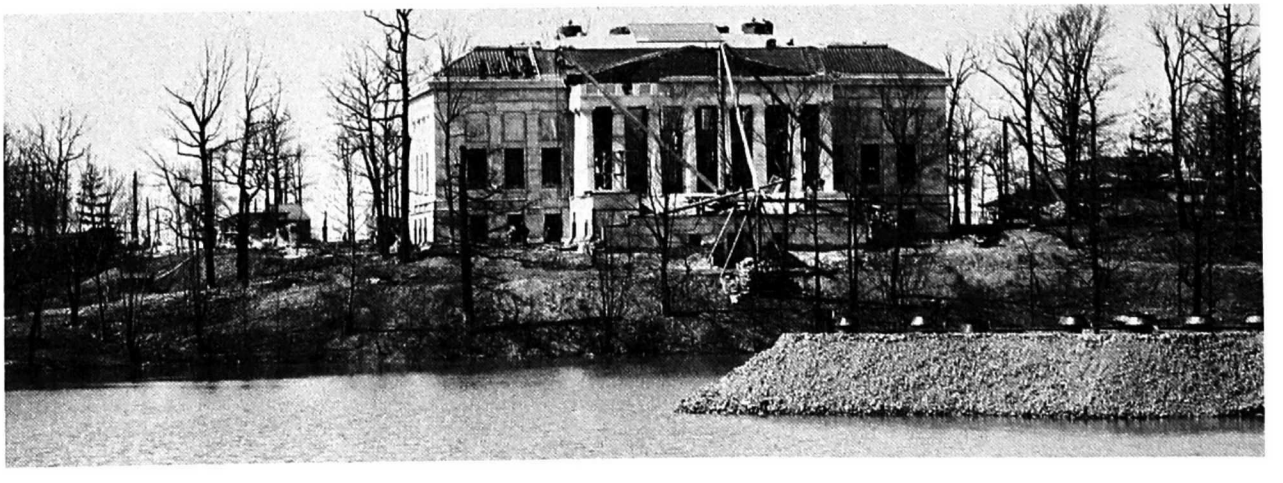


Liberal Arts Building

Preparation of the Site

New York State Building (now Historical Building) under construction



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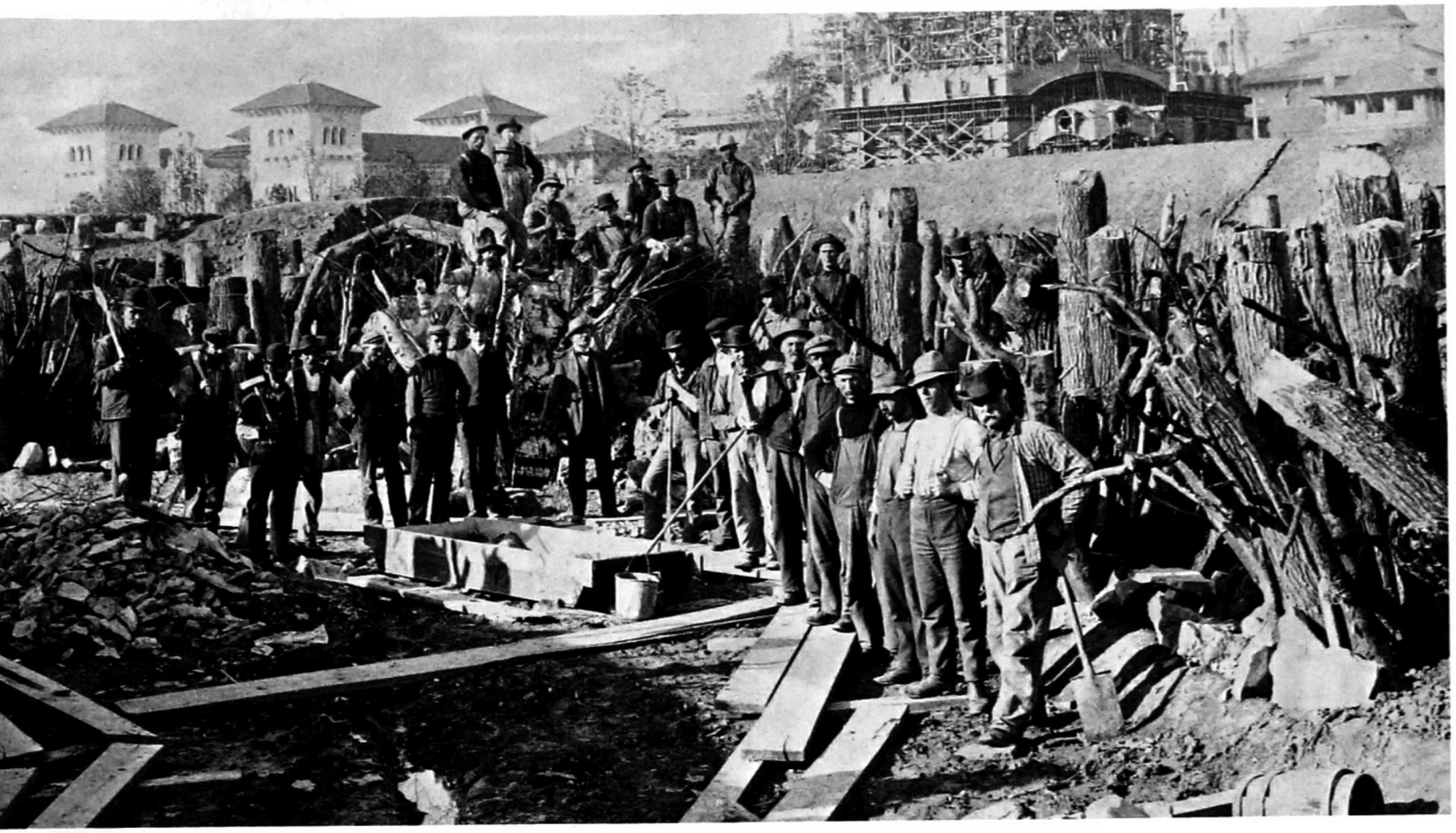

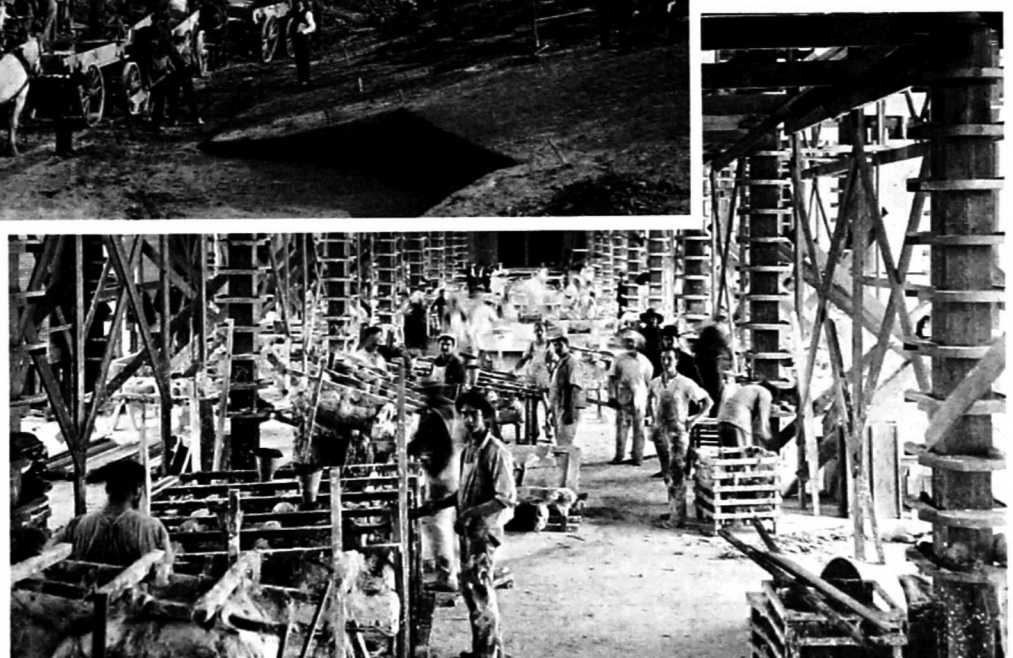

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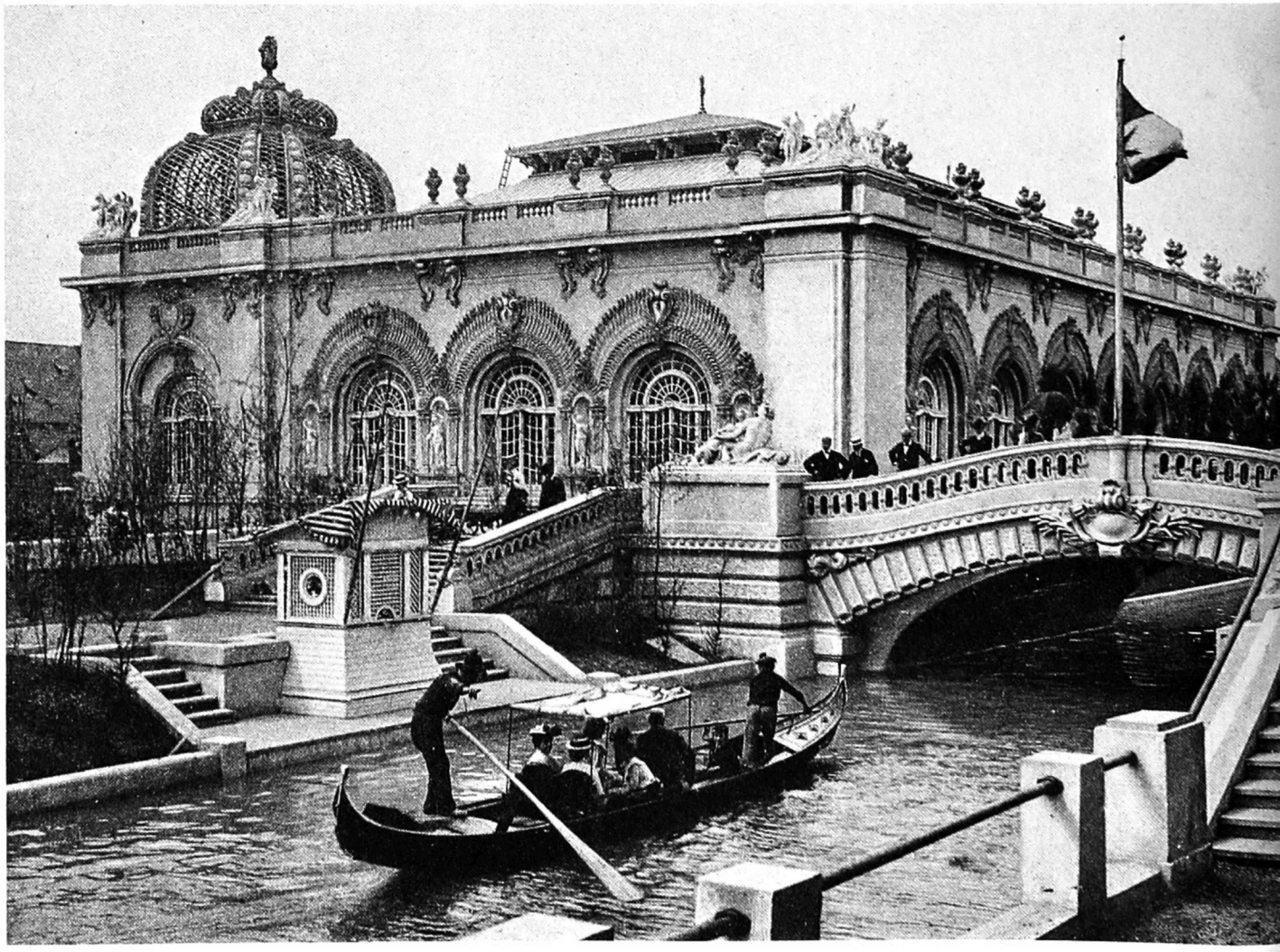
Ethnology Bldg.

Bazaar Building and Grand Canal



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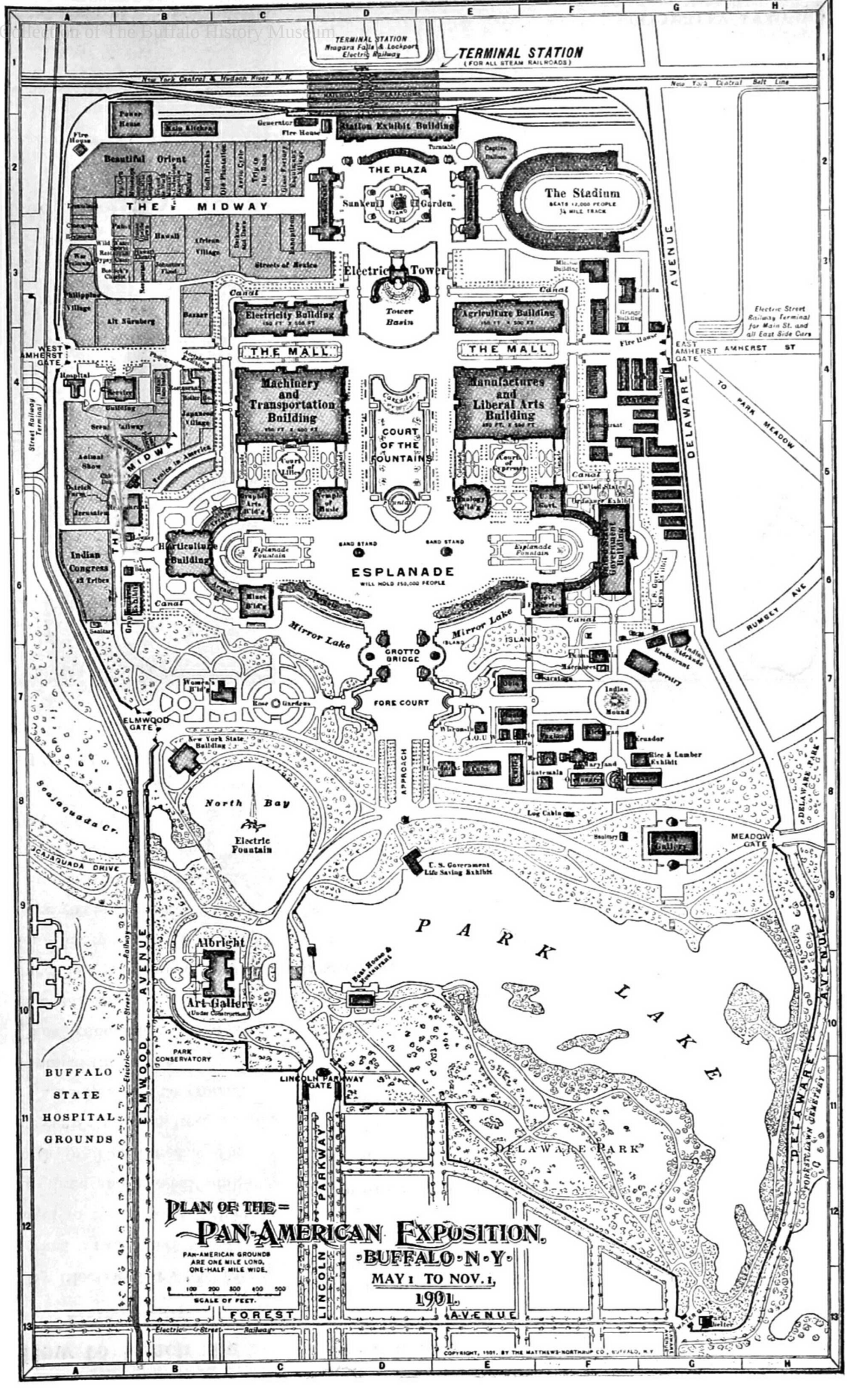

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Alt Nuremberg

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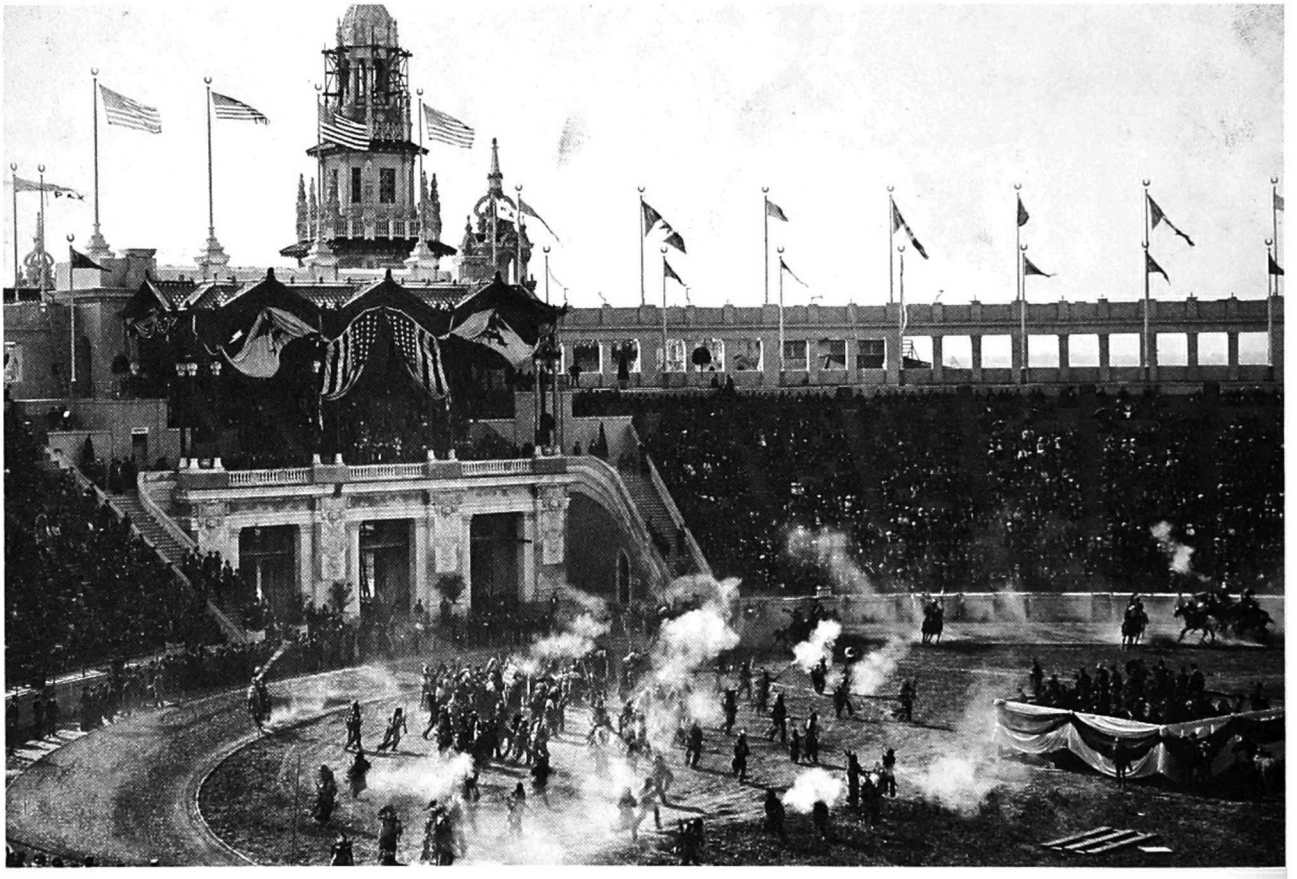
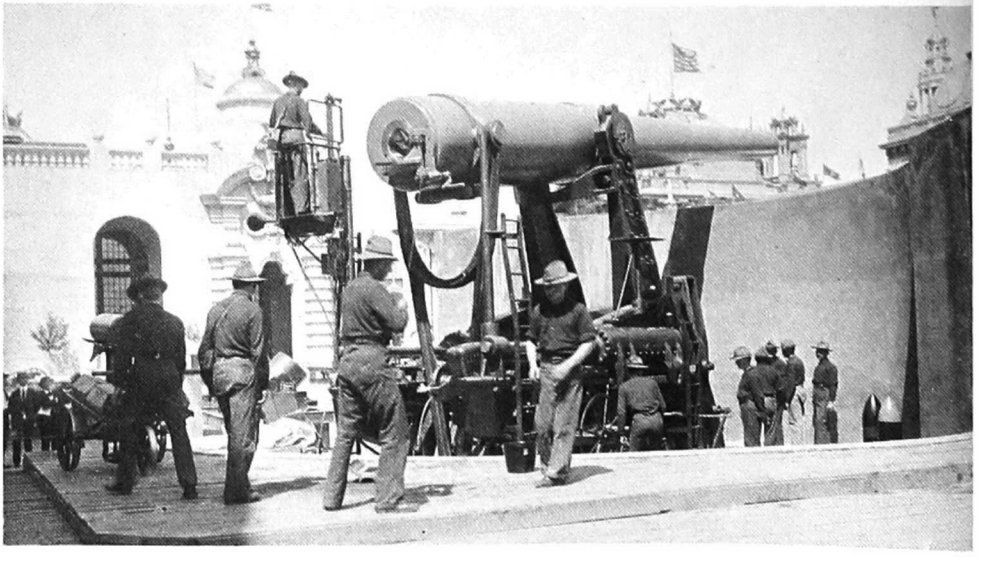
Indian congress sham battle





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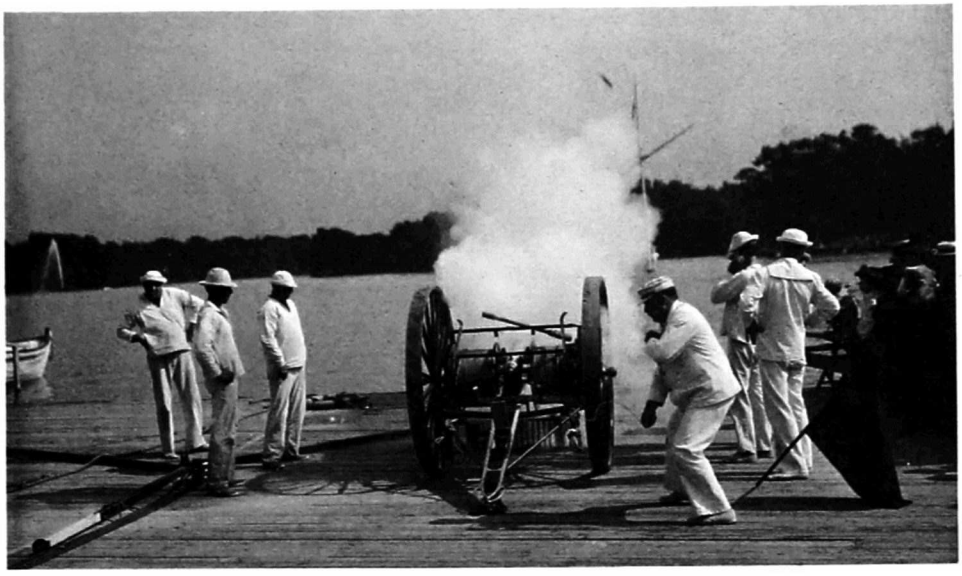

President McKinley reviewing troops in stadium (day before he was shot)

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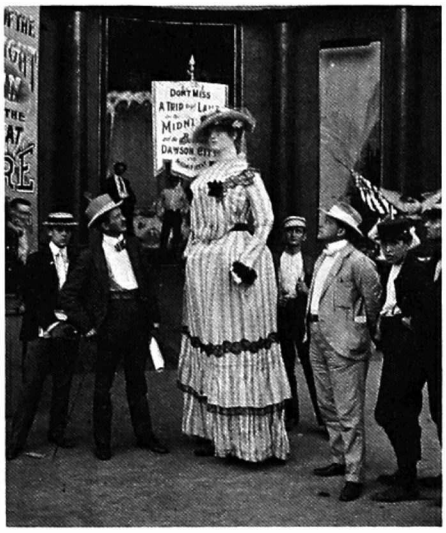

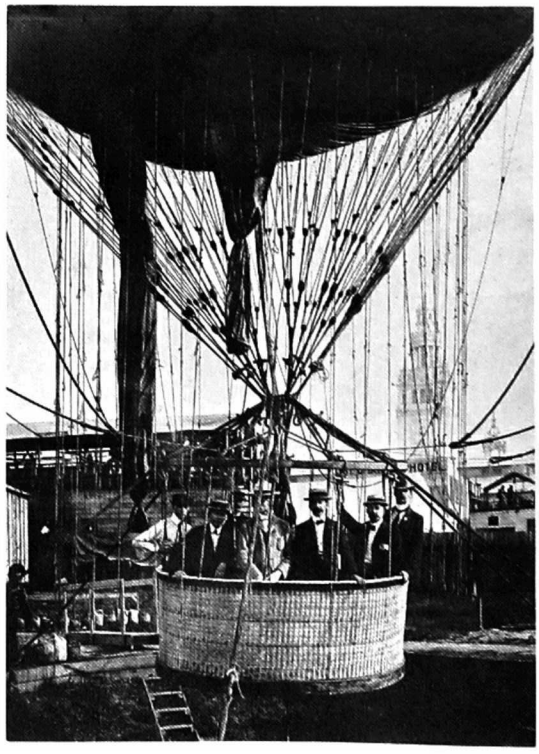

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XI. Agriculture as Industry

The first half of our century in agriculture set in motion the impulses that were to revolutionize the countryside in the second half, which is now closing. Farming is no longer a "way of life." The rural resident who goes to his office every morning may as likely be a farmer as a banker, and no one casually watching such departures will know the difference. The manner and style of country living has no longer anything to do with early rising or manure on the boots, and either banker or farmer may equally likely be acting under instructions from their advisers to waste no time in physical activity except as their physicians direct for the sake of health. The concern of either will be to protect their families' interests in their investment and to develop activities to make it profitable. There has, in fact, been a complete reconciliation of urban and rural interests, and in Erie County, where it has become difficult to escape sight of residential development no matter where one goes, the consequence is apparent: the tiller of the soil seems to be operating in the back lots of the city workers' dwellings, and the products of farms are handled and valued in markets not essentially different from any other.

By 1918 it was plain that the demands of the first World War had revealed the advanced state of agricultural technology. The means of increasing production were available, and the exhilaration of contributing to the nation's effort reduced farmers' unwillingness to experiment with new methods. During the war and after, it seemed perfectly reasonable to try the new tricks proposed by the professors in the agricultural experiment stations, that had only a lifetime before hardly seemed worth the effort, if not actually repugnant to the rural tradition of self-sufficiency. The changes now were made with increasing readiness, and the new state of mind found its most vigorous expression in the nature of the organization that was to be the center of farm action in the county for the future. This was the Farm Bureau, a voluntary association that developed and directed the semiofficial Extension Service in Erie County as in the rest of New York State. The "extension" referred to the presentation for public consumption of the scholarly conclusions of the experiment stations, carried on in educational meetings, demonstrations, institutes, consultations, and correspondence. It was the broadest scheme of adult education yet conceived.

The stations were the Agricultural Experiment Station set up by Cornell University in 1879, and the separate Agricultural Experiment Station established at Geneva by legislative enactment in 1880, with Cornell among its sponsors also, both of them now long established as among the nation's finest scientific institutes, and both devoted to farm interests.

The Farm Bureau was, not surprisingly, a New York State invention, set going in Binghamton in 1911. It was designed to be a winning combination of business with agriculture, this state being a national leader in both. As elsewhere, the Chamber of Commerce in Buffalo set this new association up in Erie County February 1, 1914, as a division of its own organization, providing an office and some funds as well as strong support for the successful effort to procure appropriations from the County Board of Supervisors. The Board gave $4500 for the year 1915, the United States Department of Agriculture and the New York State Department of Agriculture provided further support, the State College of Agriculture of Cornell University gave half of the expenses of instructors sent into the county, and dues of members of the Farm Bureau Association added something to these resources. In the opinion of President A. G. Knapp, membership support in Erie County should have been much greater, since the contribution of farm localities through county taxes was only about $675 of the $4500 appropriation, the City of Buffalo furnishing the remainder from its lion's share of the tax burden.

The campaign for members became a regular part of the Farm Bureau Association's active year, and the roster soon passed 1800. By its tenth year the Association, the agricultural depression of the 1920's already ruling, had declined to about 900 members at a time when the county had between six and seven thousand farms, not an overwhelming proportion, but at least a most generous leavening for the mass of farmers in benefits conferred. The figure was relatively stable, falling to 700 at the worst of the Great Depression of the 1930's and then rising steadily until it passed 2,000. In recent years this has meant that there are as many memberships as farms in the county, so the adoption of business objectives and meth-

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ods may now be considered unanimous among our farmers.

The general approval of the new concept of amalgamating urban and rural attitudes in this way was further reflected at the outset in monetary contributions to the Farm Bureau by most of the railroad companies operating in the county, and by some of the dairy processing companies. The first County Agent, although he was then called Manager, was W. L. Markham, and he started the program with a rush. By the end of the initial year of 1914 he had worked his way through an impressive schedule that included five orchard, five alfalfa, and eight dairy field meetings, two extension schools, 101 lectures, and 258 farm visits. Over 30 specialists had been brought from Cornell University, Alfred University, and other agencies. Drainage systems had been designed for 33 farms and one had been provided with irrigation. The subjects emphasized had been poultry techniques (Erie County had the largest poultry industry in the state at the time), the use of lime in soil conditioning, and the selection of seeds and feeds. Several hundred inquiries that had been directed to the office had been answered, 600 bulletins distributed, 11,000 letters sent out, and 13,000 miles of travel had been rolled off by the manager. It could hardly be doubted that Erie County farmers were receptive.

But it was not yet a part of rural thinking to be satisfied merely with a crust of agricultural technology. Cornell University was still much under the influence of its long-time Dean of Agriculture, L. H. Bailey, and his ideals for a complete and rich rural life had found expression in the hearings of the national Country Life Commission and were still strongly operative in his own institution. Without the least hesitation the Farm Bureau moved to organize its Home Economics Department, having already organized another Farmers Club of 75 members. The home agency began work in August 1914, and soon had 400 members in clubs, with a dozen schools scheduled.

Realizing that this was the first women's department to be attached to a Farm Bureau in the state, and perhaps in the nation, efforts were redoubled to make this departure a striking success, and before two-thirds of a year had passed there had been 20 schools with a total enrollment of 3,000 and 20 clubs had been organized with 800 members. The agent, Miss Katherine H. Mills, had addressed 71 meetings aggregating 5,208 in addition. Again the source of inspiration was the accu-

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mulated lore of the College of Agriculture in its Home Economics Department.

Nor were the boys and girls neglected. Time had been found to arrange potato growing contests for them, cooperative exhibits had been set up in county and state fairs, and a group of boys had actually been taken to the latter. This start was to develop into a major activity.

By the year's end, the Farm Bureau Association had every reason for self-congratulations and for approval of its officers, A. G. Knapp of Akron, Goss L. Stryker of Derby, W. L. Koester and George C. Lehmann of Buffalo. Membership had grown to 348.

The coming of the first World War provided a test of this organization of agricultural education. Suddenly there was not only an effective demand for food and fiber but an excited propaganda urging expanded production. It is of course not possible suddenly to create facilities for abrupt increases of many farm products; it takes years to add any considerable proportion to a dairy herd, for example, but statistics of production of the time do show considerable increases in swine and poultry, where rapid expansion is possible.

Perhaps the best indication of the satisfactory state of the agricultural extension service, however, were the demands made on Farm Bureau personnel as farmers determined to make increased efforts to fill war demands. Within weeks of the declaration of war, the manager had taken over the responsibility for the most acute production problem, which was the assignment of a shrinking supply of labor, and was assisting the State Agricultural Department in the distribution of seeds, which were also in short supply. An assistant was hired to deal with labor, and it was found desirable to engage another for control of plant diseases. There were to be many consequences of the latter's efforts, for considerable differences in production were immediately apparent with proper chemical applications to check the ravages of disease. Many farmers were at last convinced of their value and were to extend their use permanently.

The pace of general educational work could not be maintained, for the manager was overwhelmed with desk work and the College of Agriculture specialists were in such demand that they could not be scheduled for leisurely lectures and demonstrations. But since their advice was being actively sought it can be assumed that what they had to offer was adopted and applied with unprecedented enthusiasm. Advances in efficiency such as drainage of wet lands and construction of silos moved ahead dramatically after decades of leisurely adoption, and it is amusing to note that much other good advice was being applied a little too literally. After being instructed to put production on a paying basis farmers now took swift action in that direction also, with the result that the *Farm Bureau News* in 1918 had to backtrack in alarm to urge farmers not to continue an astonishing trend: farmers were actually decreasing the numbers of dairy cows while the demand for milk was still shooting upward. The editor had to argue, contrary to previous urgings, that price was not everything and that dairymen should try to increase efficiency without risking a decrease in production.

This episode gave special point to previous reports of the Bureau's efforts to stabilize marketing procedures and to establish reasonable prices. In setting price limits for control of wartime inflation, it was altogether too easy to squeeze out needed production, and it is remarkable that the farmers were calculating swiftly and closely to follow on the heels of price changes. In

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this, too, they had learned.

It was not the war that changed agriculture, but the steady advance of rationalized economic views and scientific technology over many decades that forced the changes; the war furnished a strong stimulus and an atmosphere of excitement that made changing somewhat easier. The continual adaptation to developing conditions that was standard procedure in the Farm Bureau tells this story. Following the war the Bureau acquired a new manager, Mr. Markham having won promotion. Mr. E. Victor Underwood succeeded Markham in 1919, remaining until 1921 when he became secretary to the New York State Farm Bureau Federation. F. B. Fricke then took over, remaining as manager until 1935.

These men presided over a program that went on as it had started but with steadily intensifying approaches to farm problems. Programs of assistance became increasingly concentrated on specialized farms; these operated with the help of farmer associations to deal with their own problems, the vegetable growers having already gone to the length of engaging their own consultant on diseases, ten growers in Eden engaging with each other for his services. The Bureau had been scheduling regular meetings, and these had convinced some of the large growers that they could suffer crippling losses unless they assured themselves of adequate protection. The Bureau's *News* noted that in potatoes alone Erie County farmers could through carelessness lose hundreds of thousands of dollars in a single season.

Provision for such cooperative activity began to take on the aspect of very fine points when special schools for beekeepers and sheep raisers appeared on the Bureau's schedule. The Bureau itself reorganized its work with the greatest care, in 1920 adopting a policy of appointing a committeeman in every school district and gathering them into community districts carefully chosen to be representative. By the end of the year, 41 of 45 projected committees were organized. The care reflects the greater complexity not only in technical matters but in control of drainage, fruit marketing, finance, and advertising proposals. Membership was 1872, dues had been advanced to $2 per year, youth work on a completely organized basis had begun, there were now five community fairs in addition to the county fair, and it was only too welcome to have self-help in vegetable raising. A further relief came from the undertaking of state officials to assist renewed efforts of its inhabitants to make farming on the Cattaraugus Indian Reservation somewhat more profitable. Farm Bureau offices had long since expanded beyond the hospitable capabilities of the Chamber of Commerce, and the Bureau was currently in the Root Building at 70 West Chippewa Street.

The Association was of course far from being alone with these problems. It was a part of a state and national organization that furnished support and encouragement as well as powerful efforts to win necessary legislation. The New York Farm Bureau Federation had a formidable list of proposals for the Legislature, and it was the duty of the local Bureaus to urge these upon their representatives. State officers were also seeking most persistently to persuade the State to finish the road network planned in 1917 and to furnish funds for paved market roads for farmers. Another World War would come and go before the latter objective was reached.

Other sophisticated farm associa-

Churning and turning cream separator

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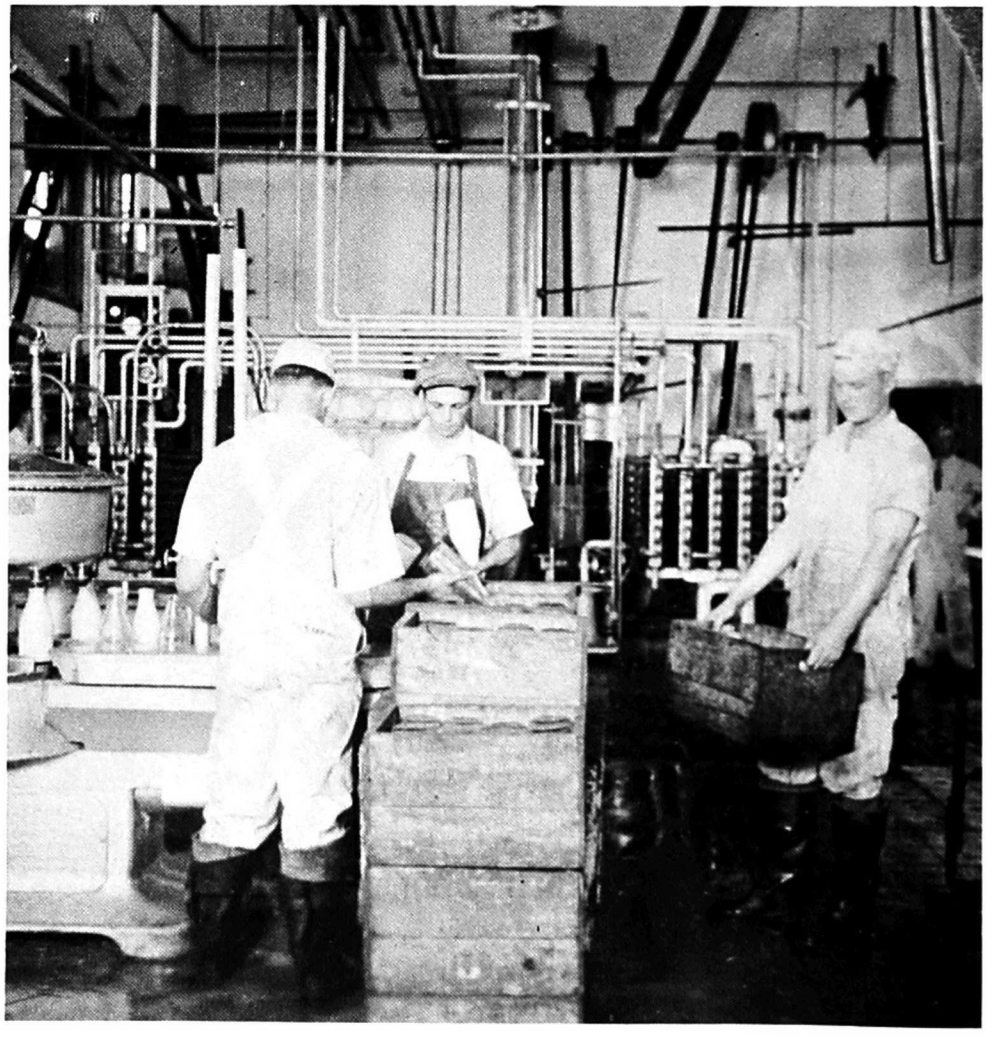
tions were operating within the Bureau itself. The dairymen had a long history of organized self-education work and it was now the time for a great step forward in breeding. This was the accomplishment of the Cow Testing Association, in which each member paid for a share of the services of an agent who regularly checked the amount and quality of milk from each cow in the member's herd, providing thereby a basis for selection of profitable animals to be kept and bred. The first such association appeared in Michigan in 1905 and when the Bureau set up Erie County's first such group in 1915 there were about 200 in the nation. Erie's association was around Sardinia and Chafee and its president was Jesse Ward. This was what the dairymen were waiting for, and the following year it grew into a Dairy Improvement Association with more members and a full-fledged instructor who not only would operate the Babcock milkfat test apparatus but also consider questions of feed and management of the herds of his one hundred clients. Each member paid $12 to cover the costs, which, however, proved unexpectedly great even when the bulk records were handled wholesale in the Bureau office. This did not deter the members and such work steadily expanded until there were by 1919, three Dairy Improvement Associations under Bureau auspices. It was important enough to enjoy extensive publication of the records of high producing animals in *Farm Bureau News.*

This was shortly followed by the organization of two associations of dairy breeders within the county, the climax of an interest that had been pursued seriously for about a century. The Holstein-Friesian Cattle Club started in 1920 with Harry Yates as president and was shortly followed by a local of the Jersey Cattle Club with George Machmer as president. The following year H. S. Gail of East Aurora was chosen to be president of the New York State Jersey Cattle Club and M. A. Clark of Elma to be Secretary-Treasurer. Erie County had arrived as a dairy breeding center.

But it was even more. It also participated fully and successfully in another step taken by the dairy industry, which was now to undertake something never effectively managed by rural interests in America: the organization of the market for its own product. Many attempts had been made, often with great public outcry as with the Grange in the 1880's and the Farmers Alliance in the 1890's, to arrange some control of the disposition of milk, and all had failed quite abjectly. New York was now to demonstrate that farmers who had learned to manage their affairs in businesslike ways could also organize and bargain fairly and effectively in the market place. There was in 1916, statewide concern for the fairness and practicality of the market for fresh milk, and the Wicks Investigation by the State Legislature into it was arousing both interest and resolution. The Farm Bureau was assisting the investigation by furnishing evidence, and had itself concluded that production costs were too high, that sellers were disorganized, and that buyers were taking advantage of the situation. Organization, in Bureau opinion, could cure the situation and Erie County set out to try. The Dairymen's League was created as a statewide association and in Erie by February of 1917 at least 28 locals had been organized. The League and the Bureau quickly reached agreement on their respective functions, the League setting up its own newspaper for the County and establishing its sales committee with offices in the Chamber of Commerce. By April of 1917 the first contract had been concluded with the milk dealers, and a large hurdle for dairy farmers had been topped.

Difficulties were not by this advance completely eliminated. When the Great Depression dislocated



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markets in the 1930's further efforts of an extreme kind were demanded, but in 1917 there was a fair beginning on which other things could be built, for the farmers had shown that they could make and keep agreements with each other and with purchasers. Even so much was not immediately and smoothly achieved, for 1919 found two factions of the League contracting separately, but the troubles were resolved so that failure to reach agreement with dealers in 1920 brought into operation the newly added Dairymen's League Association's own cooperative dairy plant in East Aurora to prevent the market's being overloaded with surplus fluid milk.

This remarkable success in dealing with economic forces long thought to be too complicated for farm associations was immediately followed by another planned by the same group of leaders. This was the organization of the Grange League Federation Exchange, an incorporated cooperative based on the efforts of the Grange, which had set up its Grange Exchange two years previously but now found it difficult to acquire sufficient capital to invade the millfeed business. By selling stock to members of the Dairymen's League and the Farm Bureau Federation, it proposed to find capital for a complete farm supply business. The new association authorized the issuance of 200,000 shares to be sold only to members of the three organizations and with a limit of 1,000 shares per member, the voting to be, in the cooperative manner, one vote to each shareholder. The central figure in the planning was H. E. Babcock, who was to remain, except for brief intervals, chief administrator for many years. In his preliminary statements he made it clear that the interest of the Grange League Federation was to serve farmers, and that members of the Board of Directors were selected not because they had business training but to assure fulfillment of that purpose, remarking that the Grange Exchange had been successful within its limits with such a policy.

Within a few months in 1920, the new cooperative had been organized, its stock subscribed, cash collected, a central warehouse in Syracuse purchased, and county meetings to extend operations were planned. Buffalo profited immediately through the purchase by the Federation of buildings at Niagara and Albany Streets to be used as mill and warehouse for western grains as a feed center. It was expected that milling would begin by January of 1921, six months after the publication of the plans for the organization. By this time also, the sheep raisers of Erie and other counties had put their wool pool operations into the hands of the cooperative, the State Horticultural Society had entrusted it with its purchase and distribution of spray materials, all purchasing had been joined in a four-state pool for further economy, and $456,640 had been subscribed in stock of which $97,600 had already been paid in cash. The Erie County committee was meeting to extend its stock subscription by $3,000 and to set up distribution of seeds before the end of 1920. It was an impressive display of business competence on the part of the original planners and of complete understanding and capable participation on the part of the Erie County farmers. It would have been reasonable to have predicted at that point a steady and uneventful development of an unprecedented agricultural prosperity for Erie County as well as the other major farming counties of New York State on the basis of this clear mastery both of technique and business procedure.

Not only could this happen, but there were reasons enough for the rural dwellers to wish for a steady prosperity. The Home Economics Division of the Farm Bureau had become well aware of the facts about farm living, and had concluded that the full story ought to be known. A survey of 1400 New York farmhouses revealed the extent to which enhanced prosperity was needed to put the rural standard of living on a level of comfort for the women who did the work. The surveyors were impressed that in 1919 the farm woman's day began at five or six o'clock and continued until past the time of the evening meal with constant heavy physical challenges along the way. The first job was to start the fire in the kitchen range, and the first shock to the modern reader of the survey is the revelation that there wasn't necessarily a supply of healthy boys to be sent after the split wood, for not many children were reported in this considerable sample of the farm population. The second job of the morning was to fetch the water from well or cistern (often not equipped with a pump) that might be as much as 200 feet from the house. On Mondays the routine began earlier to admit the clothes-washing operation, now in an advanced stage since there were usually machines available — hand-operated. Electrical power had reached but 1% of these houses. Following breakfast there were poultry chores (still universally woman's responsibility), dairy pails, the garden, beds, lamps, mending. Baking and sweeping came toward the end of the week after laundry duties were finished, and since many farmhouses were of the old style they tended to run from eight to 14 rooms. But things were not as bad as they might have been, for a tenth of these wives were allowed yearly vacations, and every single one of them were being spoiled by the possession of a sewing machine.

The rise in farm production that would allow them to be further spoiled was before World War I also much more anticipation than reality. Men who started their labors on the farm at about this time are able to dispel in few words any distorted ideas that improvements were about to eliminate all hard work indoors or out. That potentiality was dimly visible to a few, but most farmers could feel the aches invested in a dollar bill, which still was the standard daily wage in 1910 and after. From one man's farm in Marilla, for example, it was a five-hour trip behind a heavy farm team to take a load of potatoes to market in Buffalo, so that it took a day for the job, even when it was lightened by the brick paving of Clinton Street

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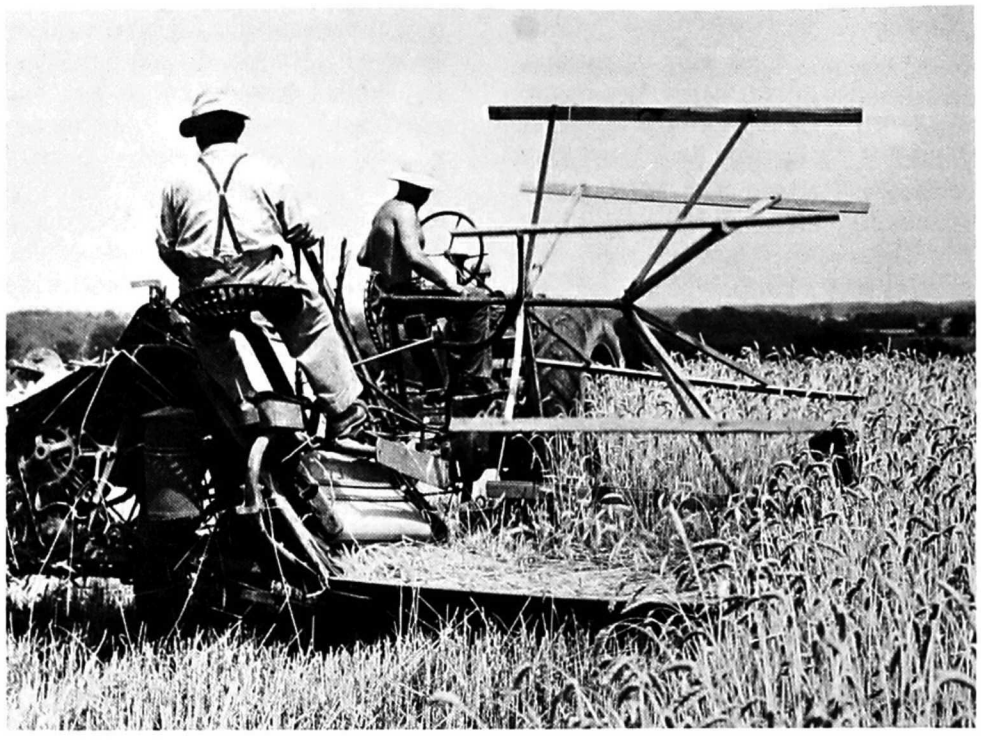
and Jamison Road (1900 and 1912). Potatoes went to market in the spring; they would bring 30¢ a bushel in the fall, $1 in spring, and it cost about 60¢ a bushel to produce them. The job of sprouting and hauling came as soon as the winter work in the woods was finished, for the original timber on the farm was not exhausted until well after 1900, the area having been a part of the Seneca Indian Reservation, lumber remaining an important product very late. Many of our contemporaries as children witnessed the operation of the reciprocal muley saw on the farm's steam mill and watched sawyers squaring the ends of lumber with adzes. This was before the period we are considering, but a part of a lifetime that spanned the changes we now find astonishing.

On such a farm, before tractors were used—this also might be about 1920—several teams of horses would be needed, for it was no light chore to prepare one or two hundred acres for planting within a few weeks in spring, and horses tended to tire out before the men, so extras had to be maintained between plantings, adding weight to the overhead costs. The normal rotation of crops had come to be potatoes or corn followed by beans, wheat, and timothy or clover hay. Many families found older and younger members disagreeing on the new departures in cropping. On one farm the younger man, unsatisfied by a modest success with alfalfa, persisted in trying hydrated lime on the soil and in inoculating it with sandy creekbed soil in which clover was flourishing, ignoring some gentle gibes from his father who was well read and far from old fashioned in his thinking but who could nevertheless not refrain from poking a little fun at some of the new and strange scientific ways. These trials, of course, were entirely successful and led the way to more continuous and quite unremarked further experiments, but the trivial friction tells much of the problem of a previous generation which could expect heavy and continuous opposition to "book farming" from traditionally minded neighbors.



Until very recently indeed, a farmer had to keep this in mind, for he was dependent upon assistance from neighbors in the form of "change work" and if he strayed too far from neighborhood standards he could find difficulty in arranging the exchange. This, too, has gone in the course of time, but at the time of the first World War and after the traditional pattern still persisted. This latent opposition to experiment displays by contrast the importance of the Farm Bureau's organization of those who favored it. A farmer could at last in its shelter attempt a good deal without being ridiculed or neglected.

It was just at this critical point in rural educational arrangements that the Erie County Fair continued to do its good work. There was no hesitation on the part of anyone to go to the Fair and absorb the lessons of the entries, exhibits, and commercial displays, no matter how bookish. The steady growth of the Fair continued until checked by the Great Depression, although farmers were less affected by it than city dwellers, having been prepared by decided price declines throughout the 1920's.

Livestock exhibits had risen from before the war years, the Horse Show reaching considerable popularity, and in 1920 four nationally famed Holstein-Friesian herds were shown. "Betterment of Agriculture" was the Fair's theme in 1922, which also saw a world's trotting record broken and a total attendance of 125,000. If any farmer wanted to peek at the new and improving things, he could boldly explain his presence without even referring to the more lurid shows in the now well-organized Midway.

The following years showed no slackening in the farm interest in spite of the decline in the agricultural population following World War II. The tendency in development was toward broad recognition of all sectors of the population. Ingenious management was required to produce the facilities for crowds aggregating 300,000 by 1950, and then to keep the crowds coming to pay for them. Something of a high point was reached in 1953 when agricultural history itself was established as an exhibition subject by George E. Sipprell of the Erie County Historical Federation and W. H. Glover of the Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society.

Relief from the burdens of direct marketing provided by the new pol-

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icies associated with the Dairymen's League and the Grange League Federation Exchange were equally important in reducing the drudgery of farming. Any number of farms could provide illustrations of the necessity for better handling of marketing problems, and, of course, the premium vegetable areas such as Eden show what this could mean to farmers anxious to give good service to special customers. The Eden truck farmer traveled to the Buffalo markets in one-horse wagons with produce carefully selected to please his customers, prefering to deal regularly with individual buyers for particular stores. Dairy farmers were faced with the necessity of getting their cans of milk to the railroad station before eight in the morning and picking the cans up again in the afternoon. In hot weather, this double round trip was done twice a day. Farmers often built their own ice houses for winter harvesting in order to guarantee delivery of sweet milk, and aerators that cooled with water pumped from deep wells helped somewhat. Gas engines made the latter possible. But even such labors were no guarantee of successful marketing, and when one family in particular found it difficult to agree with the dealers they solved their problem by starting their own city milk route, marketing 12 to 15 cans daily from their farm and neighbors' farms. This furnished employment to two of the family children, and since there were eight boys and two girls this was an advantage. But a death and the difficulty of getting another capable manager ended this enterprise. It was shortly thereafter that the organization of the Dairymen's League at least reduced the troubles in milk sales.

It was not only the willingness of all members of a well educated family to work, but their eagerness to experiment that was to make the decisive difference in farm developments in the decades since the first World War. The accompanying set of figures is selected to illustrate the success of the efforts of such farmers as well as to exhibit certain other characteristios of the history of agriculture in Erie County during this time. The five decades following the war challenged management everywhere in the United States, and in metropolitan areas like Buffalo there was the added pressure of steadily decreasing areas remaining in cultivation as business and residential use expanded. Great success in enlarging production brought only the retribution of lower prices to farmers everywhere, and sharply declining prices following the end of war demand produced great distress in agricultural regions by causing the collapse of banks and commercial enterprises dependent upon agriculture.

From this downward spiral there was no relief for farmers for two decades since, after years of recession, the financial crash of 1929 set off the catastrophic industrial depression of the 1930's. During the

Erie County Fair

ERIE COUNTY FARMING 1920 — 1964

	1920	1930	1940	1950	1955	1960	1965
Land in farms (acres)	538,052	433,712	442,312	376,353	350,715	289,889	269,109
Farms		5,942	6,171	4,611	3,963	2,725	2,194
Acres per farm		73	72	82	88	106	123
Dairy cows	42,150	28,485	34,284	28,423	30,314	25,707	24,544
Oats (acres)	33,517	26,998	30,931	23,401	21,160	18,366	14,708
Potatoes (acres)	17,259	11,430	8,787	3,701	1,940	886	861
Corn (acres)	10,097	2,605	6,864	5,327	20,948	17,218	15,723
Snap beans (acres)	858	3,384	2,675	5,935	8,872	10,990	18,698
Fruit (acres)			4,223	2,786	5,423	4,392	4,031
Strawberries (acres)	556	760	1,097	1,290	1,666	1,199	1,101
Grapes (vines)	1,870	3,130	105,232	819,326	858,399	942,469	1,247,392
Milk (pounds)	136,000,000					222,000,000	
Oats (bushels)	501,665					1,028,496	

same melancholy period, Erie County farmers found added problems as the area in cultivation shrank, making it more difficult to find neighbors to share the costs of processing and marketing their produce. This necessitated expanding operations to spread the increasing overhead costs of more industrialized production methods just when it seemed far more prudent to refuse further commitments while waiting for the economic storm to blow itself out. Government programs then intervened to help agriculture in radically new ways that in turn required considerable efforts at adjustment, to be followed by the second World War with its upsets. One is tempted to say that by its close, farmers capable of surviving had learned the necessary tricks so that it and its aftermath hardly mattered. But change only accelerated; over half of the Erie County farmers of 1950 quit during the following 15 years.

The quick and superficial view of farming in Erie County afforded by these crude figures suggests a number of questions that must be answered. The most evident thing about them is their inconsistency. In spite of the difficulty of making sudden switches in agricultural production, our farmers have been achieving them. Acreages in corn have fluctuated in a ratio of eight to one, while snap beans have become one of the county's most important crops from having been a very minor one, in which it has almost exactly mirrored (in reverse) the course of potato growing. Even fruit acreages show considerable variations. We may expect to find a sharp growth in management skills among the farmers who had to adapt themselves to this new condition of farming, and we immediately see in another figure the confirmation that this has happened. While the acreage planted to oats declined to less than half between 1920 and 1960, the quantity of grain produced actually doubled. This does not, of course, mean that our farm managers have acquired a species of magic, but that they have learned of and used the improved seeds and fertilizers developed by agricultural experiment stations during this period. Very similar happenings are visible in regards to milk production, a considerably decreased dairy herd (almost halved) yielding a decisively increased quantity of milk (more than doubled).

Many things have been done to make possible such developments, but the figures show one of them quickly and clearly: farms have become much larger so that the greatly reduced area under cultivation is managed quite differently, we may assume, and this the subsequent history will confirm, by men who command more resources and so have more time and occasion for careful calculation as to their use.

Through the entire period leadership in these manifold and complex adjustments centered in the Erie County Farm Bureau Association, with the companionable collaboration of the more ancient Grange. The Grange found some of the technicalities of the new age more than a trifle difficult to handle and as early as 1921, its representative withdrew from the Grange League Federation Exchange in confusion and discouragement. This is understandable since that cooperative, which today looks as stable as a tie-frame barn, was being shaken by economic storms. Within Erie County, however, amicability reigned, the Grange continuing to represent the old rural ideals and the Farm Bureau furnishing the inspiration and strategy for attacks on the new problems. It was the Farm Bureau

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which maintained the tie to the Extension Service of the College of Agriculture of Cornell University, and it was that Service that was to be found actively working wherever there was an agricultural problem. In this, Erie County, still one of the leading farm areas of the state, closely reflects the action in the state as a whole. The accompanying table of the membership of the Farm Bureau Association, correctly the Erie County Farm and Home Bureau Association since 1919, thus represents an index of the new movements. Membership fell with the onset of the farm depression in 1920 and 1921, rose again by the repeated efforts to enlarge membership only to sag as the bitter days of the Great Depression eroded both spirit and pocketbook. In this also the experience of the state as a whole is paralleled.

Such explosive social problems as the cooperative associations' competition with private business were fearlessly taken up by the Extension Service, backed as it was by the Farm Bureau, which, it must be remembered, got even its name from beginning its existence as a part of the Chamber of Commerce—so private business, if it were interested, could trace this publicly encouraged competition to its own insistence that agriculture shares the methods of a capitalist economy. There seemed to be little repining at the rather curious result, and business organizations continued to work with farm associations quite unselfconsciously.

No cloud descended on the Extension Service and it remained a trusted line of communications between the farmers and the scientists of the Experiment Station. From these came a stream of useful information deliberately developed to be directly and immediately useful. If the steady adoption of tractors by farmers caused a sudden overproduction of timothy hay—as it did in Erie County as elsewhere—the Station's agricultural economists labored to suggest new management schemes that would compensate, and this during the 1920's involved a fresh survey of agriculture from resources to markets. Standardization and certification of seed potatoes was another major problem, and in this, Erie County was directly involved, a number of growers taking the trouble to learn rigorous methods of scientific control and even achieving the ultimate by development of new varieties.

It may surprise contemporary enthusiasts for social readjustment to know that one of the strong farm programs after 1920 was the creation of new school systems capable of far broader training of students

Erie County Farm and Home Center

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for a number of people in and out of cities had noticed the undesirable consequences of the gathering in city ghettoes of rural migrants untrained except for the touch of clerical drilling they had imperfectly absorbed in one-room schools. This was the beginning of an intense interest in urban-rural relations that is still growing among the county's agricultural leaders.

If this broad new departure appears to possess a sophistication a little too great to be credited to a great unwashed rural population, it should be remembered that any such rude population was rapidly disappearing if it had ever been very significant in New York State. The new farmer was more apt to be a person who listened with perfect attention in extension meetings in which college specialists reported that the Cornell poultry department had pursued a branch of vitamin research so that a chicken disease could be isolated and treated, with the result that Vitamin B was now recognized as a complex instead of a single element. Many other equally fundamental investigations were in progress with practical objects hopefully in view, although one wonders how soon even this eager audience was told about the production of orchid seedlings in the station, even if plant nutrition was the ultimate object. Since soils and seeds were usually directly and plainly involved in research, it is doubtful whether even exotic plants occasionally employed would occasion any raised eyebrows. In the next decade the Experiment Station scientists were leading the way in such matters as artificial insemination of cattle and preservation of foods by freezing. No comment on the latter rose from any direction except for a pained resistance from the food processing industry whose leaders, in company with everyone else, felt that the depression was already giving them enough to think about.

By 1930, there was not only production adjustment as shown by our brief table but the making of another radical change in the business end of Erie County agriculture. It was about that time that the management of Buffalo's major wholesale produce market was almost literally presented to the farmers. The old Elk Street market had become so congested that grocers appearing with their wagons to pick up the next day's supply of vegetables could be held in the dense traffic of the market area for an hour or more. Appeals to the New York Central, the owner and operator, were received with indifference since it appeared to them that the situation reasonably enough guaranteed the control of the commerce in fruits and vegetables to themselves. They reckoned without their competitors, who were scheming to acquire a portion of that business. The Farm Bureau had also been investigating the possibility of setting up a new market in an area available to all railroads and adequate for the purpose. The State Department of Markets had investigated and had recommended the location on which the New York Central later built their passenger station, but no action was taken until the Erie and Nickel Plate railroad companies proposed construction of a market at Clinton and Bailey streets, the management of which should be undertaken by a committee of the Farm Bureau.

This committee was immediately gathered under the chairmanship of Henry G. Marquart of Orchard Park, the market was built, and its operation begun by the committee. Mr. Marquart became president of the association formed for the purpose, and remains its president at this writing (1971). Studies by the committee and the railroad companies had convinced all parties that an open farmers' market provided an indispensable element to a produce exchange, and this has been maintained even at the cost of some complaints from private business operators of retail establishments when the auto forced the development of open retailing there.

Farmer control was by then long acknowledged so that when the Association firmly declared that a

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roadside stand type of operation simply could not be avoided, the retail operators reluctantly conceded the point. By then, also, ownership had passed to the Cooperative Association, for President Marquart had proposed to his Board very early that a purchase fund be created, which was done by the addition of small fees to the rentals the railroads had originally established. When the Association had $100,000 in its purchase account it longed to buy, but the total price of $288,000 seemed to forbid this. President Marquart nevertheless proposed to the railroad companies that they accept a reasonable depreciation of the property and sell it for $150,000, to which they agreed. The Clinton Street Market is therefore the property of the farmer operators and enjoys at present a high degree of solvency with problems no greater than the need to adjust rents to the current level of maintenance costs.

The readiness of farmers to assume such responsibilities at the end of the 1920's is related not only to their organization in the Farm Bureau for business purposes, but also to the increasing pressures they were feeling. Producers of vegetables at the close of World War I might feel some irritation at the market place they were forced to work in, but they were compensated by dealing with individual grocerymen who were anxious to provide customers with the best produce with the least delay, for this was previous to the age of the shipped-in vegetable. Those farmers who occupied the narrow belt of light, glacial, gravelly soil that runs from the neighborhood of Eden, east and north toward Batavia, found themselves with a valuable opportunity in the keen demand for early vegetables. By spring everyone was tired of the dull flavors of carrots that had been lying all winter in bins so that a dozen of slender young carrots was a delicacy for which the grower could get premium prices up to nearly a dollar, yielding the skillful and energetic farmer a fine profit. But about 1925 the opportunity vanished. Refrigerator car service and the buying power of the chain store united to make vegetable marketing a year-around business, as it still is. There were no longer the premiums for being early in the market, and increasingly there were fewer opportunities to sell carefully selected products for premium prices as the mass marketing of low-priced vegetables became a carefully calculated craft with supplies available from every part of the country. It is not quite true, on the testimony of experienced growers, that all markets for quality products have vanished, but there can be no doubt that the mediocre product, mass-produced at low prices, has claimed most markets. Growers are pressed in this line also to maintain their positions, and control of primary markets is of some help to them, an opportunity not to be neglected.

Nothing, of course, availed to hold farm prices to a tolerable level during the years that followed, when financial panic set off an industrial depression which combined with the now long-standing agricultural recession to undermine all business confidence and send the economy into a downward spiral of unparalleled speed, intensity, and duration. Before this had run its course, milk prices had plunged below a dollar per 100 pounds, wheat was 90¢ a bushel, corn 30¢ a bushel, and pork 3¢ a pound. These prices were far below war prices and considerably less than prewar prices. There was no doubt that they were much below costs of production for even the most efficient of existing farms, but of course, production continued because there was nothing else that a farmer could do with his own labor or his land and equipment. He always could hope that he could net enough in the market to pay something on his overhead costs, which normally were bank debts that made him liable to loss of all through mortgage foreclosure. This represented the ultimate in misfortune in the rural philosophy, which mingled possession of a home with operation of a production unit —a view that is now vanishing as even family farms are incorporated so that the two might be treated as

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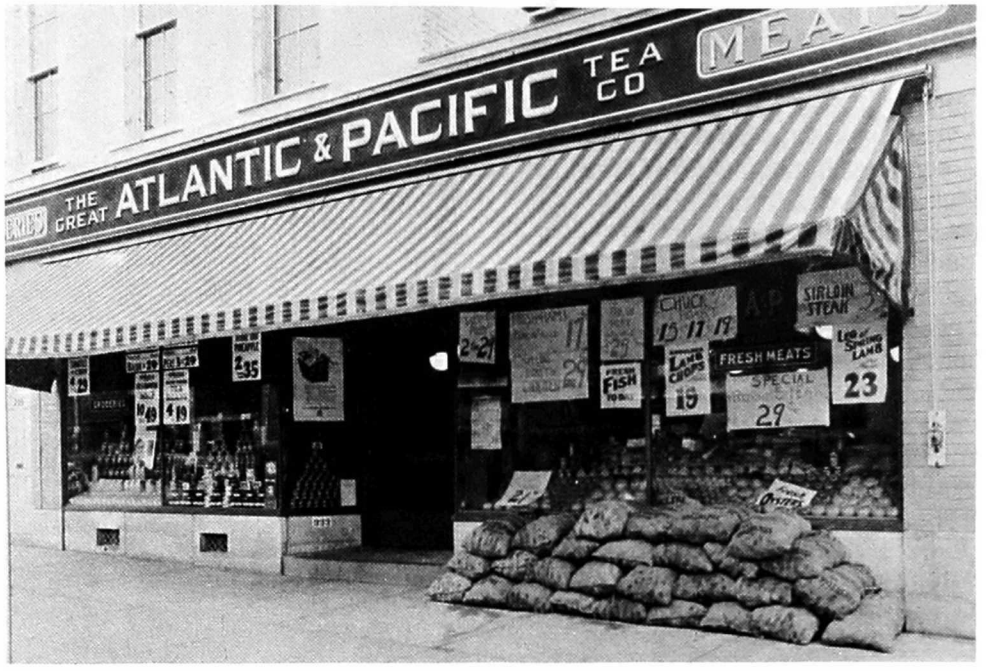
distinct functions. In parts of the nation there were actual threats of rebellion with armed farmers sullenly gathering to intimidate any who might be tempted to bid at a foreclosure sale.

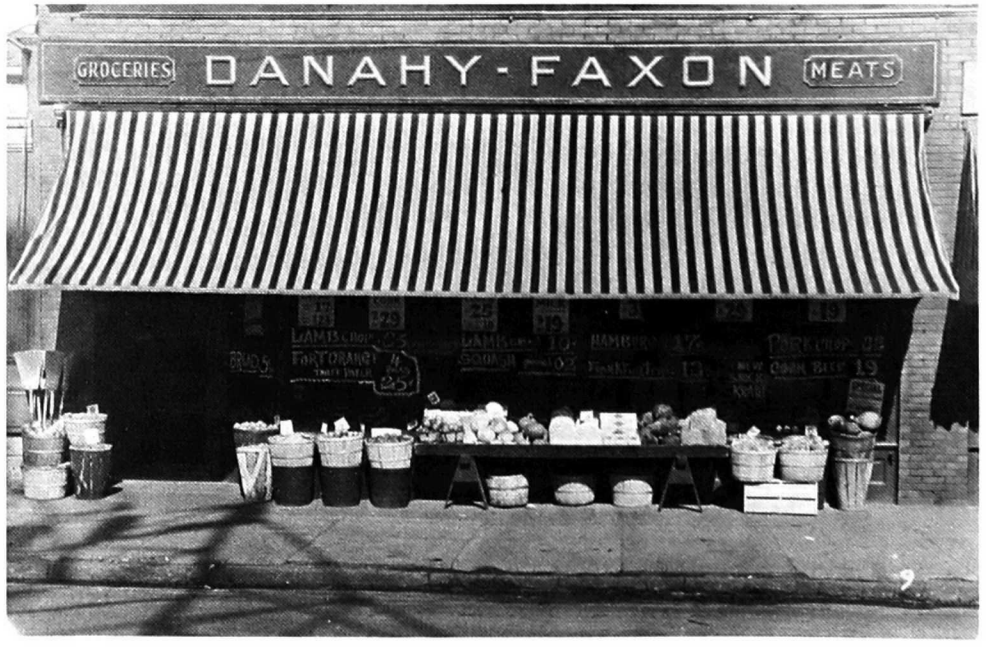
Things never came quite to this point in the established and prosperous Erie County farm community, but there was welcome nevertheless, to the extensive federal farm relief programs that were plainly necessary in these circumstances. The permanent New Deal program that was to affect agriculture basically was the Soil Conservation Service, set up in Erie County in 1935 under the direction of Howard Eldridge of Marilla. He was in a strong position as a member of the Board of Supervisors as well as a member of the Executive Committee of the Farm Bureau. As the title of the enabling act indicated, stabilization of the farm situation was to be accomplished by withdrawing land from production for the ostensible purpose of preserving land as our basic resource. This was joined to a program of price supports so that outright subsidization of prices was avoided, the United States Supreme Court having declared direct fixing of prices to be unlawful. Farmers were encouraged to enrich their lands by the use of fertilizer, drainage, reforestation, contouring of slopes, and cover crops. The government paid half of the costs. The price supports were provided by the local office arranging loans on stored crops at specified prices, wheat typically at $2.25 per bushel and others at comparable levels, the farmer being free to pay off the loans if he could sell higher (which never happened) and the government having the responsibility for ultimate disposition of the stored crops otherwise.

The task of the local office was to verify the quality of the foodstuffs and supervise their preservation, finally to ship them to market or into long-term storage before the start of the next crop season. Conservation projects were similarly inspected and estimated so that payments would be according



to law, and for this delicate task local committeemen, three per township, were employed so that fraud was difficult to perpetrate. There were more opportunities in dealing with the marketing of the crops, where potatoes, going to cheap markets for stock feed or alcohol production, for example, seemed to be (most reasonably) an opportunity to provide inexpensive food to people. This was the most common evasion of the law, but since it was almost always the result of friendly and charitable feelings it was not hard to control, solemn warnings being enough to convince the charitably inclined handlers that they must observe the regulations.

The final part of the whole adjustment program, which was designed to bring production and consumption into balance so the price problems would cease to exist, was the curbing of production by acreage allotments. In an area that had voted to adopt this program, percentages of previous acreages planted to the various controlled commodities were specified by the central administrative office in Washington, the local committees



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of the Soil Conservation Service office again checking to assure compliance. It was at this point that the grand scheme tended to break down, for this sort of control was repugnant to farmers. They did not like much of the program as a whole but participated because it was quixotic to refuse payments for beneficial soil practices that they knew to be desirable. At the final step of accepting restricted production quotas, however, many refused after calculation revealed that they could profit personally by planting more, while most farmers were planting less. The hope for stability through balance never was realized for this reason, and within a few years the condition of the market was completely altered by war demand, following which so many fundamental changes in farming occurred that the whole scheme could be gradually abandoned. It is possible, that, given time in a long period of tranquility, means could have been found to coordinate the entire farm population, but this century was hardly the one to raise such hopes.

The immediate consequences, however, were a slight increase in the number of farms operating in the county, and a considerable encouragement to advanced methods of production, chiefly, of course, those depending upon the development of soil fertility. Added to the increasingly effective machines, breeding practices, and pest controls, the improved richness of soil greatly increased production and paved the way, not for a revival of family farm prosperity, but for the final stage in the industrializing of agriculture. In this, its achievements are identical with those of the federal farm programs elsewhere in the nation, where indeed the consequences have been even more plainly the contrary of what was intended, which, it was supposed, was to save rural farm life.

A final episode of the depression days of the 1930's was the somewhat more hopeful alteration in dairy markets. This was a scheme to adjust supplies to the demands of the great metropolitan areas of the state. In this the farmers of Erie County carried their full share of the burden. There had by then been completed a long history of efforts to make sense of fluid milk markets, in which the extreme fragility of the commodity produced the wildest fluctuations in prices. Milk cannot be stored in flush seasons for sale when supplies decline, and this fact forced farmers to sell no matter what contitions were, unless they could devise methods to control the fluctuations. The New York farmers had arrived at a potent organization in the Dairymen's League, which was superseded by the Dairymen's League Association with its possession of dairy plants to use surpluses while bargaining with dealers. As above noted, this was accomplished by the early part of the 1920's and more plants were added during the decade to handle milk for fluid sales as well. But the severity of the Depression reduced these weapons to impotence, and the price of milk was beaten down to its low of less than a dollar a hundred by 1933, price wars among dealers forcing the fall with the cost falling on the farmers. The situation was the subject of a thorough investigation by a joint legislative committee under the chairmanship of Senator Perley A. Pitcher, whose report was published in 1933. The committee's 13 hearings accumulated 2350 pages of testimony and made perfectly clear the causes of instability in the milk market together with the figures showing the enormous economic interests involved in it. The state had invested over a billion dollars in farms, and dairying was almost a half of the farm trade in 1931, when milk was plainly selling below costs of production. The committee blamed unfair market procedures and excessive costs of transportation for a part of the trouble but concentrated attention on proposals for stabilizing the market, which was within reach.

It was 1937 before complete agreement was achieved, but in that year the Legislature passed the Rogers-Allen Act allowing cooperatives and dealers to form bargaining agencies that could agree on prices or appear for bargaining purposes before officers appointed by the Commissioner of Agriculture to conduct hearings for that purpose. It also provided that market orders be issued to give the force of law to agreements arrived at. The heart of the agreement was the acceptance of the Dairymen's League classification of prices for milk in various uses together with its formula for equalizing proceeds of sales to all producers. While fluid milk sales were at a higher price than sales for the production of butter, cheese, and other products, each class was assigned a price that made it competitive in the market but the final price to the producer was a blend of all. This ended the temptation for one farmer to sell at a lower price in order to dispose of his product, which had opened the way for the dealers to beat down the prices. The Niagara Frontier and Rochester areas were joined, and in 1938 they arrived at the first Milk Marketing Order. Since that time there has been little difficulty arriving at prices that have been generally accepted.

Other benefits have accrued, such as provision of money for advertising purposes that have also clearly been a source of profit by expanding consumption. The flexibility of the arrangement furnished reasons for complying, since obvious misbalances could be ended by the Commissioner, and each new order has had to be approved by two-thirds of the participating farmers. It has proved to be impossible to raise prices above economic levels, for outside of the area covered by the Market Order—which includes eleven of Erie County towns and all of Niagara County—there are farmers eager to ship milk into the area. At the outset there was substantial agreement among the dairymen of the Niagara Frontier, 3300 of 3500 voting for the draft of the marketing order. They had been organized into eight cooperative groups and extensive debates went on among

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them, so there was small chance of upsets through ignorance or lack of consideration. The top price of the first order ranged between $2.85 and $2.45.

In the recollection of many farmers active at present, the period when the Depression was ending and the second World War was beginning represented something of a peak in Erie County agriculture. The long struggle to make ends meet had sharpened farm practice even though there was not enough capital available to make the best of the opportunities, and in some lines production peaks were being reached. This was notably true in the small fruits that the farmers in Brant township had increased to the point that they could claim that they were the center of the nation for raspberries and strawberries, while certain vegetables and the larger fruits were likewise major sources of income, or at least of satisfaction in accomplishment. Farmers were beginning to think of cooperative canning-factory arrangements to lighten their problems of marketing as well as to claim all possible profit for themselves; potato growers had, by 1938, set up a grading station on the Yates farm in Orchard Park, milk producers were feeling some complacence about their level of efficiency, and the Buffalo-centered Producers Cooperative Commission Association was both urging state aid for a developing meat-animal industry and organizing cooperative sales arrangements. On every side there was evidence that there was to be no slackening in agricultural efforts.

As could be expected because of its economic importance, dairy production improvement efforts were among the best documented of all these attempts at efficiency. In the state as a whole, dairy products amounted to about a half of farm receipts, and the situation was not materially different in Erie County, so whatever was done to improve dairy work was correspondingly important. Cow testing and dairy herd improvement had been one of the constants in the Farm Bureau and Extension program, as we have seen. Toward the end of the 1920's it began to be difficult to carry it on as vigorously as farm demand would have it because personnel was hard to get. Once the Depression descended this ceased to trouble but dairymen naturally questioned any extra expenditures when milk was bringing them less than three cents a quart. Nevertheless, work continued and there was even a development to a more thorough dairy records club.

By 1936, it had become plain to breeders and Experiment Station staffs alike that progress in breeding was to be for some time at least, since the science of genetics had not yet uncovered the mysteries of the genes, a matter of simple trial and error. If an animal bred true to his type he was to be employed to produce another generation. The only way to find this out was to raise the progeny of a bull and try them out at the milk pail. This long and expensive procedure was carried out by cattle breeders' clubs, the Guernsey breeders being first with a bull that seemed to furnish daughters consistently better than their dams, the Holstein breeders following shortly, both in 1936. The prospect of certain improvement brought a sharp increase in the numbers of those participating. Soon there were three full Herd Improvement Associations, the same number as in the 1920's, but with the difference that they could now exhibit greatly increased production figures. By 1940 they were satisfied that their methods were satisfactory. By this means the great bloodlines developed on the Yates farm at Orchard Park, for example, were extended and made widely available, culminating in a great proved bull bred by Harry Yates but owned by Fred Handy of Lancaster, Prince Wesley Posch. The Posch line had earlier been recognized in the national publication of the Holstein breeders. By 1941, the Dairy Records Club of Erie County was the largest in the state.

It is not surprising that war demand was met easily and smoothly so far as Erie County farm resources could go. With the sudden reversal of market conditions capital was now freely available, but labor was correspondingly scarce with the result that a new farm technology burst into flower. Subjects for discussion in *Farm Bureau News* in 1946 differed greatly from prewar concerns. After years of lavish efforts to raise production while dispensing with excess labor, the farmer apparently now wanted to hear only about power-driven hoists for feeds,

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ventilation systems, power-operated hayrakes, hybrid seeds, disease control in poultry, airplane dusting of crops, spray weeding, rubber-covered baskets, and innumerable other new methods. Programs for support of prices were still a hot issue, further extension services were eagerly accepted, and radio procedures occupied extension agents. Perhaps even more impressive evidences of the great change were the discussions of Blue Cross protection on the farm and income tax considerations. And among the technical traits that introduced a new sort of world, artificial breeding cannot be ignored.

The Farm Bureau remained the directing force, and its handling of the many problems posed by these astonishing technical changes was bold and assured. The extension service possessed vastly increased resources as a result of lavish appropriations from Federal and State authorities concerned with the pressing needs of war demands, and in the years to come there was less and less difficulty in finding research and teaching help for what might seem hopelessly complex new methods to be explained, demonstrated, and repeatedly checked in operation on the farms. Quite contrary to any such assumption of difficulties, the officers of the Farm Bureau agreed with their agents, who numbered five shortly after the close of the war, on new procedures based on fewer, larger, and more thoroughly planned meetings.

Gone were the frequent casual demonstration gatherings in the fields and the small lecture audiences brought to hear standard presentations by traveling instructors. Committees representing specialized farms considered their problems and resources, selecting topics that could profitably be emphasized in the meetings. For example, in 1948, the vegetable specialists of Brant and Eden were to learn the latest methods of disease control, chemical weeding, organic fertilizing and many new varieties of plants. Schools were arranged for both areas, which considered also practical proposals for greenhouse soil, sterilization services, and tomato spray groups. They were well aware that the sharp increases in such crops during the war had made special difficulties in disease control, quality of production, and labor procurement. Other farm groups followed the same general pattern in employing the extension services. They accepted the responsibility for determining their needs and thus greatly simplified their informants' tasks.

The Bureau had been fortunate also in acquiring the County Agent who has had the longest tenure of any since its inception. John A. Birkland joined the staff of agents as an assistant for farm labor in 1943, left for service in the Navy after organizing offices to care for the labor problem, returning as Assistant County Agent in 1946 and succeeding to the chief post in 1947. His term has been marked by unusual successes both in developing the extension service and in contributing to its accomplishments. Soon after taking over he began to work for a better center for farm services. Merging the Buffalo and Erie County Home Bureau with the Farm Bureau was a step toward purchase of an adequate building, but there was a delay while the Home Bureau officers were persuaded to agree to the building which seemed the most desirable, which was the central structure in the Roycroft complex in East Aurora. In 1952, this was acquired, the County Board of Supervisors provided $25,000 toward the cost and 4,000 donors brought the total to about $85,000. Dean W. I. Myers of the Cornell College of Agriculture gave the dedicatory address in 1953, remarking that he believed the center to be the best in the nation for its purpose.

This success was followed immediately by a revolutionary change in organization dictated by national political considerations. This was a demand that the Farm Bureau be separated from the Extension Service, the Bureau to become a private organization and the Service just as purely a public group. Although at times there had been complaints about the mingling of public and private operations in New York (Niagara County had once refused an appropriation on these grounds but had later resumed when private interests kept things going), there was no considerable dissatisfaction and the state remained one of two in the nation to retain this arrangement when in 1954 the Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Taft Benson, was known to be preparing an order requiring the separation. New York hesitated no longer and consoled itself by acknowledging the force of arguments from H. E. Babcock and other leaders, dating from 1942 and earlier, that to secure the complete independence of the state extension services from federal interference there should be a divorce of private and public elements. This was arranged in Erie County with complete success, if reluctantly in view of the long tradition of good service under the illogical old mixture of public and private. Agent Birkland organized a voluntary association to support the Extension Service, immediately enlisting over 2,000 members who paid annual dues of $5, and he used his influence to aid the Farm Bureau to set up as a political and social arm of the agricultural population. The Farm and Home Center remained in the possession of the reorganized extension association, and the Farm Bureau operated in offices within it. Birkland also exerted himself to maintain close cooperative activities to keep farm interests united in essentials, also with complete success. The new Farm Bureau promptly grew to operable size in spite of the $20 dues that its new conditions occasioned.

In the midst of this, Birkland found the energy to turn his own efforts largely to the problem of farm management. He proposed a more intensive approach to the subject, to be more than a casual treatment incidental to recommendations on technical matters.

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Noting that managerial skill could be acquired by education, he urged farmers to observe the startling differences in labor efficiency if measured by production alone. He proposed to help in this beneficent sort of learning by on-farm counseling, and soon was closely and continuously counseling twenty families. This was a shrewd recognition of the nature of the times, which was in agriculture hardly more than constant incitement to the sharpening of wits. The technological avalanche made anything less than a broad comprehension of technology a delusive nuisance, since one could so easily accept and adopt an advance in a machine or a process that would almost immediately be far surpassed by something still better, and the better thing so much better that a competitor possessing it would hold a decisive advantage.

At the same time market conditions rigorously penalized every misjudgment, for prices steadily declined in most lines of production while costs rose almost as steadily. Birkland accepted the challenge of this situation and set out soberly to persuade his clients to acquire the habits of study, rumination, and judgment that would qualify them as managers in whose hands their very large investments might be safe, finding the chief obstacle to the adoption of such habits to be the farmers' conventional laboriousness. Birkland's advice has been that the manager must avoid unimaginative doses of mere physical activity disguised as work done to still his conscience.

Owner-managers whom the extension service has thus tried to assist will testify strongly as to the seriousness of the problems they have faced. Dairy farmers have perhaps faced the least intractable of these postwar problems, having a fairly stable price to deal with and possessing excellent tools for reducing their costs in artificial breeding, by which all herds could have access to the best in dairy bloodlines. This began in 1941 with the North Erie Association, its officers being James and Wesley Handy of Lancaster and Marilla, and Henry Fleischman of East Aurora. These men were largely responsible for pioneering the practices. A second association was organized in southern Erie County and had similar successes; in both many cows reached the highly desired class of the producer of 400 pounds of butterfat annually, and there began to be herds made up entirely of artificially bred individuals.

Coupled with the new machines, which included barn cleaners, milking arrangements in which the milk never came into sight of or was handled by the farmer, and powerful tractors for field work, production continued to rise as physical effort went down. Disease control added its bit, the scourge of tuberculosis having been ended in the 1920's and Brucellosis following to its end in the 1950's, both successes contributing to human health as well as reducing farm losses. There was, of course, careful watching of the market for price fluctuations, and there has developed a formidable apparatus to keep track of it, but there is little doubt that dairymen will know how to preserve their interests. If prices continue even a mild increase, such as to rise from $5 for Class I in 1946 to $6 in 1967, the worsening in terms of costs can be met.

It has not been so easy in truck farming. Not only have price declines steadily mopped up the advantages of every advance in machine equipment, but labor problems have reduced many operators to a condition of misery and resignation. As soon as machine picking of snap beans became practical, prices descended from 7¢ to about 4¢ a pound. Veteran growers recall 1920 prices fondly; beets might produce as much as $25 a ton in those bygone days, far more than they will now command. In spite of gallant efforts to contribute to stability of markets by setting up cooperative canning factories (County Agent H. L. Page actually resigned in 1943 to manage a canning plant for a North Collins growers' group) this has been the history for most products in the fruit and vegetable market.

The market has been immensely complicated also by the development of the chain grocery store, which has left nothing but giants in the field—or nearly nothing. The consequence for the grower is that he is no longer a viable marketing unit and must combine with others, not to attempt price domination of the market, but merely to be able to offer enough produce to attract the

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attention of buyers, who must assemble carload quantities to satisfy the demands of his gigantic chains of stores. If they are not easily forthcoming he will look elsewhere, and if prices are unreasonable he will do the same, and anyone who has seen the shipping docks of railroads in such areas as the Rio Grande Valley of Texas, where a pile of carrots may be ten feet high, the same wide, and four city blocks long, will know where the buyers may go with every prospect of success.

The cooperative Eden Valley Growers Association was formed just to be able to deal with the only buyers who are absolutely necessary to their prosperity, for direct marketing at the roadside or in small specialty grocery stores (admirable as they are but minute in numbers) absorbs a very small proportion of what is produced in the soil belt mentioned above. Elsewhere even the most staid and successful of farmers note that the difficulties of dealing with chain stores include the willingness of an occasional buyer to evade his agreements on factitious claims of inadequate quality when he finds himself over-bought, although food brokers have taken care to install a code of ethics and a committee of enforcement—a precaution that suggests that there was indeed a problem for sellers. Even cooperative canning ventures, successful as they have been, have assisted more by other virtues than their effect in controlling the markets. Considerable proportions of the produce of many Brant and Eden farms go to such factories for processing, but this is still a very small part of the total national product.

New York's advantage lies in the excellent flavors in fruits and vegetables grown in moderate temperatures and near-ideal moisture supplies (now often enough guaranteed by irrigation) and these farm-owned factories have achieved something of value by preserving high quality in their products. Pro-Fac's "Blue Boy" label has won regard in this respect. This is a cooperative begun under the auspices of the Grange-League-Federation Exchange, which found a company ready to sell out, and organized the Pro-Fac company to operate it for farmers, who have found it advantageous to themselves. The high quality product of the Green Giant Company, another farm cooperative, testifies to the advanced thinking of the farmers in other areas, although Erie County farmers also sell to them at times.

But these problems, partly solved as they may be, have been of minor importance compared to the difficulty of recruiting labor in sufficient numbers. Some retired farmers whose experience closed within recent years never experienced serious restrictions in this regard, but the difficulty seems to be growing as the people of Erie County and New York State at large seem unable to accept the condition of migratory labor in their midst. This particular problem is of very recent origin, for until the close of World War II it was possible to employ recent immigrants from the population of the city of Buffalo to harvest these troublesome crops. Many Italian families have labored long and hard—and unanimously—in the fields of Brant and Eden to win their economic foothold here, and they are remembered with admiration in those areas. They were joined by Polish people who won a share in this regard, the women continuing until the war to be a mainstay in the small fruit harvest. But they no longer show any interest, no doubt from having gained industrial and professional skills that are better rewarded, and the black people who have inherited their place at the bottom of Erie County's economic ladder also show restricted interest even though the pay is no longer necessarily the poorest to be found, but in fact more than acceptable, as a glance at a grower's timebook will quickly convince one.

Growers fell back on Puerto Ricans as the last alternative, building the huts necessary for their summer's encampment and year by year improving them under the demands of State Labor Department inspectors and with the humiliating goads of politicians who accused them of inhumanity and even brother farmers who felt revulsion at the conditions. Many are inclined to surrender to these pressures, no doubt sharing the American distaste for improvised living arrangements and unsettled existence, and likewise seeing that the end of Americans' willingness to work on the knees along the rows, and the stopping of Mexican export of *bracero* labor, presage the end of this sort of production here. Some, indeed, declare their opinion that foodstuffs not capable of machine production will soon be entirely imported, and these are closing up truck enterprises that have flourished for generations, taking up instead the raising of corn, which is entirely mechanized—with exceptions in favor of snap beans and grapes, which also can now be harvested by a machine. Root crops such as beets and carrots can be similarly handled, and more may find their way onto this list, but often only for those rare large areas enjoying completely uniform conditions of climate and soil that guarantee the ripening of an economic proportion of a crop at a given moment, for the machines do not distinguish ripe from unripe. Western New York seldom affords such conditions in large tracts, and there is strong competition from the Midwest and the Far West, the latter particularly blessed with the needed climatic uniformity.

These areas, most notably the Eden, Orchard Park, and West Seneca vegetable farms, are also close to the growing menace of the expanding suburbs. Owners there are calculating on the outcome of a competition between themselves and real estate promoters for control, and the farmers realize that steadily mounting values can be fatal to farming. These areas are smaller than they may appear to the casual motorist. The Eden gravelly soil region lies along Highway 62, but about 1500 feet to either side is

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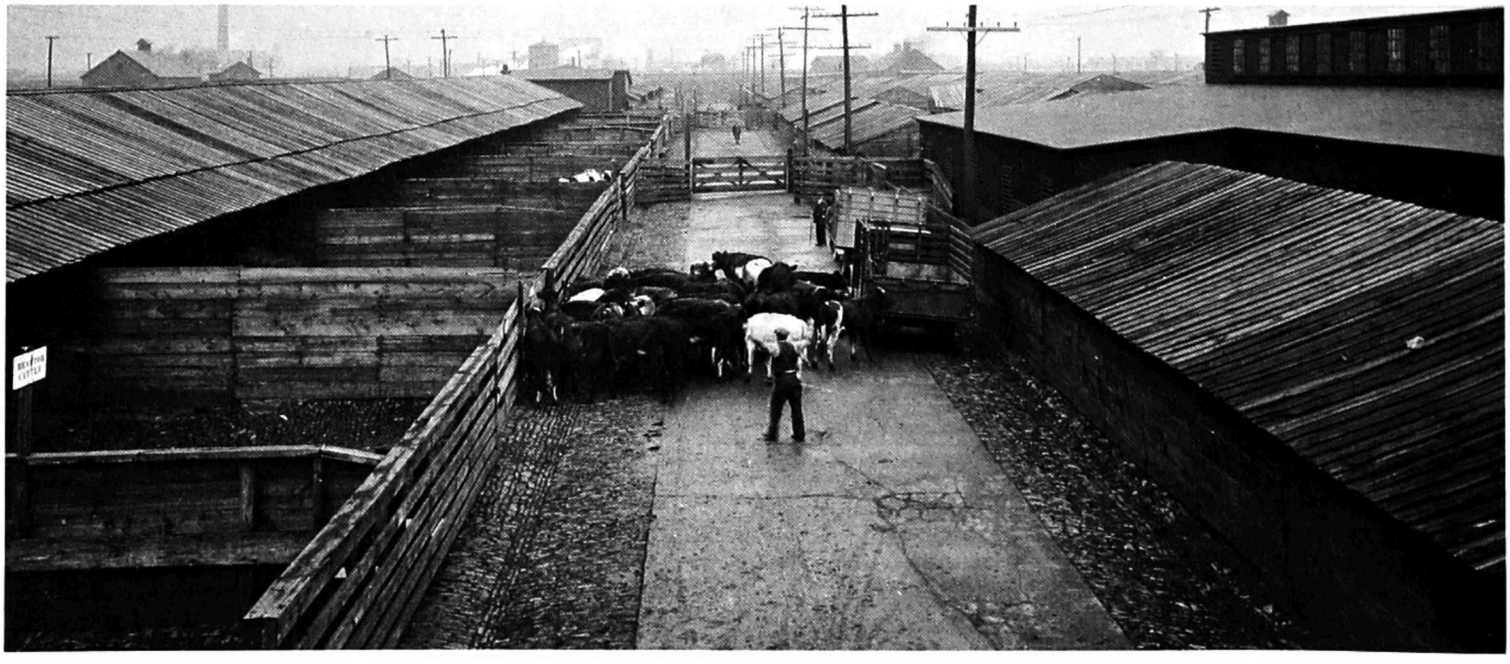
its limit, and the total acreage is 1200 to 1500. This can soon be nibbled away until even mass marketing will not be enough to provide its markets adequately, and the end will be in sight, as some owners think will happen. Elsewhere in the county, even in dairy areas, the same sort of thing has occurred, so that the interest of most of these farmers in the future of the suburban belt appears most justified. That they are interested is undoubted, even when their farm operations appear to be in full swing. Some of them note that their real profits consist of unearned increments being piled up by real estate speculation as the subdivider begins to think of their area. Others have watched the changes until they cannot imagine that there will be any halting of the process of the city's expansion.

One farmer in Clarence can recall in his active farming operation of about 20 years, the disappearance of chicken raising (a neighbor does all of this, keeping 24,000 laying hens), his concentration of truck farming to the raising of cabbages all of which are marketed in Georgia and Alabama, and the enlargement of his dairying to economic size (by traditional standards a very large size) in spite of the disappearance of milk production except for his own and three or four other neighbors'. That he has not expanded dairying entirely satisfactorily to himself has been the consequence of those beneficent federal soil conservation practices which have been noticed above. Most of his neighbors, working farms settled about 1830, and therefore too small, gave up when they were offered the chance to put their land in the "soil bank" established by the Soil Conservation Administration to prevent uneconomic use and the consequent wasting of national soil resources. Owners receive interest on a reasonable valuation plus taxes, which leaves them free to take other work while getting without risk, something like their net farm income. So many took advantage of this in Clarence that it is impossible for the ambitious operator to create the dairy units of a size to be thoroughly profitable. In Clarence, the result of suburban building and soil bank acceptances has been to reduce farm families from a total of 250 in 1940 to a current 17, plus a few part-time operations. This is a township in which 85% of the land is still open. The nearby towns of Amherst and Grand Island are similarly placed, with no dairying and only a few grain, fruit, or truck operators.

The situation has generated an interest that is far more than casual among the affected farmers, some of whom serve on local planning boards. Their intent is to avoid a destructive transition, if the end of farming is forced. This seems far from the time when city dwellers benevolently sought from personal interest to assist the schemes of rural education, they perhaps also dimly realized that they were about to receive a mass of migrants from the country as the need for labor on the farm was reduced. A great benefit has accrued in the reconciliation of rural and urban interests, both groups thinking of society in terms of business production and careful management, and neither any longer much aware of the always dubious contrast of country "hick" and city "slicker." When the farm family is now surveyed the conclusions are very simple: in educational opportunity the countryside equals the city; transportation is equally available; electric power is found everywhere; and corporations have few special advantages in farming. No one will quarrel with the conclusion that the growth of farm efficiency is one of the miracles of the century.

Buffalo stock yards



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XII. Manufacturing— in the Age of Research

Through the decade following World War I the industries of the city of Buffalo made steady gains, and we know that prosperity and expansion were also the rule in the surrounding area of Erie County. The following table, which includes figures from both Erie and Niagara Counties under the Census Bureau's redesignation, suggests this steadiness in the development of the great basic industries which were also the basis of most of the area's manufactures.

Despite the solidity of the achievements represented by these figures—which the wary will correct for price inflation and for the distortions produced by changes in the manner of calculating and reporting—Buffalo business leaders were somewhat unhappy. They were looking not only at the satisfactory results of "business as usual" following the stimulation of war orders, but also at what the competition was doing. The competition of most interest to Buffalo was that provided by Cleveland and Detroit, both of which had by 1920 clearly surpassed Buffalo in business activity and, as a consequence, in population. Business leaders set about during the mid-twenties to reorganize the Chamber of Commerce so that it might provide leadership to move Buffalo again toward the van of the cities of the Great Lakes.

Value Added By Manufacture (In $1000s)

	1909[3]	1914[3]	1919	1929
All industries	82,266	89,520	233,789	280,173
Iron & steel			6,615	9,495
Motor vehicles (bodies, parts)	2,396[1]	831	3,788	25,518[2]
Flour & grain	2,472	3,032	7,190	10,994
Foundry & machine shop	11,894	12,575	19,552	21,644
Printing	5,324	7,029	6,732	15,732[3]

[1] Includes automobiles.
[2] Industrial area, but all produced in Buffalo city.
[3] Estimates.

This reorganization meant the raising of members' dues, increasing the membership, and revising the Bylaws so that the Chamber's activities could be heightened; it also entailed facing the realities of a situation that most people regarded as unsatisfactory. Buffalo paused for a close look at the differences between it and its two close rivals, and this was the nettle grasped by the new president of the Chamber, Lewis G. Harriman of the Manufacturers and Traders Bank, who undertook to handle it once the plans had been well advanced among the Chamber's leaders. Harriman firmly rejected the notion that Buffalo should avoid making comparisons, since they were now proving useful. Harriman pointed out that a vigorous Chamber of Commerce was an important part in the rise of such cities as Cleveland and Detroit, and he argued that Buffalo should not only profit by their example, but should set its standards from them. The final issue, March 1927, of the Chamber's older monthly publication, *Buffalo Live Wire,* set forth in detail all of the matters for comparison. The following month the magazine became known as the *Buffalo Journal of Commerce,* a dignity in keeping with its firmer purpose. Samuel B. Botsford succeeded as general manager in May.

Even before this revival the Chamber had commenced a sober appraisal of the situation in manufacturing, a study that continued for some time. In 1926 an article in the *Live Wire* had reviewed the history of the Acme Shale Brick Company, a firm located 12 miles southwest of the city on stone that furnished raw material for the forty million bricks the company was capable of producing in a year. It had twice enlarged its plant in recent years and had added facilities to produce building tile. The Buffalo Forge Company reported its continuing interest in air conditioning. Bethlehem Steel Company rather overwhelmed even its sophisticated audience by reciting the tale of its investments since it purchased Lackawanna Steel Company in 1922: $40 million expended upon new works, and a model town erected within the city of Lackawanna. Its annual capacity of 1,644,000 tons made Bethlehem Steel the second largest steel producer in the nation. Its newly designed, electric-driven main rolling mill had cost $11 million. The Pierce-Arrow motor company was at its peak of fame and its officers could evince pride in its swift rise and in a payroll that for five years had exceeded $6 million.

The DuPont Company, continuing the Chamber's survey, had opened its Buffalo operations some years before and was now on the verge

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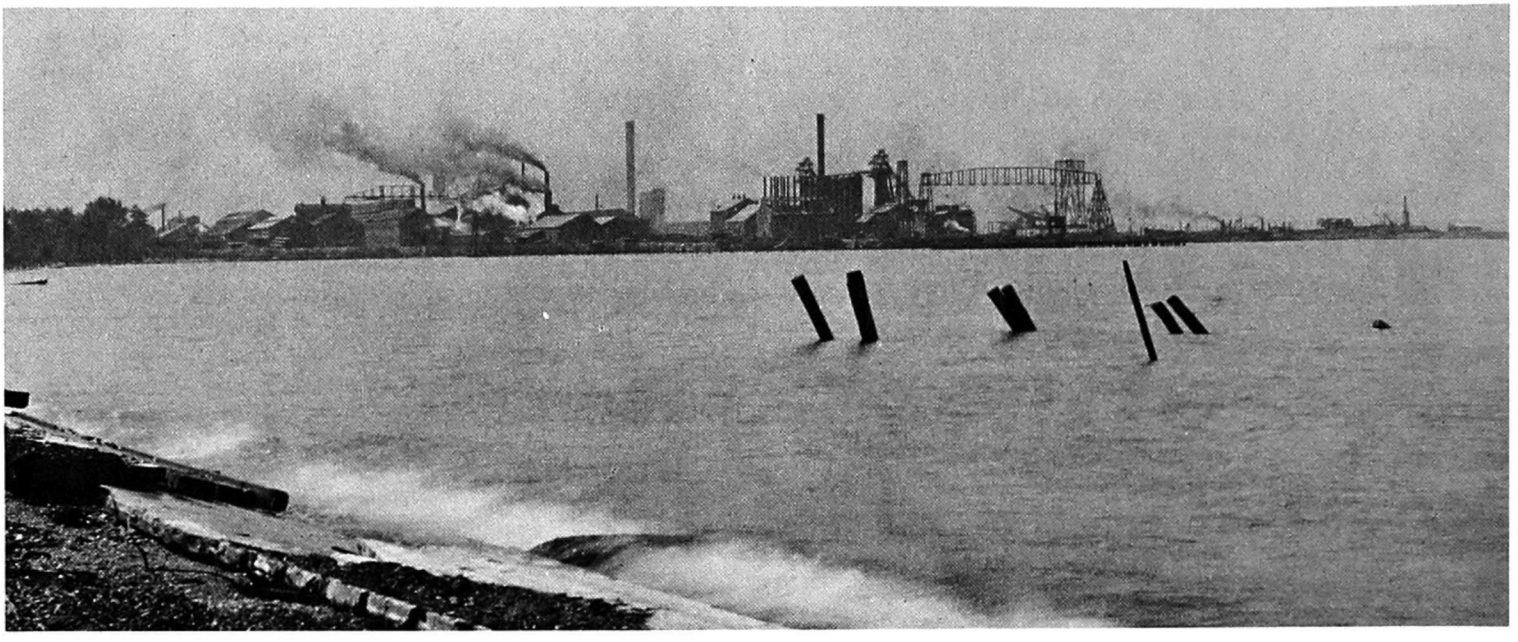


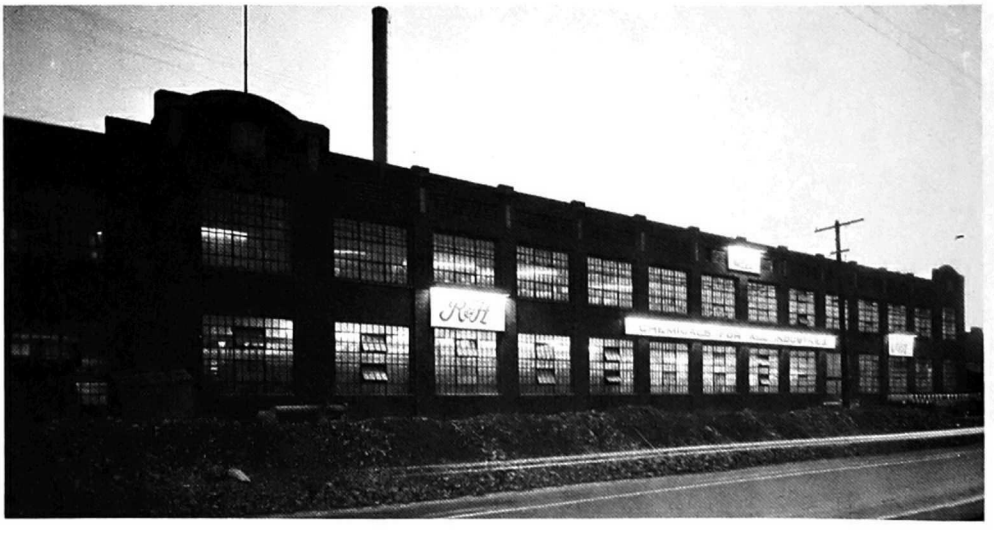
Lackawanna Steel Co.

of great commercial success with its rayon and cellophane products. This line had had its inception with French patents and was now developing in its Buffalo laboratories the products shortly to be familiar to everyone. Dunlop's manager, Edward B. Germain, was still congratulating his company on having in 1919 selected Buffalo for producing its rubber products—water supplies, power, climate, labor market, and sales opportunities all suiting this industry. Even so minor an industry as the manufacture of furniture yielded a happy picture of Buffalo enterprise. Twenty-nine plants employed two thousand workers with an $8 million annual product; the leading names were Kittinger, Sikes, Hard, Heywood-Wakefield, and Steul. Indeed, readers learned that New York led all states in the production of wooden household furniture, that Kittinger was famous for period furniture, and that Cutler desks had been made for 104 years in Buffalo. Several other local firms were both capable and active.

As the postwar boom in the national economy continued, Buffalo's manufacturing segment expanded. A new industry appeared in 1927 when two manufacturers of portland cement set their kilns going. The *Journal of Commerce* a little sourly commented that this was an industry that should have long previously discovered Buffalo's special advantages. Nevertheless there was no doubt of a welcome for the Great Lakes Portland Cement Company's capacity of 7,000 barrels a day or for the Federal Portland Cement Company's 4,000. The Huron Portland Cement Company was meanwhile constructing a plant to bag bulk cement from its Alpena, Michigan, plant. Altogether the year 1927, beginning the Chamber's increased efforts, yielded an addition of 42 manufacturers, each of which had been in touch with it. The most rapid growth was noticed in flour milling, the International and Standard companies being new to Buffalo, and in wallboard, whose great names, National Gypsum and Certain-teed, were also among the greatest in the country. Chemicals and aircraft also showed great promise of growth.

Many long established plants were also flourishing in 1928. The American Radiator Company quietly noted its forty-fifth anniversary and with satisfaction related its

DuPont Chemicals



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growth into one of the largest firms of its kind by its insistence on selling its radiators and boilers direct to steamfitters able to install them instead of sending out factory crews. This encouraged the development of local agencies and guaranteed continuous efforts to distribute its products. It was already sounding a note that was to become insistent in every branch of manufacturing when it boasted of its considerable expenditures in research, largely aimed at reduction of costs. In this same year the Atterbury Company, a producer of trucks, observed its twenty-fifth anniversary. G. W. Atterbury had been employed by the Westinghouse Company but had broken away to build electric vehicles. It was not long before he, as designer, builder, and salesman for his own company, had joined the movement to gasoline engines. His specialty was a high quality truck comparable to the Pierce-Arrow among cars.

About the same time two companies began manufacturing gasoline engines that had by 1928 demonstrated their value. Charles A. Criqui of the Sterling Engine Company expressed the enthusiasm of a yachtsman as well as a capable engineer, and his marine engines were the first to achieve 60 mile-per-hour speeds in the water. They were also the first built with eight cylinders in line and with counterbalanced crankshafts. Likewise interested in marine engines but also developing heavy engines for such tasks as oil drilling was the Buffalo Gasolene Motor Company. Both were large, employed workers by the hundred, and were apparently growing.

The special interests of those examining the Buffalo industrial scene begins to be a little plainer as the gasoline engine comes to the fore, and all is dazzlingly clear when the care and enthusiasm devoted to aviation becomes plain. Building an airport for the new airmail and commercial airline services was one of the projects the Chamber of Commerce continually stressed, and the industrial stirrings to revive aircraft construction were watched closely. During World War I Buffalo had become the site of the gigantic Glenn Curtiss enterprise which was established in the great factory building on Elmwood Avenue north of Hertel. The sudden and unexpected war demands had strained the resources of Buffalo, but the job had been done and aviation was continuing at a modest and tentative pace while everyone tried to guess what kind of a future it might have. Consolidated Aircraft Company had moved into the city in 1924, as had the Hall Aluminum Aircraft Company, which made all-metal planes. G. Elias and Brother had been producing planes since 1919, General Airplanes Corporation was active, and the Irving Air Chute Company had already begun its long career. As yet there was little to be said for aviation from a strictly economic standpoint, for there were nothing but problems for the

Curtiss Wright Corp.

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men who were at that moment putting their energies into it and comparatively few businessmen had the faith of these pioneers. Buffalo was nevertheless well established in the business and had few rivals.

This pleasant picture did not unroll without interruption. The most thorough interruption was that which ensued on the heels of the stock market panic at the end of 1929. The decline in purchasing power caused by sudden appalling paper losses, added to pressures from the already puny purchasing power of the rural population (caused by earlier declines in agricultural prices) started a devastating cycle of reductions in business activities on all fronts. The subsequent story in the country at large is one of trying to maintain reasonably stable social arrangements, with the strictly economic problems somehow being lost in fright and hysteria. Extension from 1929 to 1939 of the earlier figures of industrial production tells a grim story. The total of value added in all manufacturing fell in a decade from $280 million to less than $198 million. The sensitive sector of machine production for future manufacturing was down to little over half, $11.5 million compared to $21.5 million. Motor vehicle bodies and parts were beginning by 1939 to show the effects of orders for a new war and actually rose over the decade from around $25 million to close to $35 million. The steady shift of the milling industry to Buffalo continued, as people continued to eat bread. Flour production rose from $11 million in 1929 to $16 million in 1939.

Other cities had worse troubles than Buffalo although here the descent was sharp and decisive. It began with a fading of employment in March 1929 and showed a decline of 18.2% between 1930 and 1931; the following year there was a further drop of 25.1%. During these two years steel production fell 31% and 48%, industrial electric power 25.8% and 30.3%. By 1932, however, things definitely began to improve, and there was no collapse of banks such as shook so many communities and necessitated a national bank closing in 1933. In that year there were still some declines among various indicators of Buffalo business activities, but steel production rose an astonishing 61.9%, and other businesses followed slowly. The worst was over. In 1934 several companies increased their work forces, Birge by 57%, and employment generally was up by 19%. The 1938 recession was slightly felt, but there was a decided surge upward in 1939 as the war clouds gathered. Total production value in 1939 nearly equalled that of 1929.

International Milling

Retrospectively there is little to criticize about the spirit with which the city endured hardships and prepared for better days. The boom of the twenties had faded with the aviation show of March 1929 while people were still repeating the figures of how much the Curtiss Airplane & Motor Company had meant to Buffalo: $36 million spent during its first dozen years. Such figures were scarce thereafter although Ford Motor Car Company provided a momen-

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tary upswing in 1931 by erecting a plant costing $4 million. When Consolidated Aircraft moved to Los Angeles in 1935, Lawrence Bell and other Buffalo men set up another company to carry on. In almost the twinkling of an eye, this company became a giant.

Despite the idleness of a decade, Buffalo and Erie County proved ready when World War II created new demand. The Curtiss-Wright Corporation, warned in 1940 that much would be required, found its plant almost immediately overloaded with war work. Therefore in November construction was begun on a new plant that began operations in August of 1941—and was thus in production of the P-40 on the date of Pearl Harbor. This plant comprised 1.5 million square feet of floor space and by December of 1944 it could close production of the P-40 on the round total of 15,000. Bell had in the meantime built a plant that produced 10,000 P-39's and built the first American jet plane.

War orders to Buffalo plants amounted to $200 million early in 1941; by September $800 million, of which Curtiss-Wright held $332 million and Bell half that amount. In a little over three years beginning mid-1940, well over $3,700 million in contracts were placed by the government on the Niagara Frontier, and it has been estimated that subcontracts undertaken by both greater and lesser plants amounted to as much again. Payrolls and business indexes leaped upward at the rate of a quarter to a half in a single year; relief cases diminished with equal rapidity; and the only gloomy note to be found in the new magazine of the Chamber of Commerce, *Buffalo Business,* was the fact that the stupendous quantity of aircraft production was actually exceeded in another area—Los Angeles.

This skyrocketing of prosperity was exhilarating compared to the Depression, but it is somehow robbed of a perfect effect by the fact that the display was provided by

the nation from desperate necessity. Such satisfaction that remains comes from full realization that Buffalo's startling eruption of munitions was prepared by decades of hard work in the development of mills and other facilities of production. Old friends whose names are now historic appear in the recital of astonishing new discoveries. Pratt & Letchworth had cast steel for many years and now found their product useful, not only for large machine parts, but for carefully shaped pieces that served as well as armor plate on tanks. Buffalo Forge built ventilation equipment for fighting ships; Worthington turned out diesel engines for them and for many other uses; Lake Erie Engineering Company made larger and larger presses (some weighing 500 tons and in shipment occupying eight flatcars) to shape the pieces that made up warplanes; Farrell-Birmingham and Oliver made the gears and J. H. Williams the multitude of forgings for planes, vehicles, and vessels. Dozens of others in positions of equal importance could be named, for in the midst of the war effort the Chamber of Commerce counted 640 war plants in the area.

Another new aspect of industrial production that was forced to the front by the war emergency was the place of schools in the manufacturing complex, an aspect that had been realized by many and had at times been cordially recognized even when educators were making budget requests. As there had also been cold and reasoned opposition, Buffalo adult classes were little encouraged or expanded during the Depression, nor were the vocational schools in flourishing condition. Now, in the face of war demands, it was all too plain that skilled workers were in as short supply as almost everything else. The Chamber of Commerce took the lead in organizing the needed revival so successfully that within four years, beginning in July of 1940, the schools, the University of Buffalo, Cornell University, and the National Youth Administration had given production training to 85,109 adults; of these, 2,439 were sent to school by the Bell Aircraft Corporation alone. At times the pressure was so intense for trained or semitrained workers that the school facilities, so prudently preserved from wear during the Depression, were in operation 24 hours a day. At the same time, the University trained hundreds in engineering and management courses.

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Much that took place in Erie County factories during the war was classified as secret, and no doubt there are some things that still are. Among the items that were released was the success of a National Aniline scientist, L. H. Flett, in producing a new household cleaner made from petroleum, which made it possible to withhold edible fats from the soap vat, petroleum being in far greater supply than foods. The new products that resulted from war's necessities, make interesting reading. Such a list of products associated with area companies was printed by *Buffalo Business* in 1947 and is engaging in its variety. Linde Air Products was now offering artificially grown crystals of sapphire and ruby—a real necessity for instrument bearings because of war scarcities; American Optical led off a formidable series of new instruments with a phase microscope; Rich Products Corporation had made whipped cream from soybean oil; Wiesner-Rapp machines had developed a continuous bleaching process for textiles; Pierce & Stevens, a hot spray lacquer to hasten furniture finishing; Speedway Conveyors, a great variety of materials-handling systems; Scott Aviation Corporation, portable air supplies to be worn on the back; Morrison Steel Products, furnaces of light steel as Buffalo Gasolene Motor Company had engines of welded steel; Hewitt-Robins, foam rubber for furniture use; what was then an obscure plastics company, Sterilon, made plastic watch straps and had developed techniques to make plastics serve medically in new ways; Wurlitzer was making vending machines; American Machine and Foundry moved to Buffalo to make an automatic pinspotter for bowling alleys; several companies had new varieties of insulating materials; American Magnesium Company could now cast that touchy metal; and Remington Rand had more new products than would be practical to list. No list such as this can be considered exhaustive, however.

The appraisals that followed the close of the war were judicious and considerate, as though the survivors were surveying a new world. Some items, such as Westinghouse's move of its motor manufacturing division into the old Curtiss-Wright plant early in 1946, were relatively uncomplicated. As a very large line of motors was to be produced—up to 400 horsepower and of the latest designs including sealed bearings—this was a large operation. The manufacture of a few other items was also to occupy some of the tremendous floor space available.

The Buffalo Electro-Chemical Company had been developed from its own laboratories during the period between the wars when Charles A. Buerk realized the need for higher concentrations of oxygen bleaches in many processes. He procured a German patent through the agency of the Alien Property Custodian—a link with World War I—and found capital in Germany and Switzerland (where he also recruited technicians like Dr. Max E. Bretschger and Louis Wirth) which allowed him to begin the manufacture of highly concentrated hydrogen peroxide by 1937. Thus, in World War II when the armed forces began to make anxious inquiries whether a 90% concentration could be produced in the foreseeable future, Becco, as the firm is familiarly known, was already producing it. Hydrogen peroxide of this concentration had many other uses, including a byproduct essential to the making of some types of artificial rubber, also valuable to the military effort.

Other chemical companies had just as adroitly provided needed new processes, such as DuPont laboratories' capping of Becco's rubber-compounding chemical with the type of rayon that made the artificial product practical for tires, even if they did not have quite the same air of having sprung full-grown from the brow of their organizer. Other companies, like Lucidol and Durez, of the same vintage as Becco, were also revealed to be of mature accomplishment, the former with organic peroxides and the latter with a very widely used plastic. Nor were older establishments found wanting. Spencer Kellogg contributed food and drying oils from soybeans, and National Aniline (now a division of Allied Chemical) detergents and a quinine substitute as well as many other essentials.

Some months later reconsideration of the chemical industry brought many additions to light without giving any impression that all of its mysteries were revealed or all of its achievements recounted. In DuPont's Yerkes plant, where cellophane had come to maturity with the invention of a moistureproof type, there were now 2,800 employees. Durez revealed that it had in 1936 conquered its problems through refinancing, the adoption of the name Durez Plastics and Chemicals, and the purchase of a new German-invented process for the production of phenol. The date 1936 is to be noted as another example of the quickness with which Buffalo had effectively countered the blows of economic depression. Linde, although still pleased over having replaced lost supplies of jewels with artificial sapphires, was more interested in its advancement in methods of supplying oxygen, now demanded in huge quantities for steelmaking. Two new procedures resulted, the distribution of liquid oxygen at very low temperatures, and the sale and erection of complete on-site oxygen-separating plants. Nukem, also founded in the twenties, had a large business in membranes and coatings. The gigantic Allied Chemicals listed 1,500 products—acids, heavy chemicals, dyes, intermediate pharmaceuticals, and detergents. Their production had recently demanded the construction of new buildings at a cost of $20 - 30 million. A new company, O-Cel-O, was busy introducing its brand of artificial sponges, made possible by the invention and high production in Buffalo of a basic chemical. Almost unnoticed, but more characteristic of Niagara Frontier industry than the overwhelmingly

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large plants, was the Gardiner Manufacturing Company whose steady production of sodium hydrochloride for use as a cleaner and disinfectant was marketed under the brand name "101." This company not only achieved a considerable volume, but expanded by solving the problems of shipping a relatively perishable material.

Steel was, of course, the measure of Niagara Frontier bigness, and hardly anyone was able to resist the temptation of gloating over the figures which expressed the immensity of the Bethlehem works. By the close of the war Bethlehem had so completely rebuilt the original Lackawanna works, no more than one or two small buildings remained as mementoes of the ancient (1900) past of a rapidly changing industry. To the vast program of the twenties was added the purchase of two subsidiaries, construction of new coke ovens (which were later to be assembled in whole batteries rather than individually), the addition of large-sized rolling mills for structural shapes—hot and cold strips and sheets—and the building of new blast and open-hearth furnaces. The figures were beginning to be incomprehensible to any but engineers, and later descriptions found writers searching for such expressive facts as coal being consumed at the rate of 8,400 tons per day. The plant, by 1949 the sixth largest in the world, was capable of assuming in itself the production of a large proportion of the needs of one advanced European industrial nation. Its yearly capacity was greater than 3 million tons and its 14,500 employees were paid $1.25 million weekly. Its latest investment was in a strip mill costing $20 million.

Although the other four steel plants could not stand comparison with Bethlehem for size, Republic's Buffalo division was still a giant with 3,500 employees and a tenth of its parent company's capacity. Its bars, billets, and forgings mounted toward a million tons per year. The Hanna works, since 1927 a part of National Steel Company a producer of iron sold on the open market, in 1949 produced 650,000 tons, much of it in very light, convenient pigs from a continuous casting process. The importance of such producers of merchant iron was discovered when a number of Buffalo ironworking factories found themselves seriously threatened at about this time by the suspension of production in a Cleveland furnace that supplied certain qualities of iron. A crisis was averted only by considerable effort. The other two Erie County steel producers at the time were Wickwire which, besides making a great deal of wire from its quarter million tons per year, also supplied rod to be worked at Massachusetts mills of the parent corporation. Tonawanda Iron, a subsidiary of the American Radiator Company since 1923, sent most of its malleable and foundry iron to Radiator plants. Its origin is traceable to the well known enterprise of Pratt and others dated 1873.

Even though the difficulties of supplying steel to small industry (represented in the above shifts in steel making) created problems, corresponding opportunities were suggested to at least one Buffalo firm. This was Roblin, Inc., which dealt in scrap in 1957, possessed itself of a rolling mill in the old Buffalo Bolt Company's plant in 1959, and thereafter quickly found uses in a variety of consumer items for its own specialty steels. Its products include fencing by Arrow-Smith, walls by Flangeklamp, household products by Duo-Temp and Noremac Instruments, furniture by Medallion Industries of Miami, Hope's Windows of Jamestown, and others. A new plant in Dunkirk, which was the first plant to cast iron in a continuous process for production purposes, went into operation in 1964 and other steel plants have been acquired in Massachusetts and Michigan. The Tonawanda plant once occupied by Wickwire Steel is now the site of hard work in the field of modular housing. The entire complex of the present Roblin Industries is less an effort to exploit new products devised in the laboratory than to occupy areas in several markets requiring careful integration of effort. Certainly a corporation that carries the raw materials of iron

Republic Steel Corporation

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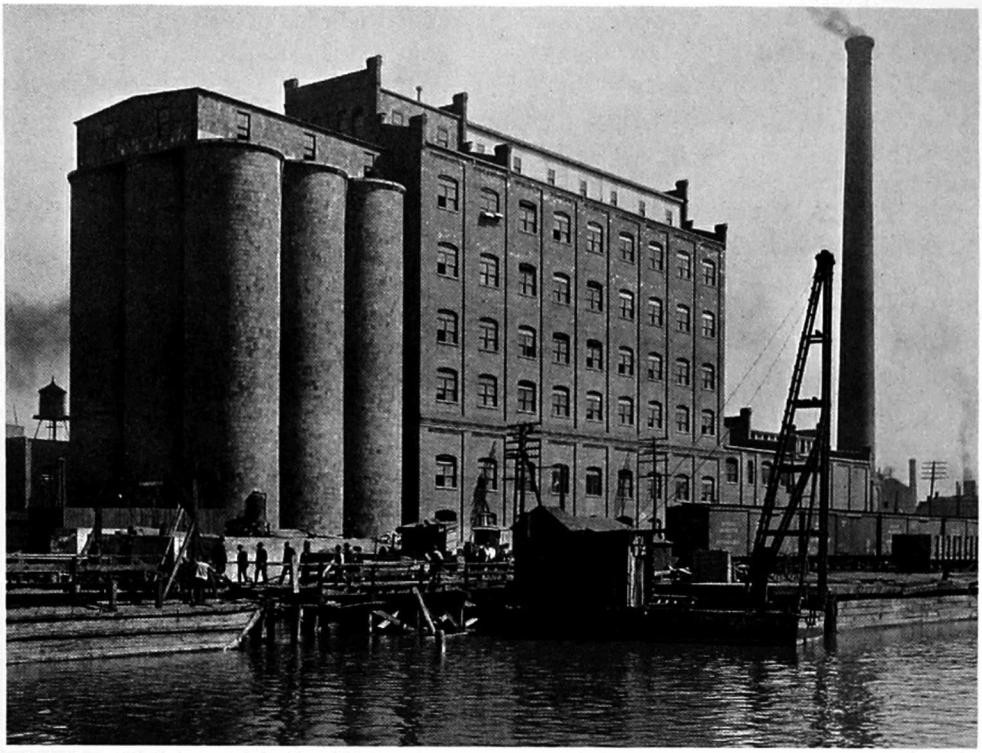


Washburn-Crosby Mill

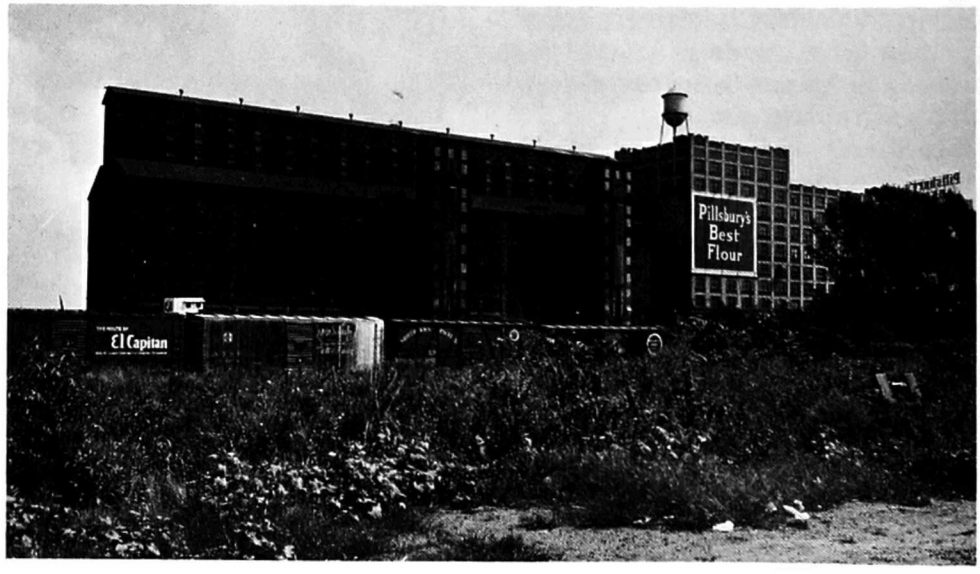
through all the reducing and fabricating operations to the consumer market is relatively unusual when most managers want the safety of the new and the big.

Flour milling also supplied satisfyingly gargantuan figures. In 1949 Buffalo mills turned out 10 million pounds of flour per day, to which should be added a considerable weight and value of feedstuffs used in agriculture. The giant among the seven major companies was General Mills, organized around the Washburn-Crosby Company in 1928. It had better than a third of the Buffalo capacity, elevators to hold 6 million bushels, a thousand employees, a cereal plant that wrapped a half million pounds a day, and a machine shop that had been enticed into war work and now made household appliances. Pillsbury was comparable in its variety of grain products and had more than half as many workers. International, Standard, Commander-Larabee, and Peavey, the successor to Russell-Miller, all had famous brand names or significant specialties. The smallest of all, the George Urban mills, rolled on as they had since 1881 in Buffalo, employing 100 and producing 400,000 pounds of flour a day.

Close behind the cereals in value to Erie County was the manufacture of machines. Long prominent among companies in this business, Buffalo Forge now reported how it had explored and developed its opportunities. It was seriously investigating the general problems of moving air long before it published its book *Fan Engineering* in 1914, now in its fifth edition. The machines invented by the company to do the work of its plants now were paying off by becoming a part of the product as well: power punches, shears, bending rolls, and the like. Drills alone had developed into a whole line, including variable speed and multiple drill tools. Similarly, Buflovak (since 1945 a division of Blaw-Knox) was among the few plants able to produce castings of the largest size, a valuable extra line. Its chief employment was designing and building food processing equipment, having made vacuum appliances for that purpose since 1910. Lancaster Machine Knife Works specialized in producing the blades needed by such metalworking industries as Forge and Buflovak, producing knives capable of shearing six-inch steel to 213-inch blades for slicing veneer sheets from logs. Seventy workers manned the plant which made nothing but these industrial blades.

The list of makers of truly engaging machines is almost endless, but General Riveters (now Gemcor) must be mentioned. In spite of the formidable sounding name it fabricated machines with delicate electronic controls capable of applying the rivets needed in a huge aircraft wing, drilling and shaping the holes, forming the rivets, inserting and clinching them in the correct places,

Pillsbury Mill



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all in a single operation. Organized in 1933, the company had sold such machines to most of the large airplane manufacturers. Makers of small metal parts such as Curtis Screw Company (1903) or David Bell Company (1918) would undertake the most complex operation at the order of a customer, or form so small an object as to require working under magnifiers. Goergen-Machwirth (1916) had emerged as a successful producer of air conditioning, and dust collecting equipment and Mollenberg-Betz Machinery Company (1910) was a veteran in refrigeration and general machine work. Columbus McKinnon Chain Corporation had established itself as the maker of jewels among chains and gone on to employ them in hoists and other machines. This company had been started by a famous Canadian industrialist in St. Catharine's who had set up a Tonawanda plant in 1920, which he sold to the owner of the Columbus Chain Company in 1927. The latter's successor, Franz T. Stone, later made Buffalo the headquarters for his company, which has worldwide connections.

Buffalo Business's 1949 review of the machine industry had the unexpected consequence of causing the Machine Shop Association of Western New York to examine their situation. They suddenly became aware of the fact—perhaps from surprised remarks of their friends upon reading the articles—that few people in the area realized their capacities. They were moved to arrange an advertising campaign to make clear that most things could be done machine-wise without carrying machinery to perhaps better-advertised areas of the country. They were prepared to undertake a wide variety of work, specifying microscopic screw-making at one end of the scale and at the other reboring in place of all engine cylinders so long as they did not exceed five feet in diameter nor eight feet in length, leaving the uninitiated to wonder where such gigantic engines are to be found. But the machinists were not through, promising to design and build any sort of special machine and to make gears up to diameters of 72 inches. This Association represented 27 Buffalo and five other shops valued at $30 million and employing 2,000.

Old friends among Erie County enterprises reappeared during the postwar, sometimes almost unchanged but invariably with the germs of development boiling someplace in their operations. Worthington, that familiar descendant of the 1889 Snow Steam Pump Works, was more than ever confirmed in the making of diesel engines, but was taking on more and more of the job of driving natural gas through American pipelines by means of huge compressors driven by gas-fueled engines; its efficiencies had won perhaps half of this business. It had also undertaken to produce another metal product, easy enough in a plant of great capacity accustomed to shape iron from pig to finished product, the innocent v-belt pulley, a new type of belt that had made its way to important proportions in the machine world. Worthington in 1949 was devoting fifteen per cent of its plant to this item.

With so many machines in operation Buffalo was bound to have more than this new item to represent the belting industry, and there were in 1949 three long established manufacturers of drive belts. The most recent, J. A. Webb Belting Company (1919), made leather belting and sold Goodyear and Worthington v-belts and pulleys. Globe Woven Belting Company (1916) worked in cotton, weaving belting widths up to 62″. They were designed particularly for food industries and the product was coated as needed, this requirement demanding much handwork still among its 180 employees. Largest and oldest was Buffalo Weaving and Belting Company (1892), which included webbing in its product. Its rubber department had begun operations in 1914 and now made a number of rubber items. It, too, furnished plastic-coated belts for food processors.

Another old-timer that had refused to let age interfere was Niagara Machine & Tool Company (1879). Under third-generation descendants of the founders, G. J. Munschauer and Adam E. Heinz, this plant had recently learned to weld the heavy steel parts their machines depended on as well as to forge and heat-treat them. Among its finished products, mostly done to order, were high-pressure presses and other machines for forming, bending, drawing, extruding, or otherwise forming metals and plastics. There were also numbers of hand tools in their lines. In a very different sort of business but showing the same adaptability and awareness of opportunity was the Buffalo Slag Company (1913) which had seen

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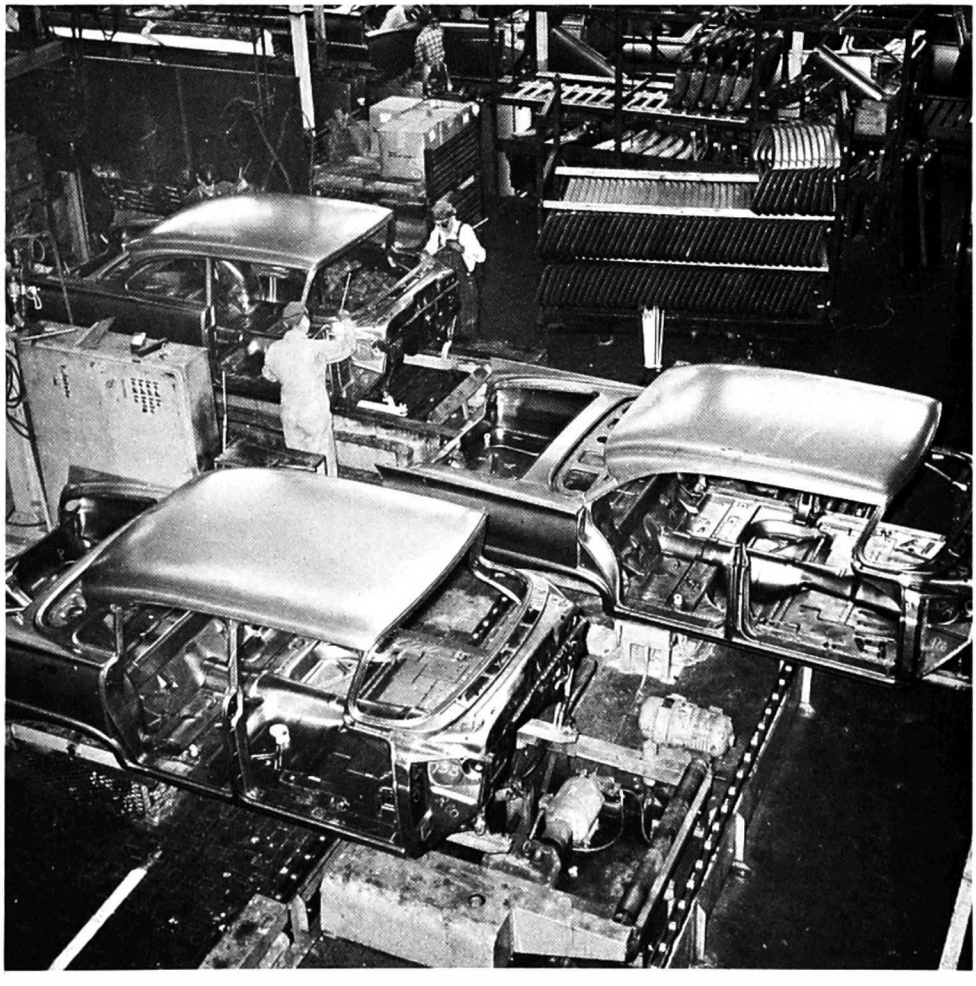
what could be done with threatening hills of slag accumulating around steel mills. This it prepared for use as aggregate in concrete, distributed it unprocessed for road use, and in the course of the operations recovered hundreds of thousands of tons of iron.

By the end of the war decade it seemed settled that there were to be no great disturbances in the beneficent process of increasing Western New York manufactures. When all else began to seem commonplace, Ford and Bethlehem would announce expansions that were quite in their normal scale but were impressive to almost everyone else. In 1949 Ford proposed to build a stamping plant in the Town of Hamburg, and Bethlehem bought more land there and also set out to double the size of its cold rolling mills. This was thought to represent construction costing about $75 million and it displayed a certain definiteness of acceleration about the whole expansion process. In three years after the war ended 93 factories had been constructed on the Frontier at a cost of $115 million. To this was added by the end of 1949 plans for 115 more valued at $196 million.

There were a good many indications in the postwar scene that the steady movement upward in the fashion long established on the Niagara Frontier was to continue undisturbed. *Buffalo Business* even stopped to note an item that might equally have been the subject of comment by the Buffalo Historical Society: in 1947 a business that had been operating steadily since 1811 or 1812 had changed hands. This was the Williamsville Water Mills which had been an early grist and sawmill, and had probably for several decades during the nineteenth century produced a water cement as well. Now turning one or two run of stones for those who liked the flavor of baked goods from stoneground flour, it was purchased in part for its historical interest by an official of the John W. Cowper construction company, Daniel B. Niederlander, whose wife was a member of the family which had built the mill.

Ford Motor Company Buffalo plant



This little note was hardly more striking than the history of another small business, the producer of the Dick Mailer, which had dominated its line since it began in 1856. Its domination was such that in spite of a pertinacious competitor its product gave name to the process of mailing by pasting proof copies of the address list to the item being sent. The device was a comparatively simple one, hand-operated, invented by the Reverend Robert A. Dick of the Asbury Methodist Church on Delaware Avenue, and by 1889 advanced to the seventh revision, which is still the standard machine. The business was purchased in 1946 by the present proprietor, Charles P. MacArthur, Jr., from a nephew of an early shop manager, so that the ownership appears to have been even more conservative than the design. It is a matter of remark that in another respect this sort of unchanging business, less unusual in this area than might be assumed, deviates from what has become the normal pattern. We think of change as inseparable from advance in most technical operations, and we shall shortly see to what an amazing extent this is true. But here is a device that has resisted any change at all for eighty years after having been altered very little in thirty before that. Nor is this for lack of efforts to improve it, since it is hand-operated in a single essential that bars any but the proficient workman from approaching its potential speed. The workman advances the strip of paper on which addresses are imprinted by a movement of a finger that must be coordinated with the pressure that places and cuts the strip. Since the really capable operator does this six times in a second, and 8,000 an hour is commonplace in Dick mailing rooms, the desirability of eliminating such a motion is plain. So far, it has proved impossible to make that

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slight movement automatic, despite the expenditure of time and money in the effort amounting to tens of thousands of dollars. However, the Dick Mailer enterprise remains successful.

From such a tale, and it is attested history, one returns to the modern fairyland of research feeling that he has just escaped utter unreality stumbled upon in a strange place where something has proved impossible. One may choose almost at random among our industries for examples of the utterly impossible being scheduled for production in matters of weeks, as for example Sylvania's portable and extremely capable worldwide communication radio transceiver delivered to the U. S. Army four months after its practicability was queried. This kind of triumph has been so frequently repeated that companies as a matter of course invest as heavily as possible in research and engineering development, or at least as heavily as may be practical in a period when scientists and technicians are in great demand, a demand only now slackening. The recent story of manufacturing is almost identical with the history of research, and the popular interest in the subject confirms the realization that the new age is one of the triumph of technology.

In Buffalo it could almost be dated from the issue of *Buffalo Business* in June 1953, reporting the erection of a great new laboratory of the National Aniline Division of Allied Chemical and Dye Corporation. Not that research was anything new to National Aniline, which had been firmly based on research from the moment that Jacob Schoellkopf organized it, and which had made steady progress in dye technology even while it was struggling to make itself felt against the might of the German dye industry. Indeed, it is still a current and potent tradition of the company that Schoellkopf was motivated in part to attempt dye production by arrogant assurances from a German scientist that the industry could not succeed in the United States. By 1953, with 2,500 employees working for National Aniline alone, there was no doubt remaining on that point but neither was there doubt that survival in the industry would quickly become impossible for any organization that didn't move forward in chemical science. Since National Aniline possessed an engaging problem in the perfection of the vat dyes it had created a half-century previously, its scientists hardly needed even that goad, and there were also beginnings in food dyes, biologicals, and new fibres to follow. Other divisions of the corporation had their problems to contribute to the research organization, many dealing with basic chemicals, so there was no lack of activities to fill the new $2.8 million building and to occupy the time of 300 scientists and engineers.

A further look around by officers of the Chamber of Commerce set the staff of its magazine searching for the details of the whole story of research and initiated a brilliant series of annual reports on the subject. The first listing of research projects, although there must have been many topics omitted because they were too hard to elucidate to laymen or too enlightening to competitors, proved full of interest nevertheless. An appalled public relations staff at the Cornell Aeronautical Laboratory explained that they were under constant and severe pressure to expand their facilities because the aircraft industry customarily spent about one-eighth of gross sales receipts on research; their own program therefore was replete with both engineering projects and scientific studies. The Bell Company backed up this observation on the nature of the aircraft industry by noting that they were laboring on electronics and servo mechanisms, automatic landing controls, proportional and remote controls, and missiles—any of which could be at any scientific or technical stage. Westinghouse, equally perplexed as to where to start on a simple description, noted that their design and development engineering staff numbered 400 and contented themselves with mentioning that they were directly concerned with the perfection of control regulating systems for speed production and with rectification of electrical currents with selenium. National Aniline, Buffalo Forge, DuPont, and Worthington were among those who explained, with appropriate illustration, that they depended upon large staffs of scientists and engineers as a matter of habit.

Where that habit originated was made plain in these reports as well, even if the inference were not already plain in the history of such companies just mentioned. Several others stated directly that their work originated in research and necessarily would depend upon continued research effort. Since American Optical had placed its entire instrument division in Buffalo its local officers could speak knowledgeably in declaring this to be the case with them. They had just perfected wide-angle cinematography and a spectrophotometer of many uses in measuring instantaneously many industrial processes, a metallograph with similar capabilities, and were hopefully pursuing instruments of the same utility for medical diagnostics. All these innovations sprang from optical research. The firm of Henry and Henry had scored successes in food ingredients entirely based on deep study. Keystone Chromium Company—now Keystone Corporation— had a modest beginning in 1928 with ten workers engaged in chromeplating but could now report twenty times that number based on their development of twenty different processes, the latest of which was working out a non-porous but ductile and adherent nickel plate in 1949. The Keystone production laboratory was used by such giants as DuPont and Carborundum. Rigidized Metals Corporation was building a business on their ability to devise patterns that, when stamped into a metal, gave it the sturdiness to serve in place of heavy and complex structures. Pierce & Stevens' hot spray lacquer of 1938 was supported by the development of a new and successful floor covering called Fabulon.

Other companies that had had essentially the same history, i.e., expansion from technological discov-

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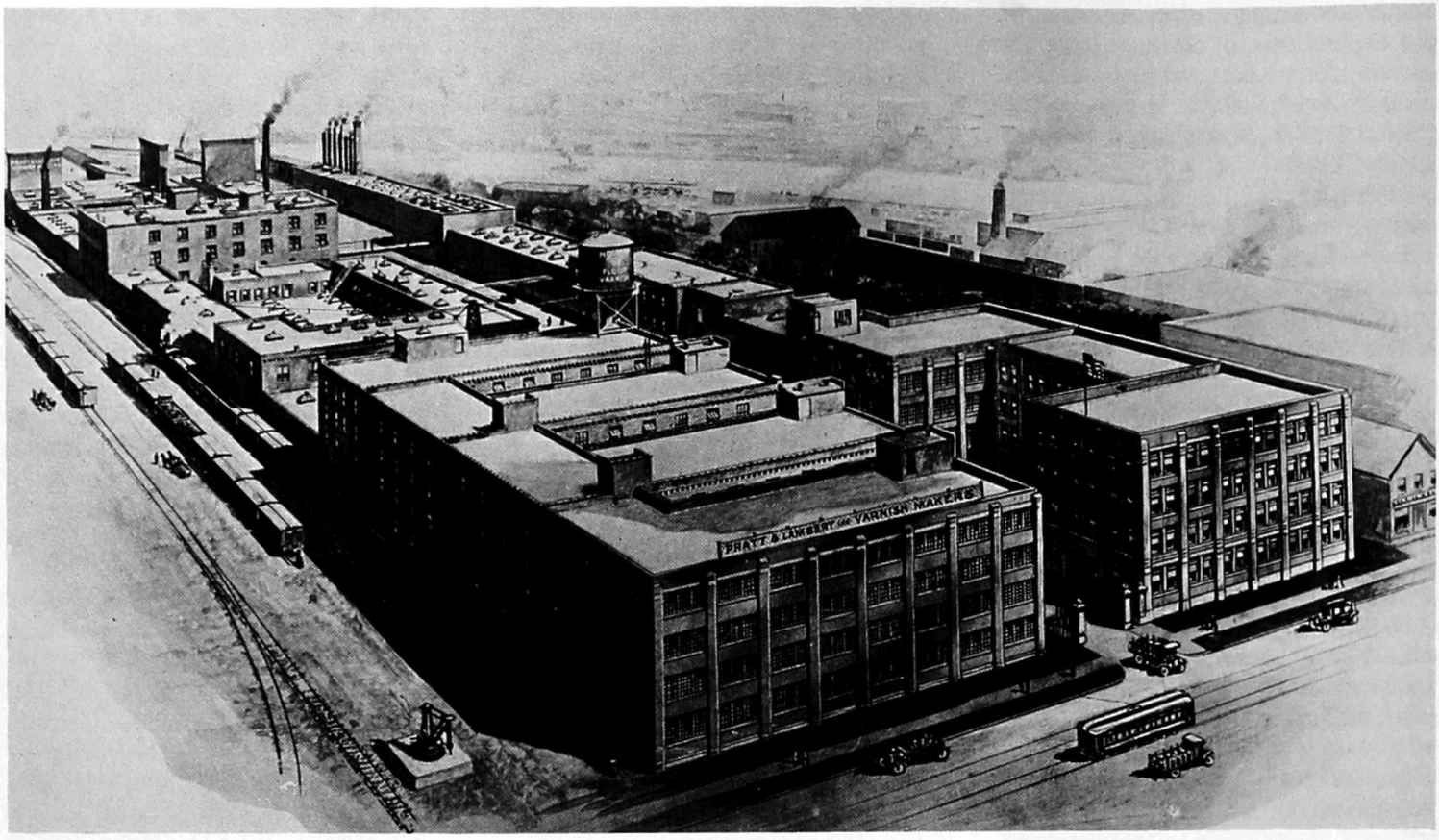

eries, were thick on the list. Hewitt-Robins, which has been referred to, indicated that it was actively interested in research still, using a cooperative organization for the purpose. General Electric, rooted in the research that developed transformers, now demonstrated its mastery in the Buffalo plant that produced its television picture tube which had recently been improved by aluminizing. Morrison Steel Products was revitalized by extension of its pressed steel technology. The giant American Machine and Foundry Corporation moved an engineering staff to Buffalo in 1945 to perfect and produce a pin-spotting machine for bowling alleys and had added machines for wrapping bread and twisting pretzels. In another industry, Sawyer-Bailey found room for the fans it designed and for tanks, compressors, and other equipment, including huge gas turbines, for handling and utilizing air and gas. Pratt & Lambert had come to Buffalo in 1902 after a half-century of paint production in Long Island City, having just hired a chemist trained at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. This pioneer was in 1953 the president of the company which engaged 60 people in research. Innumerable discoveries had left Pratt & Lambert with a list of 412 products for sale, and the accessions to it were accelerating. Durez history was still encompassed in the minds of men who had served it from its 1921 beginning but the tremendous expansion of recent years and the initiation of new researches in new facilities created an almost entirely new atmosphere in which formulations for customers, innovations in testing, and laboratory control of raw materials and production processes stimulated still more research efforts. National Lead's Titanium Alloy Manufacturing Division was trying new uses for zirconium and titanium carbide, relatively new metals and compounds with great potentials for use in high temperatures.

Others such as National Gypsum, Buflovak, and Lake Erie Engineering were listed as continuing work long under way. One new firm deserves attention. A concern that started by fabricating plastics, it had now developed disposable medical items and renamed itself Sterilon. Working with all these organizations in setting up conferences and sponsoring applied research in its own engineering school laboratories was the University of Buffalo.

By the following year *Buffalo Business* could print nothing of the size of its first survey, but continuing movement was nevertheless visible. There was the Marlette Plating Company that had discovered the advantages of plating metals in motion; Socony-Vacuum Company had discovered the magic effect of cooling a mass of burning oil in extinguishing the fire; Consolidated Packaging Machinery reported new bag packers and sealing devices; Wurlitzer injected an oddity by acknowledging that the war had put them into electronic production including manufacture of the Link trainer for fliers; and Keystone had three new processes to report.

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A summary in 1956 included several facts of high significance: on the Niagara Frontier there were over 7,500 members of technical societies and these were assisted by at least 15,000 other highly skilled professional people. The total of research and development budgets was far over $150 million. Bell was at the top of the list with its 3,430 research and engineering employees, Cornell Aeronautical Laboratories had 1,200, Linde Division of National Carbide 800, and Sylvania, Aniline, and Hooker had over 200 each. Electro Metallurgical Company (of Carbide) in Niagara Falls employed 400 in research. Spencer Kellogg had something special to contribute in this line in a description of its new research building in which were concentrated the functions of exact study from fundamental science to market research and not neglecting a pilot plant operation and industrial scouting.

Socony Mobil Oil Company

The list of new things was not less interesting in this year either. Bell was working on "X" reconnaissance planes and vertical takeoff planes; the Arner Company concentrated on formulating new drugs; American Optical had thirteen new or improved products; Dunlop was working with latex foam and urethane; Linde in gas-shielded arc cutting, silicone chemicals, and molecular sieves; Alox in oil additives, an increasingly important field; Aniline in new nylon fibers; and Electro Refractories, reporting for the first time, in silicon carbide shapes used in high temperature firings but provided with coatings to increase durability and imperviousness beyond anything before known. Another year added hypersonics by Bell; wood tanks by Arrow Tank Company which had polymer coatings; silicon insulation of motors by Westinghouse as well as exact controls for steel mill operations; gigantic, high-speed conveyors by Hewitt-Robins (one of which used 23,000 feet of belting); colors for ballpen inks by Aniline; and thixotropic paint vehicles by Spencer Kellogg.

Sylvania Electric

In succeeding years it became increasingly plain that research tools were normal equipment for almost every manufacturer. The utility companies found questions that needed answering for themselves and their customers, the nuclear field opened up with the West-

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ern New York Nuclear Research Center at the University of Buffalo, aerospace and hydrospace became necessary denotations, computers and computer services appeared in numbers to handle calculations that could supersede extensive and costly physical observations, design and development moved so swiftly that old-line companies boasted that they had utterly ceased to vary old equipment to serve new purposes and quality controls became the responsibility of trained scientists. Among the most striking of new projects must be counted Westinghouse's laboratories for space, refuse, and air pollution studies–among a total of twelve distinct scientific divisions. St. Mary's Manufacturing Company, a tool and die works, set out to make highspeed bearings and was soon working with such speeds as 400,000 revolutions per minute; Joy Manufacturing Company used great speed to perfect a centrifugal air pump; American Precision Industries' development laboratory in East Aurora began to deal with low temperatures and was soon measuring to -423° F.; Associated Water Industries needed glass fiber tanks and in 30 months had material that would stand pressures of 640 pounds per square inch, and the list of extremes could be lengthened, no doubt. Worthington installed a computer and found that vibrations in machines could be eliminated by calculation, Columbus McKinnon found use for a computer for directing materials flowage in complex conveyor systems, Bell and others found computers of constant use for their own installations. In 1966 Graphic Controls announced an installation that would allow subscribers to purchase computer time and to maintain their own data store connected with the computer.

This recital can hardly be left with certain items unexplained. Fisher-Price Toys installed an accoustical laboratory because certain musical toys did not sound out gaily enough if they were solidly built; study cured the problem, and what else it will lead to can hardly be imagined. Nor can the outcome of the Hanna Furnace Corporation's setting up a test cupola for the melting of pig iron and their subsequent testing. The testing has itself become a business and the attached experimental foundry may well turn up many unexpected qualities in iron. Columbus McKinnon has found that its studies have made many changes in quality possible, particularly in the direction of producing lighter and stronger equipment. The company enlarged its research facilities as rapidly as it could engage the needed personnel. Refinements of product may not by most people be habitually associated with the makers of blacksmiths' tools, but Buffalo Forge's development of ventilating equipment sent them to the laboratory to observe and evaluate noise, with the result that huge fans capable of providing air for a large building can be located over the ceiling of executive offices in confidence of undisturbed quiet. Deliberate efforts at diversification took American Machine & Foundry into underwater studies leading to fabrication of underwater ordnance and communication systems, and Sierra Research Corporation, founded 1957, leaped instantly into a position of military importance with radar equipment that would allow naval or air flotillas to maintain station in formations under all conditions. Its space studies have yielded further dividends. Bell was of course pursuing some of these objects along with practical applications for space travel such as rocket belts for men.

Perhaps most revolutionary of all, since the eruption of excited talk to the effect that men were obsolete in the face of such machines, or at least somehow fundamentally changed, Sylvania in 1965 quietly noted that it was increasingly absorbed, not in eliminating humans, but in engineering *in* key personnel as weapons systems were designed, beginning with training equipment that would lead operators easily into handling the final complex tool for which they would be responsible. There was consolation for those upset by the babble of charlatans, in the chemical industry's concern for such things as safe insecticides and fireproof finishes for wood, and for other forms of common materials that would be safer. A final somewhat joyful note can be sounded in observing that the agricultural world was to be included as the technical age entered a phase of complete acceptance. Any examination of recent farming shows it to be part and parcel of this movement, and here it may now be revealed that a Niagara Falls firm, the Chisholm-Ryder Company, has placed on the market machines that will harvest pickle cucumbers, asparagus, grapes, tomatoes, peas, and (in 1969, as our era closes) sweet corn. This has been fortunate for their Western New York customers, who have procured labor with increasing difficulty at any price, and buyer and seller of the new machines will alike feel satisfaction that the development costs of $3 million had been risked. Finally, the ultimate tool of modern industry has been adopted by the farmers: the Dairy Herd Improvement Cooperative laboratory in the Farm and Home Center in East Aurora now provides computer service for the analysis of herd records in order to govern the breeding process adequately.

This seems a fitting close to this consideration of Erie County's economic growth during the past century. The prevailing technology that had increased the production of goods stupendously as well as multiplying its points of application, had casually included within its reach agriculture as well as consumer goods down to the level of children's toys. Everyone had been affected in his mode of living and at the same time had, by the nation's overwhelming economic power, been brought into the very center of world affairs. The Buffalo area has not been the least of the centers of power and, perhaps as a result, has suffered less from such fluctuations in activity as the Great Depression. It has had full recompense for its faithfulness to basic commerce and industry by possessing thereby the means to expand rapidly when demand arose.

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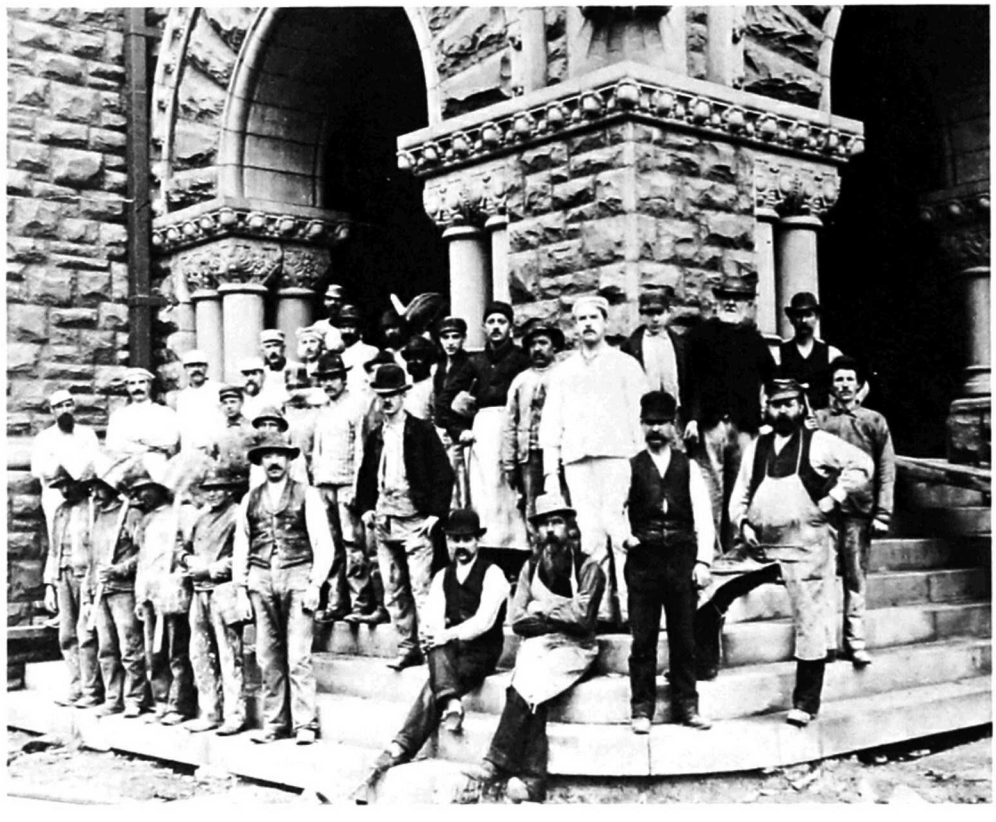
XIII. Independent Labor

The history of trade unionism in this area is necessarily a reflection of national events, more perhaps than in the stories of agriculture and industry. The farm producer could and did resist untoward pressures by largely maintaining himself on his own acres, and small industrialists often found shelter against economic storms in local advantages or special abilities. Labor groups could not counter the competition of either mobile laborers—immigrants swarming to this area from 1830 to 1914 provided one constant pressure on the labor market—or of products that, after 1865, flowed freely throughout the nation on the railroads. Neither could groups of organized laborers ignore pressures of rival organizations. Trade unions of skilled craftsmen were constantly confronted by excited advocates of idealistic solutions for their problems, cooperative production and socialist political control being the usual attractive notions of competing groups. At one time, as will appear, the idealists seriously threatened the cautious and conservative trade unionists in New York State.

One further circumstance prevented Buffalo or any other American trade union from taking an independent line based on locally devised policies. This was the use of Federal authority to restrain union activities at the behest of employers. Revolutionary talk from idealist labor organizations may have been the cause for the alertness of Federal officers to check all such activities, but in any case, the conservative groups also felt the checks applied by stern authorities, chiefly through injunctions granted by United States courts against union officers who were leading strikes. These court actions were very effective and were based on a broad doctrine of conspiracy by which the employer's property rights—admittedly entitled to protection—were expanded to include his expectancies in the labor market itself. There was almost nothing a union could do except to try to turn those expectancies to their own advantage at the expense of the employers, so they were vulnerable to labor availability.

Unions that did not consider these basic circumstances of American society quickly faded. After several attempts, the trade unions with their strong bargaining positions, found the form of national organization under which they could operate. This was the American Federation of Labor (A.F. of L.), developed from 1881 to 1886 by Adolph Strasser and Samuel Gompers of the Cigar Makers' International Union. Buffalo's part in this is yet to be fully documented, but the history of local labor organiza-



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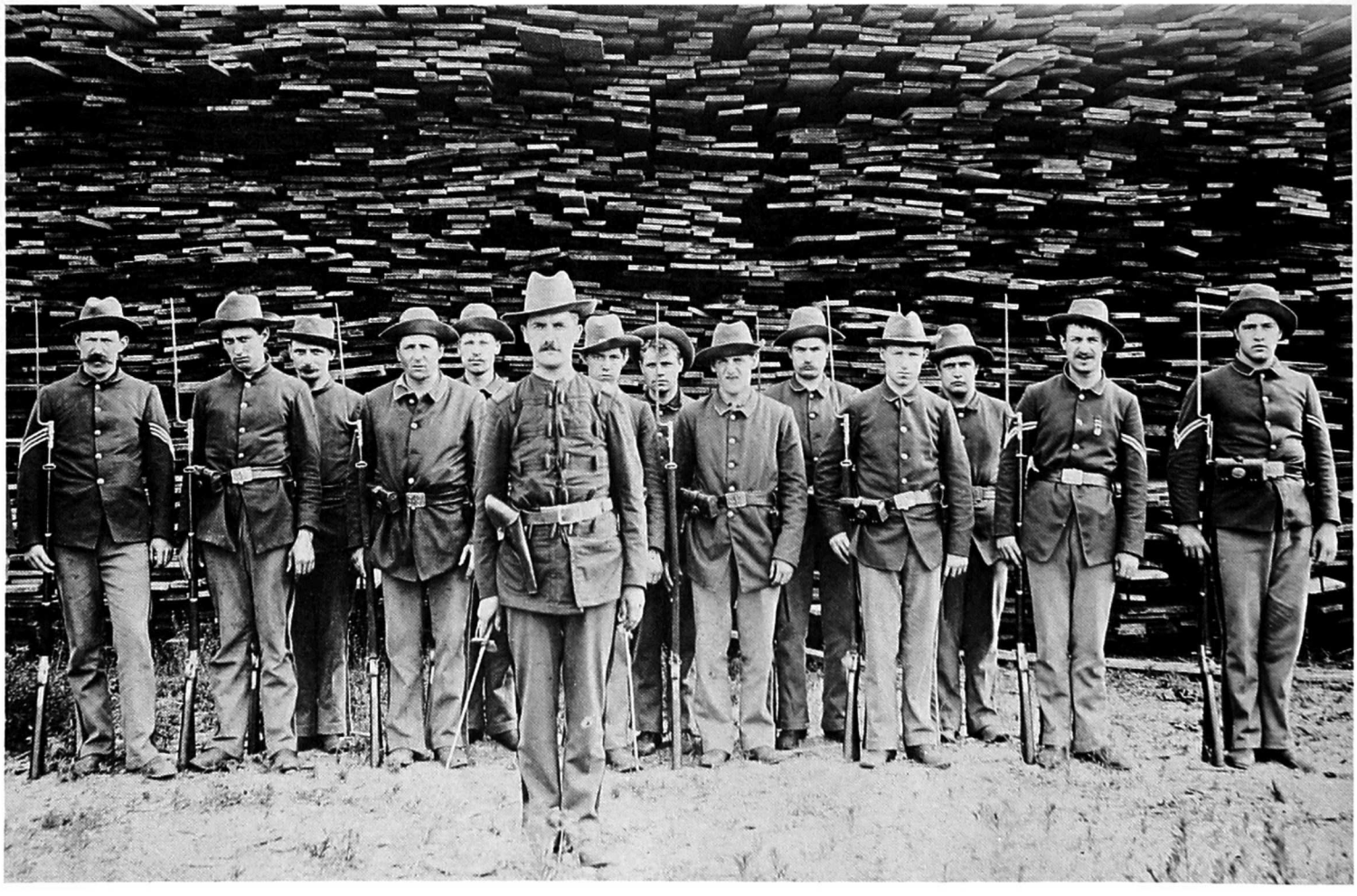
tions is well enough understood to permit us to make an introductory declaration that they fully participated.

Modern trade unionism in Buffalo traditionally began with the chartering of the Buffalo Typographical Union in 1852. In that year, at a national assembly of unions from major printing centers, it drew for the number of its local charter, and it still bears the designated No. 9. As in other business centers, no great progress was made in Buffalo until the Civil War gave laborers bargaining power. Then a number of trade unions were organized and without much insistence were awarded considerable wage increases, although these, as in the remainder of the nation, probably did not compensate for the great inflation of prices arising from Federal borrowings and issues of paper currency to finance the war.

These pressures produced a political movement and a general National Labor Union. When this sponsored a Labor Party, the trade unions withdrew and the Party quickly failed. An accompanying cooperative movement lasted no longer, but for the contrary reason that it was too successful. Many of the shops started under union sponsorship became so profitable that their cooperating workers turned them into capitalist enterprises for their own benefit. The craftsmen of the trade unions made another start in a National Industrial Congress in 1873, which was swiftly obliterated along with all but the stoutest locals, by the financial panic of that year.

The succeeding protracted depression ended, for the labor movement, in the revolutionary railroad strike of 1877. This, and other strikes at the time, were occasioned by the inevitable wage reductions that laborers nevertheless regarded as all too swiftly arranged by comparison with the reluctant increases equally justified by previous general price movement. Buffalo railroad workers struck as soon as the news of other walkouts was heard and, like the others elsewhere, tried desperately to halt railroad operations abruptly as the only means of winning such a general strike. They attacked workers who remained on the job with violence, and were themselves violently opposed. National Guard units were quickly ordered to railroad yards to support the outnumbered police. Buffalo's 65th and 74th Regiments held the Hornell and Buffalo yards. Other regiments succeeded in doing the same elsewhere, but usually needing more gunpowder and cold steel than were employed here. The issue was settled in a week and the workers went back to their lower wages

Tonawanda Lumber strike, 1893



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with little to show for their efforts.

In spite of the failure of mass tactics in this and other cases—the waterfront also had a taste of this in 1877—the next great step in the labor movement was the voluntary unmasking in 1878 of the Knights of Labor followed by its great expansion. This was soon to become another exemplar of the "One Big Union" of revolutionary fantasy that was so prone to succumb to the temptation of staging large and violent strikes in a spirit of political recklessness. A lucky hit in a large railroad strike in 1885 made the Knights look like the answer to all of labor's problems, particularly since they simultaneously had the equally rare good fortune of a complete success in Congress with a proposal to forbid immigration of laborers under contract. There ensued a rush to join the Knights' local assemblies, which mixed skilled workers with unskilled.

Opposition to the Knights in Buffalo was both economic and political. Their recklessness in striking was naturally reprobated and the revolutionary threat—the "One Big Union" too evidently pointing to a general strike—was only too well appreciated. Roman Catholic Bishop Stephen Ryan in 1887 spoke out concerning the necessity of obedience in church and state, making it plain that the Knights and others were under suspicion of revolutionary syndicalism. The Haymarket Riot in Chicago during the preceding year with the killing of policemen by bombing, furnished reason enough for cautionary reconsiderations, even though the most extreme advocates of anarchism were neither numerous nor influential in America; certainly these groups were not connected with the Knights of Labor, and influenced the trade unions still less.

These craft unions had taken advantage of the prosperity of the years after 1879 to expand very rapidly. The 18 national trade unions in 1880 expanded to 28 by 1883, and aggregate membership rose to about 300,000 in 1885. But the Knights had more than double this number and their aggressiveness soon provided the nascent A. F. of L. a severe challenge, for the Knights wished to dominate the labor market and thought the cautious haggling of the trade unions for wage advantages both shortsighted and selfish.

The trade unions held to their line of advancing their members' interests discreetly but determinedly. In 1884, the Buffalo Central Labor Union was organized to provide mutual self-help to unions and push organizing work; later, city federated bodies descended from this foundation, for these unions had struck upon a viable policy, that of Strasser and Gompers' A.F. of L. Under this policy the city federation, such as Buffalo's Central Labor Union, did not presume to judge economic conditions that determined what the members of one or another of the trades might hope to gain in negotiations with employers. This was left to the trade union under the discipline of its national body, which again had autonomy and used it to prevent reckless striking by the locals. The advantages of this apparent separatism of the national trade organizations, which A. F. of L. leaders not only permitted but insisted upon, were quickly demonstrated by the failures of the autocratic central

Switchmen on strike 1891

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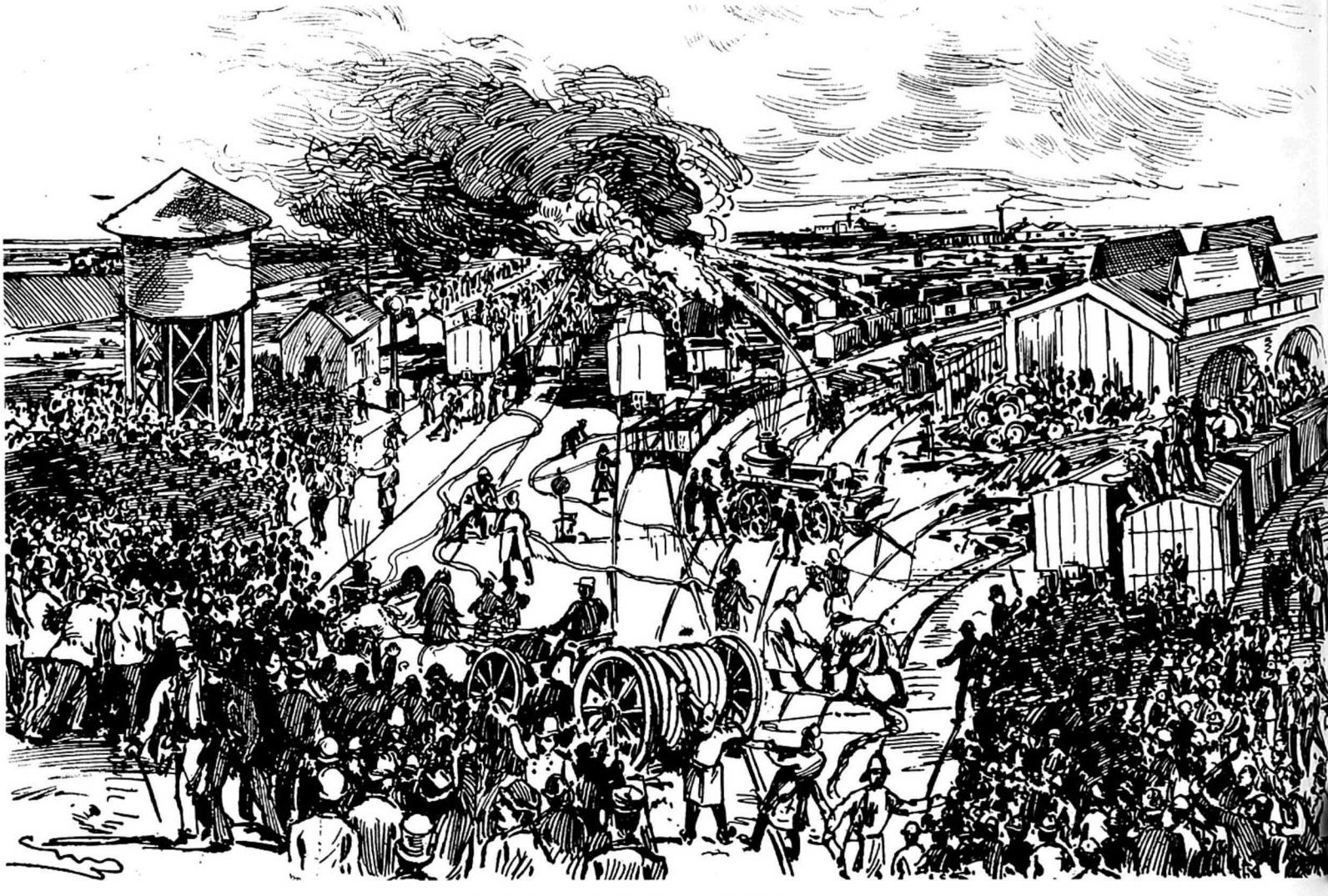

Switchmen's Strike at Buffalo

bodies of the Knights of Labor. After many defeats in their 1886 strikes, mostly caused by their own erratic judgment, the Knights staged a very large strike in the port of New York in 1887. They had in 1886 aroused the Cigar Makers' Union to active opposition by directing all Knights to leave its ranks, when disagreements on policy became irreconcilable. In a month the strike of the port was a complete catastrophe, leaving the Cigar Makers' head, Samuel Gompers, stronger than ever.

Events in Buffalo roughly followed the pattern thus created. Large general unions disappeared while the trade unions cannily continued to seize even the slightest advantage to deal closely with employers, seeking better conditions and higher wages. As a path to these, they fought for recognition of their own organizations. This conservatism of objective should never be confused with a lack of fighting spirit to attain them. Year after year when business conditions gave them good bargaining positions, they made their demands. These came frequently between 1887 and 1893, when another catastrophic depression struck.

The results of sticking to this policy were generally satisfactory for the labor movement, which means that some unions made gains in wages and working conditions, few strikes were entirely without some measure of success, and that the membership and number of locals increased. It did not mean that everything was suddenly easy. Far from it. Strikes aimed at vulnerable employers occasionally found the soft touch transformed by the appearance of a hard fighting employers' association into a force that counterattacked aggressively. When this happened, the union might disintegrate as its members lost hope. Local 4 of the Typographical Union, a German-American group, fell apart on losing a strike against a Buffalo newspaper in 1876. Revived in 1887, it broke again while striking to gain a fairer measurement of its members' typesetting labors. Some members then continued to pay dues to Local 5 in Rochester, reorganizing in Buffalo again in 1895. The local of the American Railway Union, brought down by the Pullman strike in 1894, was rebuilding three years later.

By 1897, the rebuilding, the new organizing efforts, and the actual victories gained were enough to cause the city central labor organization to celebrate by issuing a volume de-

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voted to the local A.F. of L. unions: *Illustrated History of the United Trades and Labor Council of Erie County*. It was not an excited outburst of joy and elation, but its staid appearance demonstrated that its collective membership was satisfied, that its place here had been won, and this was explicitly, if quietly, declared. At the outset, after the expected introductory remarks, a very significant statement appears: the Council had been invited by the Citizens' Association to assist in the revision of the City Ordinance. They thus revealed that it was important to them that they were regarded by community leaders as a part of the civic establishment, which demonstrates how little they regarded mere rebelliousness or capacity to make trouble in comparison to participating in community affairs.

The United Trades and Labor Council (U.T.L.C.) naturally explained its own immediate purposes and called on member unions for brief statements regarding themselves. From these we may draw many inferences as to the state of things at the end of the century. The Council itself had been formed in 1894; it was the 1884 Central Labor Union reorganized. In three years it had brought 4,500 new members into various unions, organized 15 new unions, and arranged the mutual help that had won almost every maltster in the city to union membership. Its influence with City and County officials had gained agreement that all public contract work should be under 8-hour rule.

Much else in the brief chronicles of the Council and its five sections—one was for German-speaking unions, which were just beginning to switch to English—make clear how these skilled workers were making a place for themselves. They were intolerant of rivalry among unions, careful to provide mutual help for members, considerate and respectful toward allied unions, and proud of their progressive achievements. Of the last, the Cigar Makers', Local Number 2, had the most to say. This was the trade that had propelled Samuel Gompers to the leadership of the A.F. of L. Its special pride was in its thoroughly educated membership, for one advantage in being a cigarmaker was the arrangement by which one of the men in a shop became the reader, and the reading was not of romantic novels but in such solid works as Karl Marx's *Das Kapital*. But while such philosophers inculcated a fine fighting spirit in these groups, they also seem to have developed a productive habit of thought: The Cigar Makers' Local Number 2 boasted the success of its arbitration policy. After a 7-week strike in 1886, it had accepted arbitrators' awards in all disputes and felt satisfied. They now assured others that this procedure prevented more strikes than it started.

Beyond such philosophy, the Council and its member unions reflected other bits of wisdom from their immediate experience. They were aware that they must avoid the appearance of conspiratorial or revolutionary action, that depressions could damage them irreparably, that they must be prepared firmly to oppose aggressive employers, and that they must hold together without presenting an appearance of a threatening combination.

In all this adjusting of policy there is no straying from the principles of the A.F. of L. If it seems remarkable that a city of people quite inventive in other respects should have little to add in this area, it must be rejoined that the real problem for such a popular movement as labor is to meet the controlling attitudes of American society. Radicalism, destructiveness, arrogance, secrecy, and threats generate only a bitter and overwhelming opposition, for there is among Americans no feeling of caste hostility to excuse these tenets, and the immigrants who were the backbone of the American labor movement quickly learned as much. They also found that Americans could be generous toward groups that struggled manfully for their own welfare, and this, too, is plain in the Council's history, for Buffalo unions had been fully accepted in brewing and some branches of the building industries. The iron molders spoke of their good relations with employers, excepting only one. These were good feelings that followed on hard, but fair, fighting.

All such wisdom and every scrap of good will was shortly to be requisitioned, for Buffalo became in 1899, the scene of a severe struggle for the recognition of a group of unskilled workers under A.F. of L. guidance. Success for the unskilled had again become a rarity since the brief flowering of the Knights of Labor, but Buffalo was now to afford an example. The successful group was the very new union of the port's grain scoopers, and the reasons for its success add something to the rationale of the American labor movement.

To everyone's further surprise, now as then, before the strike was over 10,000 unskilled workers in the Port of Buffalo had gone out, and the expected violence had erupted only to be choked off swiftly and finally by the Union and its sympathizers. This occurred in spite of a further complication in the ethnic makeup of the work gangs. The scoopers were almost solidly Irish while the freight handlers were Polish. Some Italians had penetrated both groups and many more were eager for work of any kind on the docks. The ethnic mixture alone could have become explosive.

The demands of the strikers were simple and conservative. They asked for a return to the wage system of the previous season (harbor work was, naturally, strictly seasonal), abrogation of the existing harbor-wide contract between lake carriers and a single unloading boss, and abolition of the system of hiring and paying labor gangs in saloons. These demands not only avoided extremes but, in opposing the saloon system, aroused strong public commendation, for almost no one liked the idea of laborers being paid off where liquor was only too easily available. This tempting of weary workers was compounded by the obvious advantage to the saloonkeeper in hiring those who were his most dependable customers. Many civic leaders and clergymen strongly sup-

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ported the union on this ground while finding no fault with its further demands.

The situation in the port justified the wage and contract demands in the eyes of most impartial observers, including both the city authorities and the newspapers that were not immediately involved on the side of the dominant contractor. This contractor was the central figure. Out of the confusion of competing employers (lake captains, elevator operators, railroad managers) and hiring agents such as the saloonkeepers, the boss contractor had emerged to impose order and, by way of reward, to grow rich. This was first done among freight handlers by W.J. Conners, who, from his earnings, bought both the *Enquirer* (1895) and the *Courier* (1897). In 1894, he invaded the grain trade through the agency of an associate, in 1898 outbid him to take control openly, and at the same time promised to end the saloon system. Conners' failure to keep this promise hurt him, particularly since Father Patrick Cronin of the *Catholic Union & Times* irately denounced his pretence to reform as an unprincipled maneuver of a persecutor of honest laborers.

Conners was not alone in serving this kind of an arrangement within the port, for the Buffalo Lumber Exchange had in 1893 organized similarly to parcel out unloading tasks among seven individual contractors who were called stevedores. But Conners' spectacular rise had called public attention to him, and his own pugnacious nature, fully expressed in his newspapers, kept it there. He fought the strikers with all the weapons at his disposal. One of his associates died in a gun battle at the beginning of the strike and a second fatality which resulted from an assault on one of his workers was certainly not his fault. But the end of the strike found him isolated, and his aggressive tactics were much to blame for his hopeless position.

Negotiations turned on union recognition, which would end Conners' contract and place the choice of scooper bosses in union hands. Many busied themselves to arrange a settlement. Governor Theodore Roosevelt added a voice to the urgings of the State Mediation and Arbitration Board when shipping pressures on the closed port began to snarl midwest rail traffic and slow the work of eastern coal mines. The city authorities remained silent and kept the police neutral, there being no excuse for breaking up a strike universally regarded as legitimate—only Conners and his friends alleged that it had political objectives. Very effective indeed was the intervention of Bishop James E. Quigley, whose help was requested by the Western Elevating Association, the State Mediation Board, and the shipowners of the Lake Carriers Association. Union leaders were suspicious of his ability to deal with formidable economic adversaries, but union discipline here, as in other aspects, prevailed. The Bishop's prestige assisted in getting negotiations over the very touchy point of reuniting the union, Conners having succeeded in splitting it in order to get acceptance of the wage shift that set off the strike in

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late April. Since "dual unionism" was the worst of crimes, those who went with Conners were ripe for exclusion when the strike ended. Bishop Quigley healed this rift at considerable cost in personal effort and clerical prestige.

The victory went to the union because it strove to deserve this kind of help and such other help as was given to organize relief for the strikers' families. The national union involved was the International Longshoremen's Association of the A.F. of L. (I.L.A.). Its Local 51 contracted with Conners and had split in the quarrel over the wage system in early 1899, whereupon the International's secretary promptly came to Buffalo. He ruled that the anti-Conners faction was the true union of the International's charter, the State Federation of Labor recognized Conners' group, and the Buffalo United Trades and Labor Council unseated the one but withheld recognition of the other. The I.L.A. president replaced the indecisive secretary and ended the problem by chartering a new local, Number 109, after the strike had ended. The original local's president, P. J. McMahon, remained throughout as the workers' chief negotiator.

The real break came when the Lake Carriers Association, having begun by supporting Conners, deserted him and opened direct negotiations with the strikers. This was May 7, and the negotiations went on for over a week in spite of Bishop Quigley's good offices, both sides suffering from infirmity of purpose. Firm agreements disintegrated with changes of mind, and there never was a clean ending. The contractor remained but, since the carriers and union were in agreement, it was

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evident that his days were numbered. Talk of compromise began to be welcomed in the union's mass meetings, some of the groups that had struck in sympathy went back to work, Conners ceased to struggle in the face of the odds piling up against him, and work was fully resumed May 23, with Local 109 in control of the jobs and the old wages restored. The stoppage had lasted over three weeks, and in time it became clear that the workers were victorious.

In the midst of the negotiations, a complete dock stoppage had ensued on walkouts of the freight handlers, coal heavers, ore handlers, and marine firemen, in sympathy with the scoopers but also with demands of their own. At this the public reacted with hostility, and all were persuaded to return on May 23. The freight handlers, amid ethnic wrangling, struck again in June but the I.L.A. forced an end to this. The grain scoopers and Local 109 were favored with a direct agreement with the Lake Carriers Association in March 1900, marking up a most exceptional victory for unskilled labor. In 1902, Local 127 won an agreement with the Buffalo Lumber Exchange and the Carriers. But these gains were wiped out, in spite of the growth of the labor movement, after only a few years.

Fighting employer groups had their successes too, and they were often backed by resolute anti-labor industrial giants like United States Steel. Thus the Lake Carriers and the Lumber Carriers ended their contracts with the longshoremen's unions during the recession of 1908. At that point the road ahead for the unskilled began to look longer than ever; without strong bargaining positions and organization, they were facing employers fortified by their own associations and federated into such bodies as the National Association of Manufacturers.

Fortunately for all, the skilled workers of the trade unions continued to gather strength. Their memberships throughout the nation aggregated 1½ million by 1904, remained steady to 1910, then shot up to 2 million in 1913. Realizing their own insecure position against powerful and tight-knit employer groups, they acted through the A.F. of L. to attack their political enemies, assaulting primarily those who, like President William Taft, had been involved in directing Federal judicial authority against union economic activities. They were in luck in this particular objective, for Taft fell out with Theodore Roosevelt, and the Democrats in 1912 elected Woodrow Wilson as President when Roosevelt split the Republicans. There is no evidence that Taft's strong actions in granting anti-labor injunctions as a Federal Judge had anything to do with Roosevelt's disenchantment with him, but for the moment the A.F. of L. prospered. The Democrats controlled Congress for a time and from 1911-1913 enacted most of the A.F. of L. program.

This considerable political success may have had a share in setting off what then ensued in Buffalo, although business prosperity and a sudden rise in retail prices were more immediately stimulating to the union leadership. From 1907 to 1913 in the North Atlantic area, prices rose 18.7%, 7.7% in the single year 1912.

In Buffalo, the year 1913 brought a streetcar strike followed by strikes in department stores, trucking companies, and machine producers. The streetcar strike came close to winning the workers something of considerable value. The International Railway Company (I.R.C.) found itself isolated because, as a branch of International Traction of New Jersey, which in turn was a subsidiary of United Gas and Electric Corporation, it was not in the particular good graces of local businessmen. Concealed corporate control had not become commonplace, and streetcar service is an easy and perennial target of complaint, whether justified or not. Businessmen operating in the city would have preferred to deal with a local concern and to be spared the complaints of customers and employees about the service. They had recently demanded improvements. I.R.C.'s president, E. G. Connette, found himself in an indefensible position when he refused to talk to union leaders who were offering to place their requests in the hands of impartial arbitrators. Isolated, he finally was forced by the strike to agree to the union's offer and to its demand that a grievance committee be constituted.

Even this equivocal gain had not been won for the asking. The walkout was complete, and it followed on a strong organizing effort, the first in Buffalo, by the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America (A. F. of L.). During this effort the I.R.C. fired the employees who dared join the union as quickly as its spies reported their names, and it was a mass dismissal of 75 workers on April 5 that brought the shutdown on Sunday, April 6, in protest. Mass meetings then produced a strike vote and on Monday morning the battle began in the streets. A boy was shot and seriously injured, a score of people were injured in strike-related incidents, and 100 were arrested; among the latter there were some strikers, for by far the greater part of the demonstration was contributed by mobs that poured out to line the streets and see the fun. The fun was attractive enough to invite participation in smashing car windows, cutting trolley ropes, and diverting the completely inadequate police forces. There is no way of determining that these public auxiliary rioters were disgruntled riders of the streetcars. Their presence may have been a simple commentary on the American tolerance for violence, or perhaps enjoyment of it, for this was more than a spectacle sport.

There was public annoyance at the inconveniences caused by suspending services, the more that the papers had not reported the growing conflict over the preliminary organizing efforts, but nevertheless, the importation of strikebreakers was generally reprobated, and the use of militia deprecated. Judge C. H. Brown finally agreed to demand three brigades of National Guard troops and they, with hundreds of

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extra policemen, opened the main lines to anyone willing to accept such hazards as thrown rocks. Judge C.A. Pooley granted an injunction against the incitements of the local and national union officers, and his dry comment that it would do no good was accurate prophecy. Two days of no cars and two of hazardous service brought the Company to the bargaining table. Its refusal to recognize the union led to a rejection of terms, but the following day Mayor Louis Fuhrmann's offer to arbitrate brought peace and resumption of service.

The Mayor cannily postponed his decision until August, when the workers had lost their fervor for organizing. His decision gave the union rather less than the Company had offered. They gained 1¢ an hour in a scale that ran from 23¢ to 29¢ and won slight adjustments to working hours in schedules that might keep a regular worker on duty for 18 hours in a day and, for most operators, forced them to report for rush-hour duty three times a day for fewer than the usual nine hours. The Union demanded nine hours minimum but got nothing like that. The total result was hardly more than a demonstration that in Buffalo unskilled labor, although usually paid low rates, could nevertheless command sympathy, and could maintain an organization as well.

The other strikes of the year 1913 followed immediately. Department store clerks, packers, and drivers numbering 2,000 walked out in May, but the strike was ineffective. Nevertheless, store proprietors regarded the strikers kindly and shortly made concessions that ended the stoppage. H.A. Meldrum was openly sympathetic and Chauncey Hamlin, owner of the Sweeney department store, raised wages and granted an 8-hour day. The major object of most of these strikes, union recognition, was not openly accepted.

The teamster trades were allied to the clerks and were able to inflict serious injury on the stores. They clearly won their wage and recognition demands by May 20. But when express company drivers tried the same tactics, they found effective strikebreakers working their routes. This drove them to open violence that the police easily controlled, and it also alienated public support. The strikers abjectly failed but ultimately were reinstated with no other concessions given them. The International Teamsters' Union had disapproved the strike and had given them no help.

A further Teamsters' effort, directed aginst trucking firms, was more successful. Such firms were ordinarily employers of only one or two dozen workers and so, not wealthy enough for long conflicts. The drivers concentrated against those who refused to pay minimum wage scales and won on that point, but the Queen City Team Owners Association carried its policy of no union recognition against the Buffalo Trucking Association, which was willing.

A very broad organizing effort in the machine trades won even greater gains. The unions grew to over 6,000 through the efforts of A.F. of L. and Socialist Party organizers. They joined the strike wave in mid-May, asking grievance procedure, arbitration between union and company, a 9-hour day, and 37½¢ per hour pay. The employers' association declared there would be no recognition of unions, but within a month some sort of grievance procedure involving the union was won in most plants. This was evidently enough victory for one effort, and the labor offensive halted.

This 1913 outburst also revealed something about the organization of the labor movement in Buffalo. At the beginning, the United Trades and Labor Council was still functioning after 20 years of operation. That it might not be operating at a city central labor council's best was indicated by the Socialist Party officers' assuming great responsibility for organizing new locals. William F. Cattell, editor of the *Buffalo Socialist*, was one of the most active of these; although he was also a member of U.T.L.C., his activism in the strike movement brought about his dismissal from the Council on May 12. The conservative majority of the Council disapproved of much else besides in the strike flurry, trimming demands of various unions as the price for support, or opposing all action even against A.F. of L. approval. This was bold indeed, for its own charter had been withdrawn by the A.F. of L. in March on the ground that it had recognized independent and dual unions despite the strongest rules and traditions opposing any splitting of the all-important national unions. The nationals were the sole judges of what groups were to receive charters. The charters of two carpenter and one electrical union were annulled at the same time.

The Buffalo situation was not further disturbed until the strikes were over, but early in June an A.F. of L. organizer arrived to reorganize the city central council as the Central Labor Union. This the locals were forced to join in order to keep their national charters, so that the U.T.L.C. had disappeared within two months. Then the A.F. of L., with Olympian calm, demonstrated its indifference to mere politics by restoring Cattell to the C.L.U. Council; his Socialism meant nothing, but good hard work for unions was a great deal to them. Incidental to this change was a decline in Socialist interest, for C.L.U. proved to be effective in organizing.

The streetcar situation can be profitably pursued since it exposed still another among the pitfalls to trap the unwary union official—entanglement in the processes of governmental regulations. A strike was called most heedlessly during World War I at the very peak of the public fervor for the American war effort in October 1918. There was reason enough for the workers' complaints, for prices had shot up while wages were sternly controlled. The International Railway Company most unwisely thought it could force an increase in fares on the ground that its costs had risen. The State Public Service Commission responded sluggishly to its entreaties although its professional examiners acknowledged that the Company was in real trouble because the depression of 1914-15 had

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left it incapable of meeting the challenge of swiftly rising service demands as industry suddenly expanded to meet war orders. To this may be added the disorganization and losses incurred in the 1913 strike.

The I.R.C. shrewdly brought the union into its campaign for revenue and, although some workers and others were reported to be aware that they were merely being used, the organization decided to accept this curious alliance. Neither side was aware that in Mayor George S. Buck they faced a negotiator whose loyalty to the public interest was unshakeable. He openly declared—after the strike—that the I.R.C. was trying to shake down the city and that the strike was collusive. He further condemned the Company for deliberately neglecting its plant to produce such a breakdown in service as did occur in the winter of 1917. This capitalistic sabotage he blamed on absentee landlordism and expressed his doubts of ever extorting just behavior and reasonable wages and fares from a company that had inflated its valuation beyond all reason. Buck's stern rejection of all compromises broke the strike and ultimately the Company.

And now the union had entangled itself in a complicated negotiation. So immovable a third party would not necessarily in himself constitute a serious hazard to operations of the union, even when that party represented important authority. Mayor Buck was menacing because he was immediately present and truly formidable in his courage. But, as he himself regretfully observed, he and his brother Commissioners were not allowed by the State of New York to control the traffic in Buffalo streets in that the State Public Service Commission held great power as the regulator of fares. When one or another of the warring parties disagreed with the Commission, they appealed to the courts—to the State Supreme Court, the Appellate Division, and finally to the Court of Appeals. If they were still angry and not destitute, they might approach the United States Supreme Court as well.

But in the complexities of American government, by the time these processes had been endured many others might have been tried as well. The Governor would, in serious situations, send his mediators and advisers and their hearings were often tortuous and prolonged, perhaps ending with the despairing conclusion that the negotiations were hopeless among unreasoning and unyielding principals—as they did in the succeeding Buffalo streetcar case. The Legislature, being appealed to for special legislation, would solemnly proceed through its process of investigating and hearing, first one house and then the other, to final determinations in bills that might then be vetoed by the Governor, or disallowed by the Court of Appeals or the U.S. Supreme Court. And to all of this, the constant, varying, and sometimes contradictory actions of the Common Council provided a continuous background of shrieks and grumbles.

Modern political improvements add still another touch: after much bargaining, all may be agreed upon, higher rates set, wage rises approved by special wartime boards, court actions quieted, and a general surprised hush spread over all; at this point someone may institute a popular referendum since setting fares is public business. This also occurred in the course of streetcar wage and fare negotiations (1913-1922), as did most of the other listed operations. The good people of Buffalo ended the 1918 dream of successful agreement by rejecting the proposal to raise the fare from 5¢ to 6¢ by a vote of 35,000 to 7,000. Two weeks later the strike began, the declared occasion being the refusal of the Company to pay wage rates approved by the War Labor Board.

Two days later the Common Council agreed with the Company on terms and several days later began proceedings in Supreme Court to put the Company into receivership. Appeals brought this back for rehearing three weeks later and Mayor Buck opposed other proposals, insisting that Court proceedings be concluded first. On the next day the Company accepted a plan suggested by Judge L.W. Marcus and service was resumed. It is more than noticeable that there was none of the customary violence attending workers' efforts to stop service. Mayor Buck was no doubt right in his assumption that Company and union were in agreement on this occasion, thus creating a simple and peaceful suspension rather than a strike.

As a further comment on how complex public negotiations can be, and how maddening, the further, almost continuous and nearly interminable negotiations were lightened by a news note of February 14th, 1919, in the *News*, solemnly reporting that the Supreme Court had upheld an appeal of the I.R.C. against the Public Service Commission in the case instituted years previously on the Common Council's prewar demand that the streetcar fare be reduced to 4¢. It was further declared that the city of Buffalo's case would now be appealed in spite of the fantastic nature of further procedures in a case that had become totally irrelevant to a violently changed world.

A new street railway era opened when the Company won its appeals on another suit as to the validity of its franchises. Although the Common Council appealed further, and fruitlessly, on fares, the I.R.C. was now in reasonable position to sell. This was done in 1919 by foreclosure proceedings and the potent and seasoned Mitten traction interests of Philadelphia took control. The Mitten managers gave everyone fair words, assured the authorities that good service was no problem to them, and brought local investors into their roster of stockholders. They went so far as to repair tracks so paving operations could go forward. They were allowed a fare increase which the Common Council promised to oppose, but with Buck in the hospital with an ulcer that required an operation and kept him from his duties for months, nothing effective was done, the loss of a lawsuit ending that protest.

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Labor relations immediately proved to be more difficult. Fair words did not placate the workers, who were still trying to match prewar wages and war prices. They demanded a 60% increase and recognition of their union by I.R.C. as it was still called. Neither they nor Company president H. G. Tulley would discuss wages openly—the fare question still being in controversy—but Tulley was definite on the other issue. There would be no "closed shop" in I.R.C.. Throughout 1920 there was nervous expectation of another strike. The union offered arbitration but its arbitrator could not come to agreement with the Company's representative on the third member. Governor Alfred E. Smith sent Lieutenant Governor H.C. Walker and mediators to Buffalo and cornered the Company: it refused to name an arbitrator to complete the board of three. He promised that there would be no unreasonable award, the Company agreed to proceed, but at the end of the year, after trying the Governor's patience for three months more, it again refused.

What had happened is revealed in the Company's statement: it had noted the decline in prices and concluded that wage increases would not now be needed; they withdrew their agreement to arbitrate. Union officials suggested that the Company was hoping for a strike in order to break the workers' organization. This presumption probably had some truth in it, although there were, no doubt, other underlying reasons for the Company's policy. Many American industries had operated under a policy of cooperation by contracts with unions beginning around 1900. But they had found that the work rules demanded by unions both guaranteed union prosperity and greatly complicated the tasks of management. Growing impatient with restrictions on working time and conditions as well as ultimately on productivity, employers like Ford and United States Steel had experimented with company-directed worker organizations backed by generous welfare provisions. The obverse of this attractive coin was relentless opposition to any bargaining independence that unions gained for the workers by working rules and tough strike threats. The Mitten traction interests had their own Mitten Plan which was based on a system of grievance procedures. This was trotted out at the critical moment—after the union had committed itself irrevocably.

The sincerity of the Mitten attack on the union may be judged from their claims that all traction difficulties in Buffalo were caused by the Union—a tribute to the infant Union of 1913 and an insulting deprecation of the very effective attack on the I.R.C. mounted by Mayor Buck in 1918. I.R.C.'s absurd statement was occasioned by the strike that finally arrived in 1922. It was precipitated by a wage cut rescinded by I.R.C. as the workers hit the streets, although it stood firm in opposing the closed shop. This was July 3, and until late August pitched battles raged, for this time there was no union-company collusion. Police gunfire killed one and wounded three, armed cars maintained a semblance of service on Main Street, the Chief of Police called for help, bombs and acid as well as bricks were thrown, and on July 20, state troops began patrolling the streets. At the end of the month President Tulley announced that the Company would do nothing to end the strike.

On this occasion the union had an important ally in a high place: Mayor Francis X. Schwab. His effectiveness as a political leader and his motivation as a genuinely compassionate man has previously been mentioned. Now he had full scope. He supported the workers with an unremitting warfare against the I.R.C. in the teeth of journalistic criticism, despite bureaucratic molestation, and in contemptuous defiance of court injunctions—except for verbal deference to angry judges. When the Public Service Commission rejected in annoyance his official complaints of I.R.C.'s poor service on the ground that he had himself deliberately neglected to regulate traffic in order to block streetcar operation, Schwab blandly suggested that it was time the Governor removed the Commissioners. The Mitten operators were foemen worthy of his steel: their reply to this was a courteous letter proposing a plan by which the 5¢ fare could be restored.

Schwab's most successful maneuver was his entirely and blindingly illegal licensing of "jitney" buses that were soon carrying a considerable proportion of the city's public conveyance patrons. The Public Service Commission brusquely denied licenses, Judge Charles A. Pooley enjoined the jitney operators to cease, the police busied themselves elsewhere, and for weeks writs and threats flew while the Mayor in his best official manner joined in ordering them to cease, sometimes almost emphatically. By September, 400 exuberant "jitneys" jolted the streets of Buffalo from designated stands, charging a fare of 16¢ to anywhere in the city. By November the unions were asking for more licenses, the Mayor virtuously refusing, because, he said, he would be put in jail if he didn't.

While Mayor Schwab played out this comedy, and he was still paying strikers for "special police services" months later, elsewhere things became very serious indeed. The bombs became bigger. A contemptuous news report on August 17 of a bungling attempt to dynamite an I.R.C. bridge in Niagara Falls was next day succeeded by the story of an all too successful explosive attempt on the tracks to Niagara Falls resulting in injuries to 46 passengers. From that time the course of the strike turned rapidly against the workers. The Chief of Police was soon advising them to give up since they had already lost.

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Streetcar strike, 1922-23

Guarding of streetcars was soon discontinued, although cars were stoned in South Buffalo as late as November 3, and unions continued to try to arrange their own transportation as a support to the strikers. Court cases against the jitney operators harassed them severely, and by December the Public Service Commission positively complimented I.R.C. on its services.

The dynamiting was not an event easily disposed of. In the following January, State Senator Robert Lacey and several other people were arrested and charged with complicity in Federal Court. Three of the 22 accused promptly pleaded guilty. Among the accused were two officers of the Union, and as trial began another confessed, and U. S. Attorney William Donovan said the dynamiting had been ordered by certain of the Union's officers. Senator Lacey was later convicted of perjury and in contrition promised to assist further prosecution. It was early 1926 before four more were found not guilty and six more dismissed by the Judge. At that time there was still doubt as to the guilt of several more.

Before then many had attempted to estimate the cost of this strife. Some guessed that $5 million had been lost in this 1922 round, and in 1925 the total effect could be seen. The passenger use of streetcars in 1920 had been 205 million, in 1922 only 125 million, and the recovery in 1924 was only to 177 million. In the preceding seven years I.R.C. reported a profit but once. The effect on the labor movement could have been no more beneficent, and other blows were falling on unions and their organizers that made Buffalo equally, with many other industrial areas, centers of disappointment and frustration as union membership melted away after reaching prosperous peaks during the war. To the streetcar workers of Buffalo things looked worse than to most, for they had been soundly beaten in spite of public sympathy—which the bombing had dissipated—and the support of an important branch of government. The strategy of industrial capitalism looked unbeatable since it so easily prevailed even against such a division in the ranks of political authority.

It was in fact many days since industrial cooperation had been the watch-word early in the century when Mark Hanna, a very great industrialist, reprobated the anti-labor attitude of the National Association of Manufacturers and Samuel Gompers, with him in the National Civic Federation, was equally firm in rejecting Socialist doctrine. At the close of World War I in 1918, the mere existence of radical unions and the victory of the Communists in Russia, together with the war spirit stirred by military victory, produced a fighting capitalism beside which even Gomper's wage-conscious and militant trade unions appeared peaceable and innocuous. A confrontation in Erie County was imminent, and the outcome removed all doubt as to who was to be boss—until the Great Depression again unsettled all such competitive positions.

Erie County was startled in September 1919 by an almost unanimous walkout of workers in the Lackawanna Iron and Steel Company plant (soon to be Bethlehem). This was part of a strike against the entire steel industry sponsored by an organizing committee of the 24 related A.F. of L. unions. With 100,000 members it hoped to win an 8-hour day and union recognition. In Lackawanna the pickets were attacked by policemen and state troopers, who escorted strikebreakers into the plant. There was a death by shooting and many injuries from clubbing, but by January 1920, production had risen to 75% and the strike collapsed. Leadership of the industry was in the hands of Judge E. H. Gary, head of United

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States Steel Corporation, and he refused any compromise. He insisted that the industry could not exist if its normal 12-hour day were shortened; this schedule required a 24-hour day every two weeks as the shifts changed but this did not seem unreasonable to him. Conditions in the mills did improve after intervention by the Interchurch World Movement but elimination of the 12-hour day began only after President Harding himself insisted that it be done.

Such vigorous corporate action as these examples reveal made an end to any spectacular gains by the labor movement until the shift to President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal. Union membership remained at about 3½ million—its high had been over 5 million—but conditions revived the axiom that only the skilled trades could hope to maintain a bargaining position against employers. Those who believed they should have better wages and conditions in such powerfully organized industries as steel and automobiles still looked forward to organizing them without the craft divisions of the A.F. of L.'s organizing committees, but the strength to do it seemed only a dream of the visionary.

Industrial unionism as it now is in the United States is the special product of the frustrations of the unskilled worker brought to a boil by the Great Depression and released by the fighting unionism long practiced by the A.F. of L. In the militancy it was aided by the reckless devotion of many who did not acquire their faith in sheer combativeness secondhand through trades unions' adaptation of Marx's doctrine of class struggle. These helpers, who quickly became unwelcome in labor's ranks no matter what their contributions, were members of the Communist Party and were available to help organizing work because they had support from abroad. But at the worst of the Depression, the profound despair of American workers made them tolerate doctrine normally repugnant.

The despair of the workers at this time was no generalized despondency. In big industry, it had turned to bitter anger directed at a specific object: the power of foremen. Foremen had soon discovered that in their power to hire and fire they had the means of satisfying the most crabbed ego, and workers soon learned that their livelihoods depended upon catering to the weirdest whims of such egos. There were so many unemployed that no independent spirits need be tolerated.

Living at the whimsy of minor despots was only the final humiliation of their position. Wage rates quickly sank to the lowest possible levels, in some situations to subsistence *less* available public relief. In automobile plants the rate was variable, from 40¢ an hour at the beginning of production on a new model to $1 or even more if it proved saleable, but back to 40¢ after the fall layoff. Hours in steel were now a fixed eight per working day but in automobiles they might rise to (now a very welcome) 10 or 12. Insecurity was at a maximum in the steel plants, where a man might report fruitlessly three times a day hoping to be engaged for a single shift. Favoritism at the hiring gate was infuriating, and bribes or other enticements to the foreman were often the only remedies.

If a man were involved in an accident he was laid off as a punishment. Discipline was always harsh and whimsical, and escape from factory routine almost impossible. In the auto industry the workers were keenly aware of one end to their problems: they were normally superannuated by the age of 40, the consequence of long days on the assembly line with few moments of rest and constant demands for more speed from this vast machine that went faster and faster.

It was, of course, a national figure who led the way in hacking an escape route through the underbrush of this jungle. This was John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, at the beginning a member of the A.F. of L. but soon to be the center of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (C.I.O.) formed in 1935. When it had become plain that the Federal authorities would be on labor's side, Lewis tried to persuade the A.F. of L. in 1934 to organize by industry rather than by craft in dealing with such giants as steel and automobile manufacturers. President William Green tried to persuade him and the leader of the conservative craft organizers, William Hutcheson of the Carpenters' Union, to compromise on a "Federal" union to bargain in a given plant, but leaving it open to the trade unions to claim skilled members for themselves. Neither Lewis nor Hutcheson would give way; they fought with their fists on the 1935 convention floor and parted enemies. The C.I.O. began to organize.

In August 1936, the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee sent an organizer to Buffalo armed with the power to charter local unions of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, which was a mere vestige of an organization but which had Philip Murray of the United Mine Workers to operate its S.W.O.C., and which possessed a half-million dollars (from U.M.W.) to pay for its efforts. The chief organizer, Charles Payne, was also a member of U.M.W. and his assistant was a young Scot who taught at the (Marxist) Buffalo Labor Institute and was an experienced organizer in the Communist Party. Payne appeared before the Central Labor Council of Buffalo and was refused any direct help, as was expected, but was allowed the use of its information sources and was permitted to call freely on even craft workers for help. The Council felt assured of the failure of this new effort, and Payne and Doyle soon found out why when they discovered that personal contact with workers was nearly impossible except in

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the privacy of worker's homes.

But in three months they dared to hold a public meeting. Payne and Doyle had worked very hard and they had had vigorous support from the Communist Party, and they found a worker who would speak out. This was Olyn Wilson, a middle-aged Black who quit the segregated union, joined S.W.O.C., and produced a list of prospects from his church. He presided at the first meeting. Only 60 appeared, 40 of these already members, and the worst was over even though policemen were present and busily writing down names. Republic and Bethlehem hastily reorganized their company unions, the latter forcing workers to vote in company union affairs by the simple expedient of withholding their paychecks until they did. Republic had its own simple expedient: heavy armament for its police force. Members of the union were offered generous pay for spying, and the local went underground, but not before Doyle was beaten and he and others were habituated to being followed constantly by three male companions not of their own choosing. Nevertheless, it had soon been decided that David Sneddon was to be President of the new local, and recognition appeared to be a possibility when a blundering strike set back their optimistic plans.

This was the Republic Steel strike of 1937. Starting in Cleveland, it was followed by a walkout in Buffalo arranged confusedly and somewhat irresponsibly but finally achieving modest effectiveness. This was late in May and some semblance of a picket line persisted until late August, by which time most of the strikers had been readmitted to their departments by vote, a new and factitiously democratic arrangement. The police used its mounted division effectively to keep free access to the plant so that shortly there was nothing but quiet boredom on the picket line.

In the meantime, the United Automobile Workers (A.F. of L.) under Homer Martin in 1936 escaped craft control and bolted to the C. I. O. A series of sitdown strikes followed and when General Motors refused to negotiate while so hurried, stoppages by February 1937, became almost total as grievance claims accumulated. This battle was largely conducted on Michigan sites, and the shooting, which won the strikers control of strategic buildings as well as a number of gunshot wounds, ended in intervention by the State of Michigan and a truce.

This stalemate was victory enough to open the way for serious organizing. President Lewis of the C.I.O. sent Hugh Thompson to Buffalo as Regional Director but with a caution: "They kill you there. So, I don't expect very much from you." The events did not justify this harsh estimate, if Lewis meant his statement literally rather than as a warning to Thompson that violence would be met with violence, here as elsewhere. When Ford police used violence freely, Thompson concentrated on one of the General Motors plants and carried out a quiet and highly disciplined sitdown strike that ended with an agreement to discuss the grievance that occasioned the strike.

But after gaining these footholds there was serious difficulty finding others. Until World War II started and labor shortages created the best possible market for workers' services, progress toward recognition was very slow. Against the Ford Company's police almost nothing could be accomplished, and "Little Steel" - Republic and Bethlehem - was no more vulnerable. A number of smaller local plants were unionized and the new unions were held together in the face of the short but very sharp business recession of 1938.

During this stalemate the unions considered the best way forward. The United Automobile Workers had the fewest problems. Its membership was typically American, its militants coming no further from home than Detroit. The steelworkers locals were clearly of three distinct groups: Doyle and his Communists, European liberals with union experience, and conservative Americans of no ideology. With the forming of a C.I.O. Council for Buffalo, those of radical belief found themselves in a very small minority, and events abroad conspired against them. Charles Doyle was edged out by eliminating his position, others of his opinion were dropped from offices, and by the end of 1938, the local C.I.O. had lost its red tinge. When Stalin executed his remarkable changes of policy with respect to Fascism in 1938 and 1940, all others of Marxist background found themselves mere laughingstock. By 1941, with the Catholic Diocese of Buffalo giving effective support, labor institutions had taken on a solidly conservative appearance. Replacement of the Marxist Labor Institute by the Catholic Labor College under Monsignor John P. Boland brought about great improvement in quality. Monsignor Boland as Chairman of the New York State Labor Relations Board and District Director of the National Labor Relations Board had indicated that he possessed all of the qualities needed to make this a useful institution.

This swing to conservatism had embraced the project of a labor party, but its purpose was not the election of national tickets but the encouragement of favorable nominees. In Buffalo they were fortunate in finding, nominating, and electing the Democrat that interested them. This was Mayor Thomas L. Holling, who was to prove himself sympathetic when the inevitable confrontation occurred.

The denouement was sudden and swift. The unions had made good their existence, and there was a gradual erosion of public confidence in the opposing corporations. The National Labor Relations Board proved to be a great help to the unions. Its decisions on the behavior of Republic Steel Corporation during the 1937 Strike were

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attacked by the Corporation in ten suits but the U. S. Supreme Court upheld the Board 5-2. Therefore, a similar conclusion by the Board following hearings on the Ford Motor Company had great weight.

The critical point was the successful strike against Bethlehem Steel Company in February 1941. Union members had penetrated the Company's Employees' Representation Plan and all but immobilized it while they opened a campaign of short, sharp strikes in various departments of the plant. By 1940, union membership buttons were flaunted and demands for recognition voiced. Discharge of 800 workers after a "quickie" strike brought a demand for a strike vote. Of 14,000 workers, 7,500 voted and the result was 6,400 to 1,000 for the strike. Picketing began February 26, 1941, and violence was sharp the second day as police failed to open the picket lines. Mayor Holling closed adjacent Buffalo streets, which had the effect of moving the police off and keeping cars away. The Mayor of Lackawanna closed Fuhrmann Boulevard, deputized pickets and the gates were in the hands of the strikers.

Federal authority now intervened in the name of national defense, rearmament having begun, Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins threatening to withdraw the Company's defense contracts if efforts to end the strike were refused. On the third day it was agreed to hold an election to choose labor representation and this was won by S.W.O.C. 8,223 to 2,961. When the strike began, S.W.O.C. Local Number 1024 had actually numbered but 500 of the 12,000 regular employees. Following this, Republic Steel and Ford Motor agreed to union recognition during the summer and the question of union recognition was closed.

Labor's conservative policy prevented any serious bargaining efforts during World War II, although there was hard bargaining backed by work stoppages occasionally. After Pearl Harbor in December 1941, unions relied on Federal efforts to prevent prices from rising enough to reduce the standard of living. Their "no strike" pledge was a guarantee that they would not seriously disturb the situation, although it did not prevent some of the better established unions from accepting such concessions as paid vacations and some modest pay increases. To assure themselves of a voice in the councils directing the war effort, they worked through the city central councils to set up a War Labor Board under Federal authority. Buffalo was first in the field with such a board, the President of the Buffalo Federation of Labor, Robert A. Smith of the Teamsters Local 264 of bakery drivers, backing the secretary of the national War Labor Board, Anna Rosenberg, in a struggle to persuade employers to accept this arrangement.

The end of the war signaled almost immediate and very large scale bargaining efforts within the nation. Strikes in late 1945 and early 1946 by the United Automobile Workers against General Motors Corporation and by the United Steel Workers against United States Steel Corporation and others, held the key to the whole question of wages and working rules. These were essentially national matters, but the effectiveness of union strategy was naturally dependent upon the ability of local organizations to exert economic pressure through strikes while maintaining reasonable relationships with the public at large. Everyone realized that the cost of living had risen in spite of the government's efforts, and President Truman's investigating board had set 17½% as a reasonable increase to compensate for the rise.

Buffalo was of course deeply involved. Many plants were affected by the efforts of the steel and auto workers, including such steelworking plants as Worthington, and many other unions were moving toward similar goals at the same time. So many concerns were struck in Buffalo that the newspaper accounts were almost box scores of the factories and numbers of workers involved. Local unions were not pawns in the game. One of the most effective tactical moves in the steel strike was the sudden walkout of Bethlehem employees in Lackawanna two days before the national strike was scheduled, thus closing the plant. The surprise, the widening of the objective—U. S. Steel was expected to be the only target—and the complete effectiveness of the walkout, added to the force of the ecomonic blow. This faultlessly managed action was set by the president of the Buffalo local, Joseph W. Maloney, after conferring with national leaders.

This was mid-January of 1946 and General Motors was already closed by strike action. Settlement of the issues was achieved after 113 days when the United Automobile Workers accepted an 18½ cent an hour increase plus an equalization fund instead of the 19½ cents they demanded. But the officers also claimed to have achieved the largest of all postwar settlements and likewise boasted that all had been accomplished in a completely orderly fashion in spite of the participation in Western New York of 18,000 workers.

Far more significant in settling the permanent character of the labor movement in Erie County was the strike at the Bell Aircraft Corporation's plant. This began early in June 1949. Protracted negotiations had not made significant progress except for a moderation of wage demands by Local 501 of the United Automobile Workers and little more was accomplished during the stoppage. The company then demanded that mass picketing cease so that management and engineering personnel could resume their work; nearly as many were occupied in engineering studies as in actual production. An injunction was granted and, for a time, the striking United Automobile Workers of Local 501 interfered no more than by occasional intimidating raids, for which in due time the participants were punished. But in early September, heavy and protracted fighting at the plant entrance broke out following a "back to work" movement, and it was re-

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newed even after intervention of a restrained nature by Governor Thomas E. Dewey.

It was mid-October before a truce was signed, the Bell company giving way on only a single point: it agreed to arbitration of ecomonic matters as well as of working conditions. The final settlement won little for the workers beyond the terms that had been offered them at the beginning, and, since the leaders of Local 501 were a few years later praising Laurence Bell for his sympathetic attitude toward his workers at all times, the question naturally arises as to why the strife was so bitter. Still more point is given the question when it appears that Local 516, of inspectors, planners, designers, timekeepers, and the like, had never agreed that Local 501 had just cause for striking. They saw no sense in demands for guaranteed retirement pay and miscellaneous bonuses, and said so while respecting the picket lines. Members of Local 516 no doubt were among those who did return to work before the settlement.

The answer was agreed to by many in later years when the underlying difficulties within the C.I.O. unions had been suppressed: political radicalism was the objective rather than justice or ecomonic need, and the fairminded employer like Bell was the easiest to traduce. By 1949, Communist enthusiasm had found material to work on in the mass unions, and even leaders such as Walter Reuther, then U.A.W. vice president, could be found haranguing strikers in the best radical tradition of class solidarity. In this case, the best he and others accomplished was to force an arbitration that could not advance their political hopes just as it did not help them economically. Bell Aircraft proved to be as tough as it was fair and union members respected both qualities.

But by 1949, the C.I.O. as a whole had almost forgotten the Marxist enthusiasm it had rejected a decade earlier in spite of incitements from radical sources and now the reminders, with the "coldwar" against Russia sharpening as American policy restored strength to war-weary Europe, the national officers of the C.I.O. resolutely sought out and destroyed leadership that appeared sympathetic to Communism. The warning of such acts as the Bell strike was sufficient to move them to resolute action. This new turn of policy affected a number of C.I.O. international unions, of which the most prominent in Erie County was the United Electrical Workers.

It was shortly after the Bell strike that severe purges swept the C.I.O. The regional director of the C.I.O., Hugh Thompson, promptly explained that the expelled unions constituted no real losses, and the reason for his confidence quickly appeared. The United Electrical Workers union was dismissed in national convention and on the heals of that summary action, the International Union of Electrical Workers was chartered. By this time, such large units as the I.U.E.W. local 1581 of the Westinghouse plant had already been organized and had easily won the election as representative of the workers. Within a month, over 250,000 of the radical United Electrical Workers group transferred to newly chartered locals. This gave general public satisfaction but employers were soon aware that the new International was solidly American in more than political moderation, for President James B. Carey promptly announced new wage demands, declaring that the radical predecessor organization had been too concerned with politics to care properly for its members' economic needs.

A number of other industries made similar changes, for the national body resolutely dismissed the United Public Workers, United Fur Workers, and the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers. Some hard fighting ensued, but on this matter of politics, the C.I.O. succeeded in swinging far toward the cautious nonpolitical tradition of the A.F. of L. Officers of the latter had felt that they were justified in open endorsements of such champions of the labor movement as Senator Robert F. Wagner, Governor Herbert H. Lehman, and President Franklin D. Roosevelt, but had regarded critically the broader political involvements of the C.I.O. The change in the C.I.O. attitude had the further advantage of anticipating the attacks on Communist sympathizers as well as actual partisans that were shortly to be pressed so violently by Senator McCarthy. By then many a union president could sit comfortably in the knowledge that here was one crisis he had already dealt with, and might even feel a certain condescension toward people who were so tardily and excitedly dealing with it.

The strikes already mentioned were not, perhaps, characteristic of the negotiations carried on by the unions since the war. There was far more reasonable compromise on the part of many employers willing to allow workers a proper proportion of the fruits of the great post war boom. Union officers naturally made the most of their opportunities, for they competed with each other to achieve the most advantageous contracts, if not in their own minds, nevertheless in the view of their members. Established unions such as those in the printing trades won affluent circumstances for themselves dealing with such employers as the newspapers by incorporating many advantageous terms in their working rules, and for many years have not been forced to consider strike action.

Other unions have enjoyed the advantage of dealing with employers who worked by contract with large industrial organizations that were extremely reluctant to face any kind of stoppage. An automobile manufacturer with orders piling up wanted supplies delivered and new buildings finished; he had little patience with efforts to protect him from excessive prices since he had revenues in prospect with which to pay them. The consequences have been wage rates actually disadvantageous to some workers in these favored trades. Those who labored in markets where they directly faced customers who had to conserve their

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funds found that they simply could not find buyers for their skills.

The labor movement is therefore far from the unified and irresistible force it may at times appear. It was curbed by the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947, limiting its control of jobs and its employment of rules tending to create needless labor. Its internal disagreements are well known. Until 1959, the C.I.O. and A.F. of L. unions maintained separate city central councils, expressing the national division of labor between the two. Within the two great national bodies there have been repeated secessions; the gigantic Teamsters' international was ejected and the auto workers have withdrawn. Staid and ancient bodies such as the International Typographers' Union withdrew from the A.F. of L. in the 1930's and was absent for several years. The International Association of Machinists withdrew during 1946 and 1947.

The successful merger of the Buffalo Federation of Labor with the greater Buffalo Industrial Union Council is therefore unlikely to impress anyone as being in any sense or degree a conspiracy, but rather an effort to keep the peace. By the close of 1956, the national merger of the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. had proceeded to the point at which city centrals were directed to follow. They were expected to join within two years but it was not until April 1959, that final agreement was achieved. An approaching election in the G.B.I.U.C. had caused the B.F.L. to hesitate so that they would know who they would be dealing with, and there was hard fighting in the C.I.O. unions over the choice of president. In the course of careful negotiations the Buffalo AFL-CIO council was set up, James L. Kane serving as president and Edward Kwietniewski as executive secretary.

The Council's concern has been as much to establish the labor movement in the civic life of Erie County as to assist in the movement itself. It has sought to serve in civic bodies and to make contributions wherever possible. The final establishment of the United Fund as a dependable source of welfare and cultural resources is in considerable part it's achievement, and it's leaders are alert to other opportunities.

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Site of Erie County Savings Bank, County Hall in background

Commerce

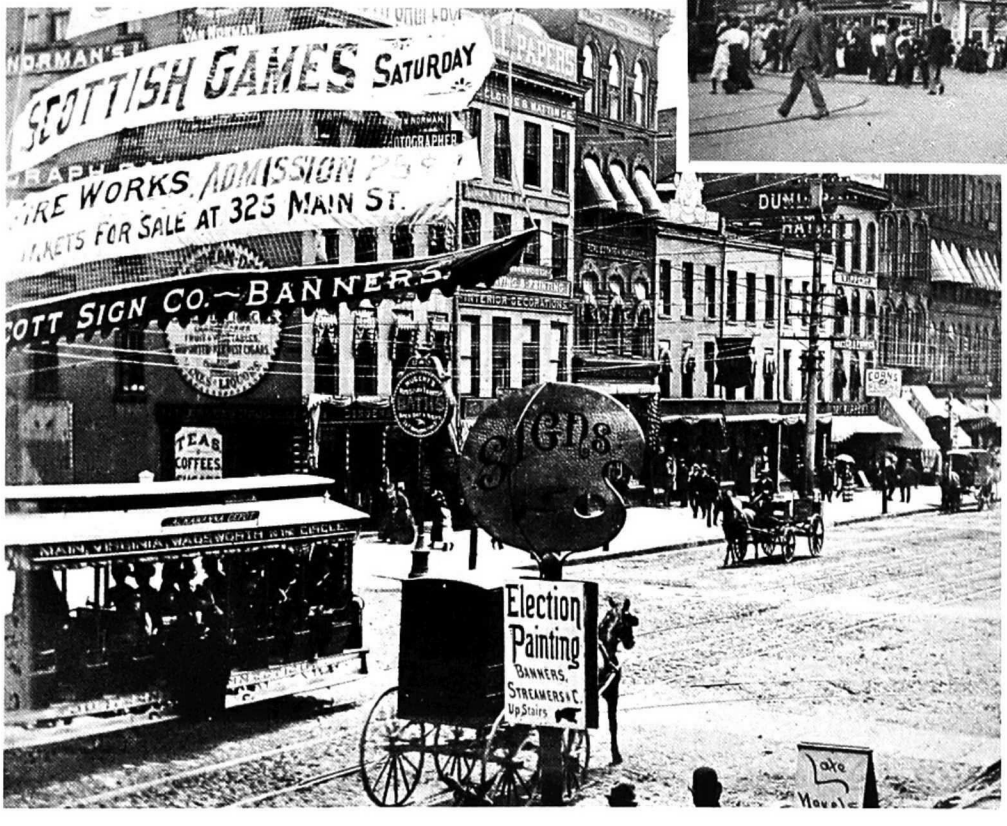
In the past century
Erie County developed
into a major commercial center.
Retail and wholesale outlets
combined with
manufacturing and transportation
kept the streets
and waterways
busy.

Collection of The Buffalo History Museum

Lafayette Square Court House

Meat Wagons, 1902

Collection of The Buffalo History Museum



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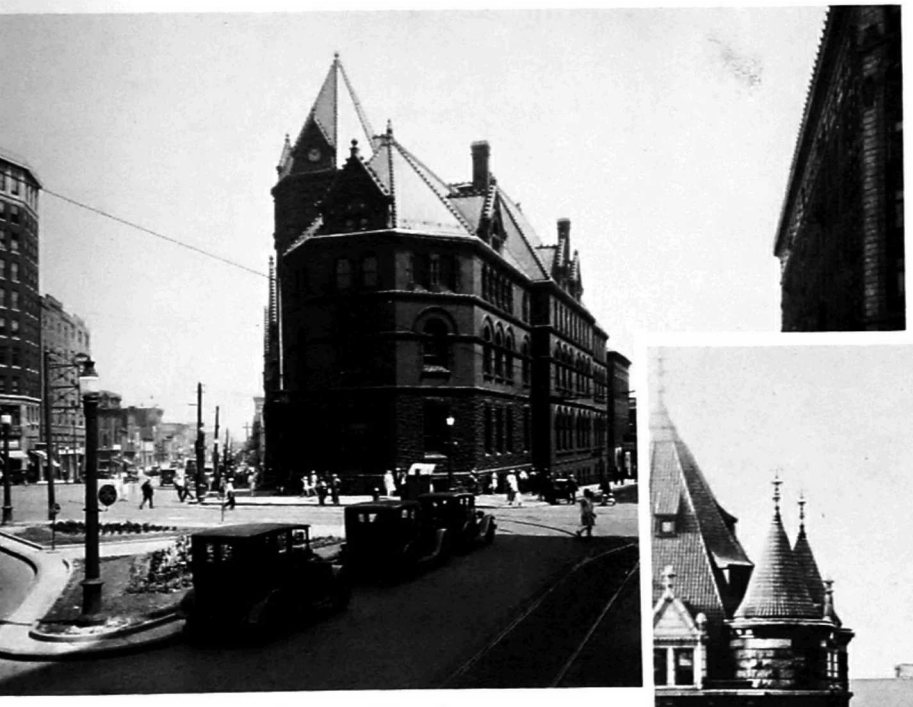

Public Library and Lafayette Hotel

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Island Club's "Huntress" operated from foot of Ferry Street

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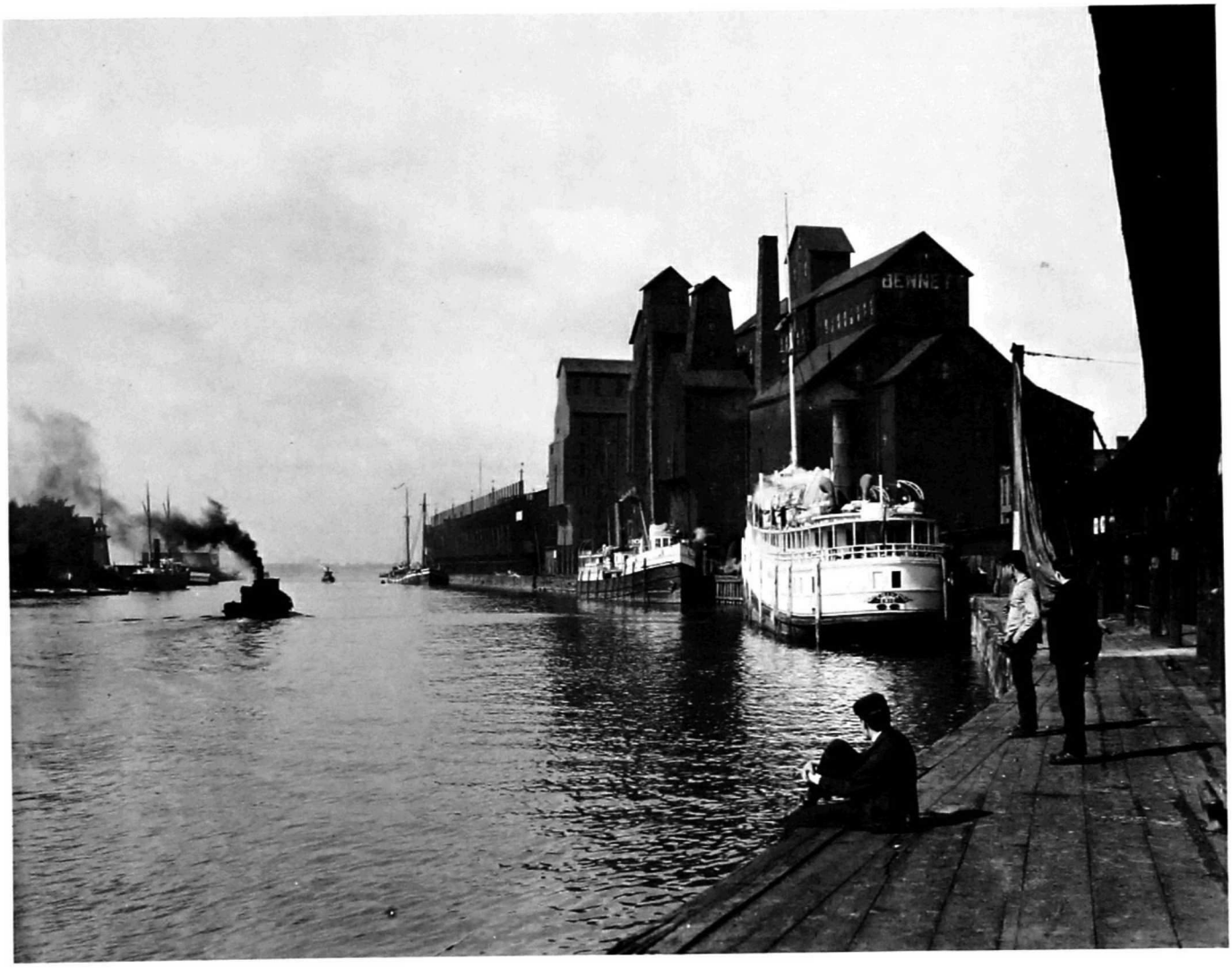
Buffalo harbor and grain elevators



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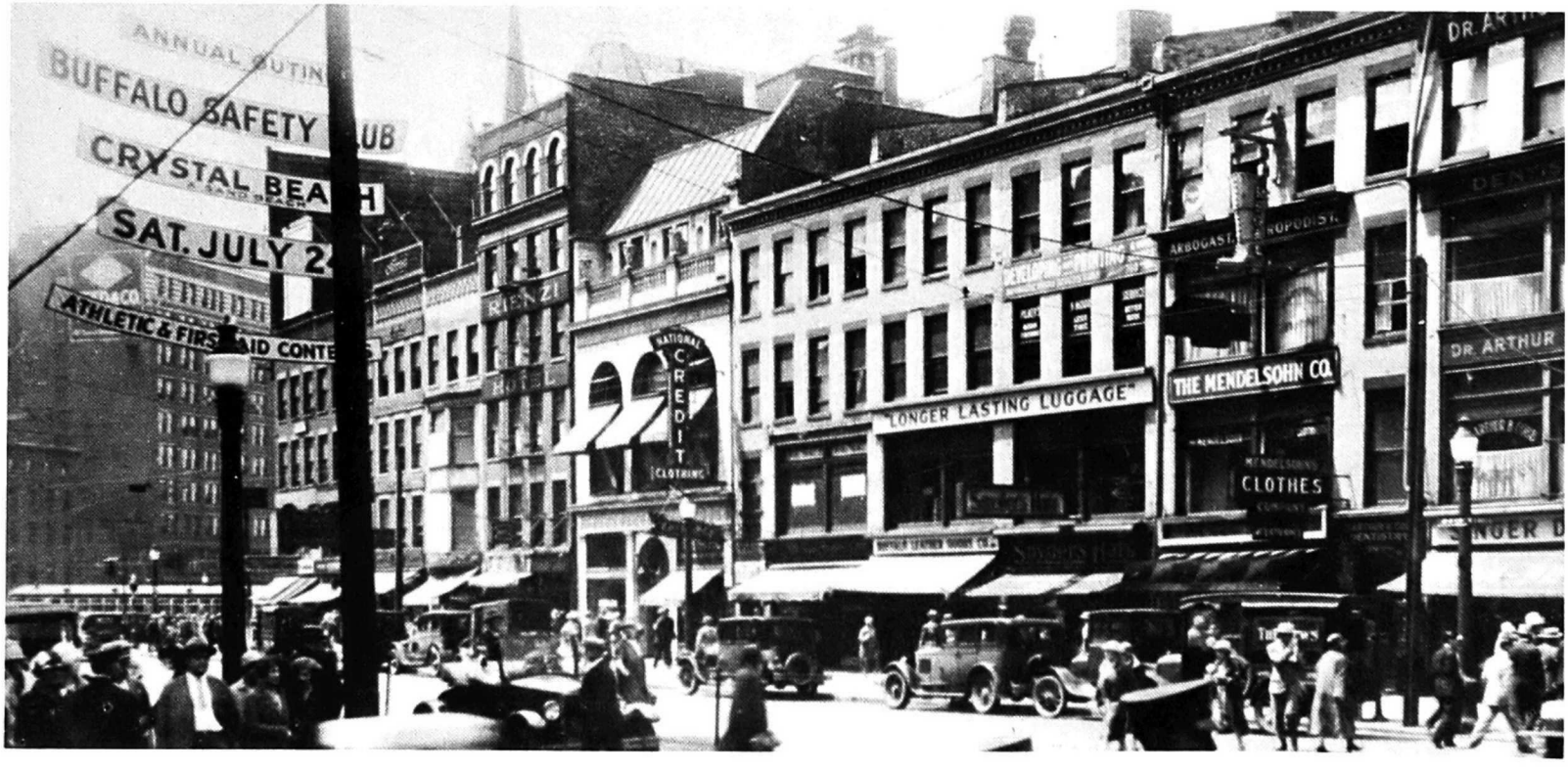
Looking east on Mohawk toward Washington Street and Ellicott Street, 1937

New Imperial Hotel and Temperance House



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Main street

Mercantile Center

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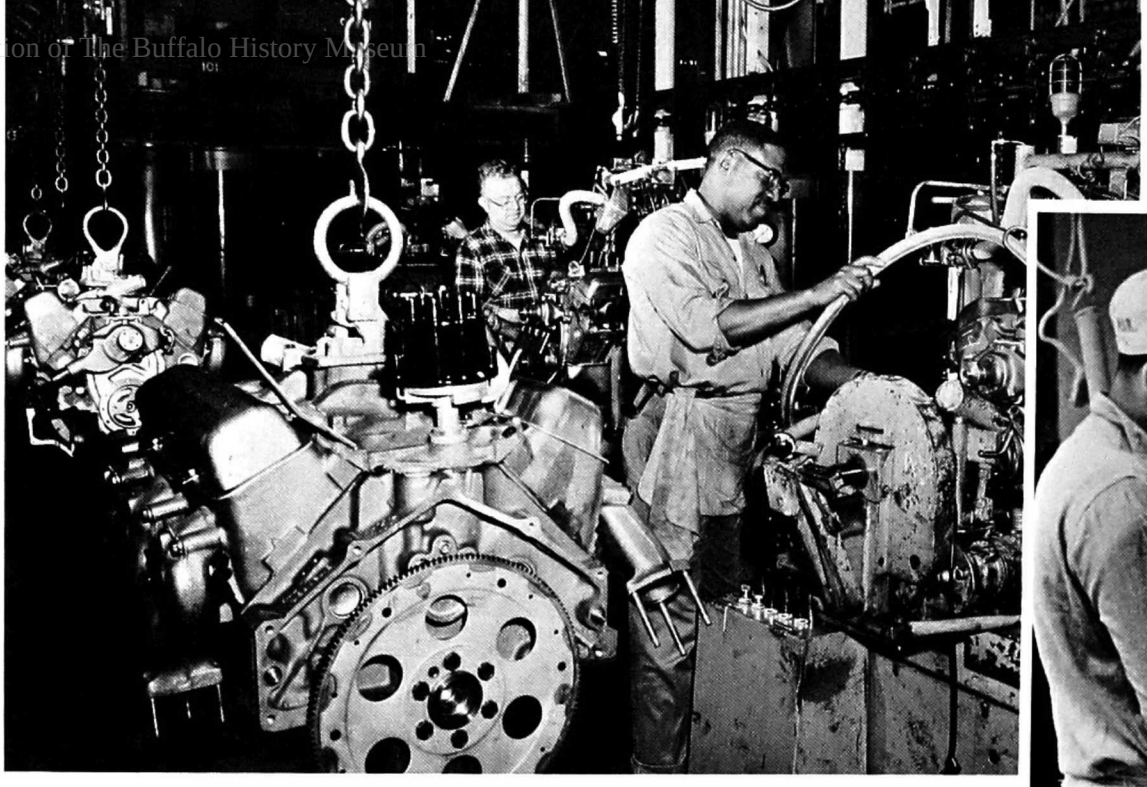
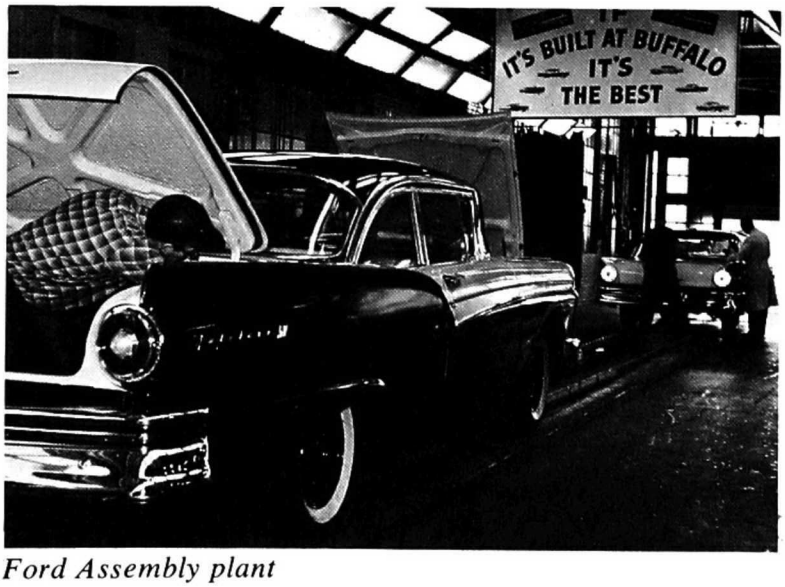


Automobile Production



Ford Assembly plant

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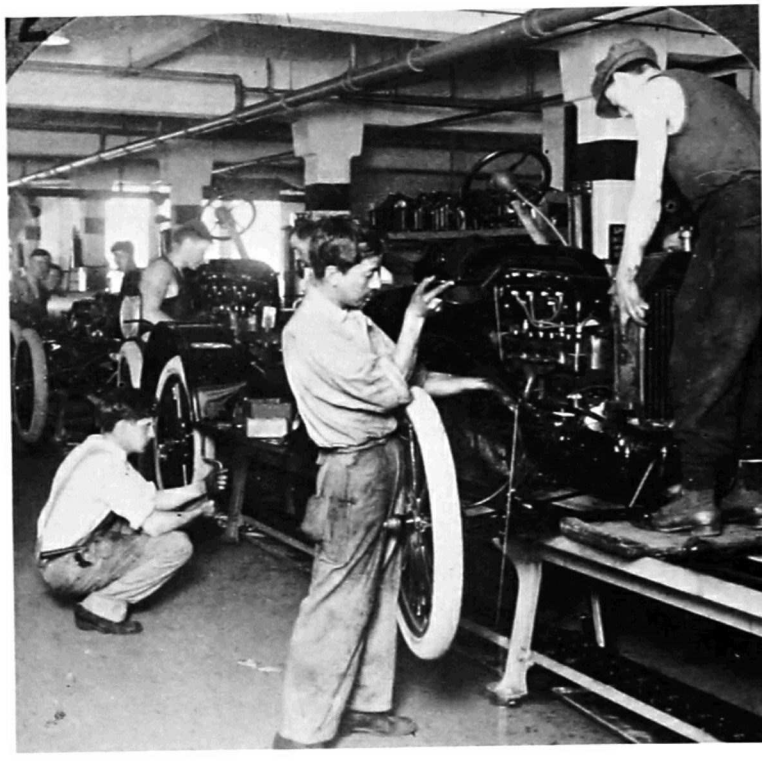
Ryerson Steel

Truck Equipment Co. plant



olie and Sons

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XIV. The Corporate Form of Government

Notwithstanding the passionate determination of its proponents, Commission government was to last under its new charter just over a decade, from the beginning of 1916 to the end of 1927. Most curiously, its ultra-rational form, a dream of political logic (Chapter V), was to yield a hilarious civic circus that was to be recalled gleefully 40 years and more afterward by its delighted observers. What was hoped for were men like Mayor George S. Buck, elected in 1917 with the backing of Boss Fred Greiner's Republican organization. Buck was the lifelong friend of John Lord O'Brian, a Yale graduate and a lawyer who carried austerely an awesome sense of responsibility. He served but one term, his doctrinaire followers quietly and inexplicably folding up their enthusiasm just after Buck had squashed a proposed charter revision with a devastating veto message. What is almost as puzzling is that he had somehow lost favor with Greiner, who also sat out the 1921 election.

Buck was succeeded by the next most striking member of the Commission government cast, Mayor Francis X. Schwab, about whom arguments could be stirred up a lifetime after his tenure. Recitals of his clumsy ceremonial speeches done in German dialect tempt one to dismiss him as a clown, with a respectful acknowledgment that he was a most entertaining clown indeed. But it appears that on other occasions he could produce Italian and Polish accents and attitudes and still converse among friends in quite acceptable American language with no more than a touch of the accent peculiar to Masten Park High School. He made himself a figure of fun on both sides of the Atlantic with his Hotel de Gink, a shelter for homeless and penniless workers on lower Main Street since, after putting it in operation, Schwab set off for Europe in a company of hotel operators and there advertised himself widely in his own fashion, drawing much amused attention to himself from government officials in England and France in an odyssey carefully reported in Buffalo newspapers. What his eccentric behavior expressed was characterized shrewdly by another Councilman cut from the same cloth, Frank C. Perkins. Coming to the Council in 1920, Perkins set it into an uproar with his pedantic Socialist theorization endlessly and irrepressibly shouted forth. But one day he demanded to know why Mayor Schwab didn't summarily dismiss a police official who was pretty plainly culpable, and when Schwab said earnestly that he felt that on compassionate grounds he should treat such matters most cautiously, Perkins replied that he knew that Schwab had a big heart and could be relied upon to be on the side of the unfortunate.

This is perhaps the deep truth of the matter: the people of Buffalo instinctively trusted the men, including the egregious Perkins, who unembarrassedly enacted their compassionate concern for others, and didn't quite like those who talked of law and responsibility. Schwab actually went to the length of standing trial while Mayor for violation of the Federal Volstead Act prohibiting alcoholic beverages (an offense previous to his term of office) and his plea of *nolo contendere* was popularly regarded as an expression of indifference to a harsh law rather than as an admission of criminality. Mayor Schwab never succeeded in offending his followers, while Mayor Buck must be satisfied with the encomiums of his friends, who declare with pride that he was a truly great Mayor. And let it be noted immediately that Perkins, whose accomplishments were a rill from a horse trough in comparison to the mighty flood of his oratory, was reelected by a vote far in excess of any previous total in these nonpartisan and nonconfronting elections; his 70,000 was a very large poll indeed.

Other Councilmen of this period deserve characterization as well as these three. There was Ross Graves, who resigned his state senatorship to serve on the Council, and whose chief contribution was a ceaseless persecution of the Board of Education, for reasons completely unclear. Another, J. F. Malone, as Senator helped to procure the adoption of the Commission Charter. He proved to be one of Boss W. H. Fitzpatrick's rare mistakes and served a term in Auburn and Dannemora for stealing from the city. Charles B. Hill was a capable lawyer who straightened out the city's finances. Promptly promoted to the New York State Public Service Commission, he later served as a member of the Buffalo Board of Education. Arthur W. Kreinheder, who left a good lumber business to serve, corrected the political distortions of the city's Public Works Administration, but involved himself hopelessly in the tangled web of urban vice and its control while serving as acting Mayor when

Buck fell ill, although he retired with honors. Some, like John F. Meahl, failed to hold party support or to develop their own private political machines (this was the vice of the system) and departed after a term, sometimes leaving in spite of their political predilections most verdant memories of good professional work in their departments. Meahl's was Parks and Buildings, and the present testimony of his accomplishments is flattering.

Buffalo had been anticipating the special excitement of starting a new system of government, and in general neither friend nor foe was disappointed. The friends hastened into print to explain the virtues of uniting policy-making with administration, remaining for several years firm in the faith that it was meeting all expectations. The first summary from the inside was published in July 1918 in a New York administrator's periodical, *State Service*, by Charles B. Hill, who had by then retired as Councilman to serve the Public Service Commission. He noted that partisan politics operated minimally in the original election, politicians working for their friends but not setting up party tickets. The five commissioners in his view worked together in a manner close to ideal: brief Council meetings that quickly arrived at policy decisions without the delay of committee operations, hearings conducted by the five acting as a committee, almost all serious discussions carried on publicly, top officials nominated by the Mayor and confirmed in Council and lesser officers nominated by the relevant department heads who brought communications into Council as well, and each tending to respect the responsibility of the other four in their own departments. Hill concluded by citing instances of quick, equitable, and responsible settlement of ancient and troublesome problems like the waterfront squatters as evidence that at last Buffalo had capable officials possessed of reasonable powers.

City Hall, Buffalo

Collection of The Buffalo History Museum

Mayor Buck was echoing these opinions even three years later. He particularly delighted in the possibility of quick action, as when the influenza epidemic demanded immediate provision of hospital facilities and the Council, acting within hours of the request, turned over a remodeled school building for use the following day. He did mention difficulties, however, since as Mayor he had found that he had to work in opposition to the newspapers, none of which had supported him during the 1918 streetcar strike, and against the opposition of a majority of the Council in administering the Police Department, the principle of respect for the department head having, by 1920, so broken down that he found it necessary to urge the voters to retire those Councilmen who made maintenance of police discipline nearly impossible. But he still expressed the same calm confidence that efficiency and economy had taken over with the abolition of ward politics and the aldermanic veto.

In 1916, with the beginning of operations under the new Charter the five Councilmen-Commissioners fell to with a will, supported by their faith in it—except for Mayor Louis Fuhrmann, who never quite accepted it. Such jolts as the discovery that the existing budget was, as usual, entirely unrealistic (as in the item of $1000 for snow removal for an entire Buffalo winter) dismayed no one because it was well understood that the politicians had always worked in this not quite honest way. The new Council set out to cure the situation. Charles B. Hill had been assigned the Finance Department, and he produced a more reasonable budget that nevertheless held down new projects and permitted the retirement of a great quantity of the deficiency bonds that threatened to upset the entire budget system. The two special actions needed to accomplish this were a sharp increase in the tax rate to near its statutory limit, after which it was much reduced for the following year, and, as the finishing touch, a complete reassessment of taxable properties, including assessments for the first time on industrial equipment as personality under the State tax laws. This latter item had previously been neglected, and Hill's bringing this class of property under taxation was hardly regarded as a favor by business interests, but he prevailed. Long neglect of realty evaluations had created great inequities. Undisturbed older properties were assessed at very old price levels indeed while newer ones paid proportionately more. The city tax assessors had been elected, and they readily acknowledged that they would never have changed the assessments if the new Charter had not transferred responsibility to the Council. Under Hill's authority the job was quickly done, after which revisions were apparently prompt and fair since appeal boards were by no means swamped with complaints when it was generally realized that the work was accurately and equitably done.

Mayor George S. Buck

This essential reform made it possible for the city government to maintain its services without serious strain (the first year of reassessment added $220 million to the tax rolls) through the very difficult period of price rises set up by World War I, the effects being evident by the time the new charter went into operation when the European war was well into its second year. In another year the United States was involved and shortages seriously upset price levels that had been little disturbed for decades. Mayor Buck

Final session of Board of Aldermen, 1915

was again speaking judiciously when he pointed out in 1921 that the rise of 53% in municipal expenditures was actually less than most businesses had experienced at the same time. But it may as well be acknowledged at the outset that financial reforms were never carried to completion by the Councilmen under this charter. The motion toward honest budgets (made and confidently reported by Hill and Buck in their articles) ended almost where it began. To the last it was possible to point accusing fingers at Councilmen and their departments for failures to provide a really thorough accounting of funds, and John F. Malone's depredations in the Department of Parks amounted to about $150,000. Only the budget procedures ever got serious attention, and toward the end of Commission government in Buffalo even the *News* acknowledged that there still was no honest budget, and that Mayor Buck himself had not achieved one. The problem was evidently not in the personnel, but in the system and its rigid limits on fiscal planning.

Failure of the expected automatic operation of the administrative arrangements so neatly calculated in the Commission Charter did not negate entirely the efforts of those who were trying for better administration. It should not be forgotten that volunteer organizations continued. The 1913 Citizens Committee had set up a research unit that developed over the years into a permanent study group whose contributions gained them recognition as a semiofficial body not to be ignored. Beginning in 1915 on the model of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, its first reports were available when the new Council began its work. It then called itself the Better Buffalo Association and its very thorough reports proved useful to the Commissioners who were serious about reorganizing their departments. There is no doubt that Arthur Kreinheder made good use of the data provided on the Department of Public Works in early February of 1916. His efforts had already been stirred by the transfer of some of the building functions, and he was in good luck in having the normally muddy river water suddenly come clear in the city pipes through the efforts of some of his subordinates in the Bureau of Water, although they themselves were not at all sure that they had solved all the problems of delivering clear water, which indeed was to wait for some years on the completion of a filtration plant. When he still lost his battle to keep his department together, he compensated by attacking the Water Bureau's problems, which the doughty Colonel Francis G. Ward had kept carefully covered. Kreinheder declared that the bureau was losing money, that it was overrun with unneeded workers whose duties and compensations were not accounted for, and that it was wasting money quite grandly in pumping water that merely leaked away through the sewers. He dismissed the employees who would not assist him in his investigations of these matters, dropped others from the rolls because their functions were indefinite, eliminated those who drew pay while working in private employment (there were a few names of dead citizens on the rolls also), struck off nonexistent Sunday employees whose cash wages evidently went to party coffers by devious routes, raised the water rates to cover not only costs of pumping and delivering but depreciation of the plant, and contracted with an engineering company to detect leaks in the mains and in customers' buildings. Nearly all of this was recommended in the report of the Better Buffalo Association's survey, which ran to about 100 pages. Kreinheder's ready acceptance and capable implementation of reform policies won him great respect.

The Association included members and directors familiar to anyone following the political reform efforts of these years: G. B. Burd, N.P. Clement, F. T. Coppins, Bradley Goodyear, F. C. Gratwick, F. Park Lewis, G. B. Rich, and R. R. Mitchell were among those elected to the board in 1916. Their good work at this time provided very detailed analyses of all city departments, even some that complimented the signals and medical services as well as the organization of the Fire Department, while making the usual sour complaints about municipal purchasing and accounting methods. The Police Department was given a list of needed reforms numbering over a hundred and, in the case of most departments, the refrain about inadequate financial records was repeated.

There were some bright spots emerging from the gloom. The Public Health Office under Dr. Francis E. Fronczak already plainly forecast its distinguished and thoroughly professional future, and the survey of the Better Buffalo Association plainly indicated this while showing a small sense of disappointment in the fact that the department was already in process of reorganization. But generally speaking there was no lack of problems to engage the interest both of the surveyors and the new Councilmen. Kreinheder's truncated department probably began to appear still too big when the garbage collecting crews of the Streets Bureau went on strike late in February. Commissioner of Streets William F. Schwartz mercifully explained that the men were unorganized and didn't really comprehend the situation as to the urgency of garbage collection as the necessity of settling their wages by action of the Council. Approaching them in this spirit, he got them back to work promptly. The Council quickly backed him up by voting to raise the men from $13 to $15 per week after hearing that their 14-hour day began at 4:30 a.m. and that they were mercilessly bossed and inspected under the sternest of rules. When they repeated their strike a little over a year later they were again treated understandingly, Kreinheder observing that the trouble stemmed from failure by the old Common Council to redeem its promise of a pay raise in 1915. These little frictions appeared insignificant by the end of the war, when a new and much more efficient procedure became the object of a long and arduous effort.

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Early reports of the success of the Commission Charter had much foundation in fact, for the new brooms swept a number of things quite clean. One of the problems awaiting serious attention had a seniority of over a half-century. This was the colony of squatters in the harbor area near the seawall. Having maintained itself for so long against efforts to remove it, the colony had won respect if not actual legal title by adverse possession. The old Common Council had appointed commissioners to examine titles and claims who recommended awards aggregating $105,000, but, in the clamor against all real estate transactions proposed by the Council, the recommendation was quietly set aside. The new Council simply started condemnation proceedings and in a bit more than a year all of the 600 residents were prepared to leave, with a few exceptions who were threatening to oppose removal with gunfire. The city countered with strategic fences and of course prevailed. Similar dispatch was exhibited in dealing with islands that blocked harbor development. These were promptly purchased for a price somewhat more than that proposed by the old Council, which had caused a tumult of opposition, but most of the money had been recouped by sale of a portion for the construction of grain elevators. The remainder was dredged to create a basin 2,000 feet long, the cost totaling $150,000.

Other matters were calmly and earnestly considered, as the question of a central purchasing bureau, one of Buck's proposals. Kreinheder said his agent was so good that he wanted no change at all, and within a couple of years Buck had concluded that centralized procedure would not pay its own costs. In managing relations with other subordinates the Council proved its superior self-control. Malone was quite capable of attacking the Hospital Commission for its independence in disregarding Council specifications on construction work and in removing a parks superintendent who could not work with him agreeably, but he also made appointments without reference to the candidates' political affiliations.

Here, then, were two systems of politics clearly and fairly matched. Those who believed in party responsibility claimed that they actually did most effectively consider and judge in matters of city government. Fitzpatrick roundly declared that there were three bodies which could be relied upon to work for the public weal: the Chamber of Commerce and the two political parties. He and other party leaders could also point to the changes in electoral laws that prevented anything like tyrannical management of the parties by permanent dictators. Primary election laws, certainly by the early years of the Commission Charter, gave interested citizens freedom to eliminate bosses and to substitute party candidates not of the bosses' choosing. It continued to be very difficult to remove a County Chairman or to eliminate the influence of a boss, but candidates were, nevertheless, frequently chosen in opposition to the Executive Committee's designation. But the bosses did their best to control party platforms and candidates in the firm belief that this was the best way to good government, and they would resume direction of the municipality whenever the Commission Charter should cease to hold the loyalty of the public.

This conservative and responsible view of politics, which certainly was agreed to by Greiner, soon began to look healthy to many people as the circus theory began to operate in municipal affairs with the election in 1919 of Frank C. Perkins with the highest vote among the three victors. Known only as a Socialist upsetter of conservative dignity, Perkins had run a campaign worthy of the sharpest party boss. He had picked out an adversary and attacked him continuously and severely. No one appeared to have taken the contents of his statements seriously, for his victim won comfortably, so it was only his contentiousness that counted. Otherwise the candidates of Republican persuasion went on their winning way, Kreinheder (Perkins' target) and Senator Graves going in with a minimum of party help, as the *News* reluctantly admitted. Even more significant, Mayor Buck's appeals to the voters for support against the bloc of three opposing him on streetcar service and the Police had no noticeable effect, so we may conclude further that mere efficiency was not yet an overwhelming motive in city affairs.

Perkins has already been characterized, and there is little need to illustrate extensively the consequences of his utter lack of discipline or purpose. Before he officially took office as Councilman he already was setting hearings of the Council in an uproar by his insistence on talking at length whenever he felt an impulse. In a few days he had angered his colleagues by attempting without proper disclosures to appoint to his department a Socialist editor from New York City who had gotten his paper suppressed for publishing unpatriotic sentiments during the war. In a matter of weeks Perkins was habitually disregarded by the Council, and his eccentric proposals were automatically tabled. Not long after that point had been reached he was forced to apologize to avoid suspension. In not much over a year the austere and courtly Buck repressed an absurd demand from him for an apology in his turn, with a call to order followed by the observation that his colleagues understood that he lacked ordinary mental balance and "a crazy man can't be made to comply strictly with rules."

But it must not be overlooked that careless handling of his kind of neuroticism exacted penalties. Sober colleagues were maddened by his nagging and forgot themselves as Councilman Graves did one April 1 by looking at the calendar significantly in dismissing one of Perkins' absurdities with the remark that it was the right day for the fool notion. Perkins rightly re-

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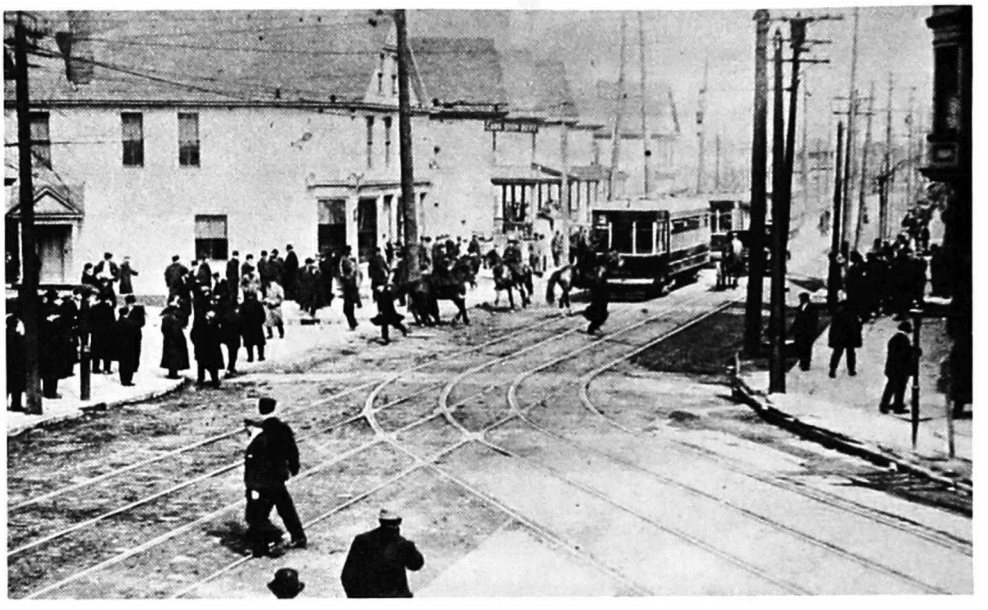
torted, when he was later called to order, by noting that he had been told to "shut up" and characterized as a fool. Nor were his colleagues justified in walking out of the meeting while he was talking. It was not long before administrative officers were exchanging vilification and insult with him, and the *News* editorialist was regretting sincerely that every meeting was "a riot or a revel." But it was a condition never to be rectified under the Commission Charter. Years later Perkins, still in aimless opposition, was to be voting "no" and adding impertinently, "same old vote," even to a proposal which he had advocated for years —after which his colleagues actually sat quietly and listened to his explanation in utter bewilderment, but without being enlightened. It even falls to the chronicler to note that Perkins as Commissioner once performed productively, for it was he who suggested that the State Normal School might well be built on the unused portion of the site of the State Hospital. This, and a few gas wells, comprised for his tenure of eight years as Commissioner, a very modest list of accomplishments.

The fierce and destructive battle over the prerogatives of the Board of Education is recounted in Chapter XVII, the recent history of Erie County schools. In this controversy, it again became apparent that the Charter had by no means eliminated uncertainties as to control, and that Commissioners sitting in the Council would battle with as little consideration as the most ambitious party man to control administrative bodies operating in the city. This controversy raged from 1916, when Commissioners in Council and Board of Education began operations, to 1921, when complete financial control was assured the Council by the Court of Appeals in a decision on its powers that wiped out well-advanced plans for a system of junior high schools. This constitutional and financial school crisis greatly damaged confidence in both the Charter and the Council, and the deterioration in public faith was abetted by an equally prolonged embroilment concerning streetcar service. The streetcar had long since ceased to be a wonderful novelty and was in a depressing time of troubles. As opponents of the International Railway Company claimed, the managers of traction companies had unwisely manipulated securities to reward themselves with issues of stock shares far beyond any investment of actual capital, or, in the contrary view of the Company itself, because rising costs and excessive claims of its workers made it impossible to preserve its property and give generous service to customers. This had been demonstrated as early as 1913, when a strike for 32¢ an hour and a nine-hour day was fought out with all of the violence of labor disputes in those days, going to the extremes of dynamiting and destructive rioting with shooting in reply. Mayor Fuhrmann's suggestion of arbitration materially aided a settlement and for a few years things were quiet.



Streetcar strike, 1913

Again it was the stirring of the economy by war demands that set off a new round of transit agitation, but this was coupled with abounding confidence within the new Council that everything was theirs to be rearranged. In 1916 the agreement of city and Company dating from 1891 was disturbed by a demand sponsored by Councilman Hill for a reduction of streetcar fare from 5¢ to 4¢. His colleagues were hesitant but when he elicited an opinion from Corporation Counsel Rann that not only did the ancient Milburn agreement not guarantee a 5¢ fare, but that a lower rate would yield a 7% yield on the Company's capital, and the papers exuberantly echoed his confidence, he won agreement. The case was presented to the Public Service Commission, from whence it ultimately found its way into the courts. When it emerged years later, it momentarily excited some wonder that anyone would talk of fare reductions, for costs had, by then, risen so far that there was the plainest need for higher fares. Questions of jurisdiction carried it back into the courts nevertheless.

The International Railway Company replied by demanding a reduction in the assessment on its franchise, and its patrons soon began to get a taste of what poor service could mean. From early in January 1917, the *News* was full of complaints on the service: the cars were few, cold, and dirty, and service was almost suspended whenever snow conditions became

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difficult. The Public Service Commission held hearings and tried to persuade the Company to make swift and willing improvements, but the president was not compliant. The Council attacked in every way open to them, using the powers of the Health Department to harass the Company, and incessantly demanding more hearings. The following winter of 1917-18 greatly increased the difficulties when a harsh season descended early while the need for service greatly expanded with the opening of war plants on a much enlarged scale. At this point Mayor Buck took office and showed what resolution could do. He proposed to counter inadequate consideration from the Public Service Commission by establishing a bureau to study the problem thoroughly, thus allowing the city representatives to appear before the Commission on an even footing with the Company's experts. He immediately engaged an experienced traction manager who showed that the Company was not trying very hard to improve service. The Mayor's reorganization of the police force made it possible to keep parked vehicles off the car tracks, a common practice that had furnished the Company with excuses for many of its failures. He organized service to several Elmwood Avenue manufacturing plants by use of the New York Central's belt line railroad. But a fire in the Forest Avenue barns of I.R.C. destroyed 50 streetcars just as it was established that deliveries of new cars would be very slow indeed because of the war, and the Company resumed its resistance to the Council.

Buck never let up in his attacks, and was materially helped as former Councilman Hill now conducted investigations for the Public Service Commission. In spite of Buck's unwillingness to yield on the point of the Company's earnings—he declared that their securities were ridiculously inflated and generous dividends could not be met—an increase to 6¢ was granted by Council action, whereupon petitions for a referendum on the matter were filed. The propriety of this action was fought through the courts and the referendum was ordered. Completely lost in the uproar was the meek observation of a Public Service Commission inspector that it was the depression of 1914-15 followed by the sudden war expansion that had caused the trouble. The Chamber of Commerce and the Central Labor Council argued that the increase was now needed, agreeing with the Common Council's accountants, but populist enthusiasms crushed the Company's apologists in the voting, 35,000 to 7,000. At this point the *News* editorialist chided everyone for their bad feelings and piously concluded that the Company would find a way to operate without sufficient revenue. It did, announcing curtailment of late night services, which would cripple war plant production. The Council proposed to go to the Public Service Commission to prevent this, manufacturers complained, and labor troubles began to boil.

Early in October 1918, I.R.C. operations terminated quite abruptly with a walkout of its employees. Buck declared that it was a conspiracy of Company and Union, fought it with every weapon he could summon, including improvised buses (he was hampered by the Legislature's failure to have passed an enabling statute at the previous session), and increased local railroad service. He was soon the most unpopular man in the city, the newspapers all opposed him, a permanent Council majority was against him, certain businessmen proposed to buy the lines to be operated locally and were alienated by his refusal, and their real hardships did not endear him to people dependent upon transit lines, which meant almost everyone. He would accept nothing but an arrangement that would give the municipal authorities substantial control of operations, enough at least to permit them to correct poor service when it was deliberately arranged to exert pressure for higher fares. When I.R.C. officials became intransigent in a meeting with the Council over a proposed settlement of the strike, Buck riposted with tremendous effect, declaring that the Company's misconduct must be

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cured, and would be. He was loudly cheered, and next day the Company capitulated, ending the 24-day strike.

The Mayor wisely observed at this point that nothing had yet been accomplished that could be regarded as permanent. He continued to exert the strongest pressure upon I.R.C. with the object of forcing it to accept terms under which the Council could be certain of its own influence in matters of service. Repeatedly Buck and his colleagues appealed to P.S.C. or went to court. Financial demands were enforced so that the Company would inevitably have to face foreclosure, and even this extreme caused no hesitation on Buck's part. Socialists, like Perkins, who was taking all of the political credit for himself that could be managed, assumed that conservatives like Hill and Buck would always be found on the side of the capitalists. How he might have reconciled this Marxist dogmatism with Buck's ruthlessness would be an interesting speculation if Perkins had ever displayed any tendency to acquaint himself with reality. Further contradicting his dogma was the Republican Party's relative indifference to the Company's privileges, for Greiner never had any interest in the claims of the vested interests of public utilities or other specially favored business, nor did he depend in any way upon their owners or managers. He exerted no pressure on Buck, who proposed that the Legislature enact general enabling legislation allowing municipal ownership of utilities if need be (although he opposed purchase of I.R.C. for fiscal reasons), and tried very hard to get a law permitting Buffalo to set up contracts for utility services based upon allowances for costs of operation plus a reasonable return on invested capital. He and the Council devoted much time to arbitration proceedings to establish the value of the capital in I.R.C. so that such a "service at cost" contract might be worked out, but, just as agreement seemed possible, Governor Smith vetoed the proposed law.

The complications of the situation were unbelievable to anyone but the thoroughly experienced: the Legislature had to be cajoled and this began with dissident Buffalo members; the P.S.C. made every effort to help, but it was not yet decided that it had jurisdiction under the old Buffalo agreement; the Company was completely beaten down but was searching for new owners and new management capable of dealing with Buck; public opinion in Buffalo was veering away from the Mayor, apparently worried by his grim relentlessness; and he was working without reliable support in the Council. The very powers of city government were frequently being altered by the Legislature, Buck finally saying in despair that it was regretable that the city was not allowed to control the traffic in its own streets. By the middle of 1919 the hard-won advantages were being lost, the Council dropped negotiations with the Company, the Court of Appeals found a way around the Buffalo agreements so that P.S.C. took over the question of fare increases and granted a 7¢ rate. The Councilmen agreed among themselves that only municipal ownership could solve the problem, but, since that was now impractical as well as unconstitutional, they tried a last desperate legal measure in appealing to the United States Supreme Court—which ultimately declared it had no jurisdiction. The entire episode came to an untidy end with a purchase in foreclosure proceedings of the I.R.C. by the Mitten traction interests of Philadelphia, who applied skillful management, an engagingly soft-spoken public relations policy, and a tough labor policy (based on the suddenly declining costs of living) to stabilize the situation. Weary and frustrated, Buck fell ill early in 1920, was operated for a gastric ulcer in the Mayo Clinic, and returned to active duty only very late in the year.

Mayor Buck was of course not privileged to develop an ulcer from one issue alone; he had had a difficult time with the Police Department as a consequence of liquor prohibitory laws and the habit of violence that may have been worsened by the war. These were in addition to the normal battle between social groups like the Federation of Churches that demanded rigorous enforcement of vice laws and the normal human wish to leave popular enjoyments alone. Buck took the simple view that the police must enforce the laws without exception, talked as little as possible about the internal problems of the Police Department, and kept discipline as tight as his colleagues on the Council would permit, which was not very. He was also very eager to attack other problems that demanded fundamental shifts of interest and policy: city planning, smoke control, reform of farm marketing through city markets, zoning, expansion of electric power resources through municipal control, and stabilization of utility prices by municipal ownership all got attention of an encouraging kind. In this respect the Council continued to hold to the assumption that the Commission Charter was a mandate to encourage new efforts to solve civic problems.

But no sooner had Mayor Buck returned to his office in the fall of 1920, than he was greeted by a vigorous movement to supplant the Commission Charter with a system that would provide a strong Mayor and a larger Council. Everyone understood why. Perkins' antics in the Council and the school controversy were reasons enough. Assemblyman George H. Rowe predicted that there would be little trouble to enact a new charter. There were many to counsel patience, including the *News*, which had itself been pointedly reporting on the operation of the new city manager system in a number of cities. The friends of the Commission Charter reorganized their Association and held a number of meetings while Rowe proceeded

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with the legislative process. It tells much as to the opinion of regular party members that his charter was adopted 110-7 in the Assembly and 38-4 in the Senate late in March 1921. They were glad to reaffirm the two-party, checks-and-balances type of constitution.

But the professionals were not yet to prevail. At the Mayor's hearing on the bill, the outburst in favor of the Commission Charter was nearly as fervent as popular hearings had been in 1914, when it was adopted; John Lord O'Brian again distinguished himself in its advocacy. Even before Buck's expected veto was announced, it was predicted that the new charter would be dropped, and Buck's unexpectedly eloquent and cogent message left no doubt. The bill was not even resubmitted to the Legislature.

The continued drift of municipal administration toward a system of shifting coalitions among the five "little mayors" of the Council, backed by the personal machines of each and unchecked by party discipline, pleased few beyond the participants. The consequences to civic management were hardly catastrophic, but plainly "politics" had come back to dominate administration and politicians, of a slightly different sort, had a hold on affairs more tightly than ever before. The voters were now increasingly convinced that nothing had been gained in civic efficiency under the rule of Commissioners. By 1926, the record of unbroken budgetary dependence on the minor dishonesty of deficiency borrowing was confirmed and the reforms of the Commissioners of Finance had simmered down to achievement of the swift revision upward of tax assessments under Hill; the tax rate was consistently at the statutory limit, and the level of the funded debt was rapidly approaching it. Mayor Schwab snarled at critics like Chauncey Hamlin, who had just been successful in getting an appropriation of $1 million for the Buffalo Museum of Science, but finally philosophically declared that he understood what was wanted: a change in the Charter.

Buffalo Museum of Science

It is perhaps pointless to criticize Mayor Schwab, although to recite his antics produces fine entertainment, for no matter what one concludes he satisfied his constituency completely. He won his reelection in 1925 with a vote of 77,000, even higher than that of his histrionic rival, Frank Perkins. If George Buck's stern policy toward the streetcar company didn't please, one could choose Schwab's, as the voters unwittingly did by selecting him in 1921. In 1922 they had another streetcar strike during which the Mayor of the city was to be found flitting to every side of every one of the issues involved but steady in one matter: he did as he pleased. It pleased him to run his own "jitney" bus lines that remained on the streets after the courts had declared them illegal and he himself had publicly commanded their disappearance. Schwab was clearly the law, if not the whole legal corporation of Buffalo. Police matters never varied from a genially lunatic shuffle of personnel, policy, and authority which reached a sort of climax when the Mayor appeared at a hearing of charges against some of his officers with a large revolver in his belt. Popular interest in Council affairs steadily mounted, the newspaper reporters becoming willy-nilly critics of the drama mounted in the twice-weekly meetings. Connoisseurs calculated the level of the cheers elicited by the barbs of the Councilmen, almost always aimed at one another, at the Corporation Counsel, or at other regular official attendants.

Far from companionably supporting one another in their administrative duties, the Commissioners had arrived at the stage of bluntly telling each other to mind his own business, and with Schwab lint-picking about the books in the Treasurer's office or sniping at Perkins' amusingly good fortune in finding gas wells to heat municipal buildings, it is no wonder. Nothing was too picayune by way of public criticism in the pretended interest of public efficiency, to the profit of popular entertainment. The newspapers became openly contemptuous in their comments: "But then, Mr. Schwab hasn't been himself since he rode that horse in the policeman's parade." Twice more during his mayorship Schwab was summoned before juries, once to admit that he knew nothing beyond gossip as a basis for some serious charges he had made, and another

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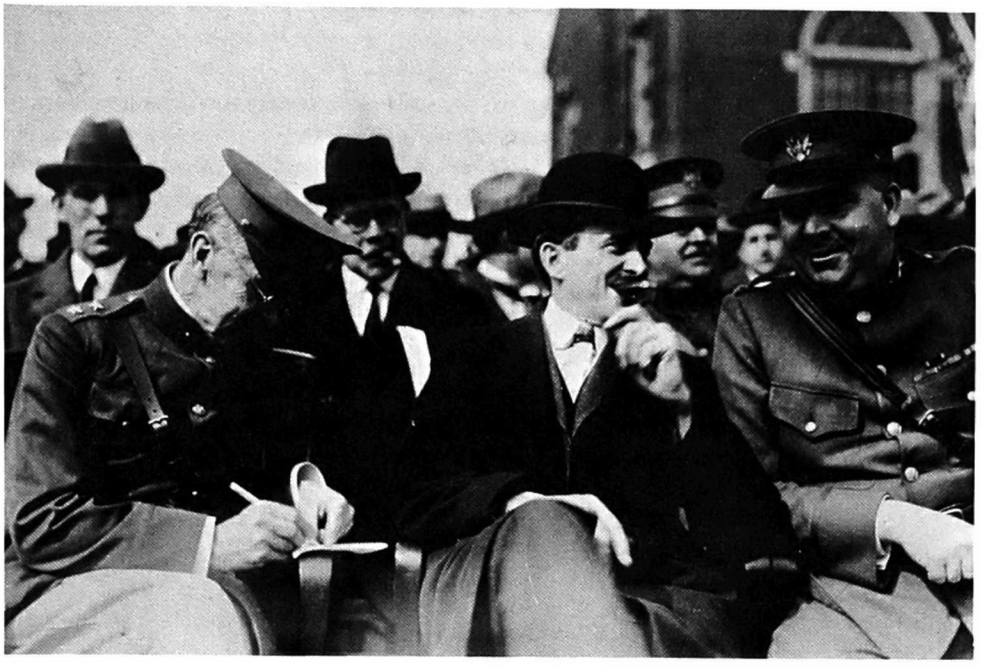

Mayor Francis X. Schwab

time refusing to waive immunity before a Federal jury, upon which Attorney William Donovan dismissed him as a less than credible witness. The League of Women Voters pleaded for an atmosphere of dignity in the Council, Councilman Graves echoed them in meeting, but Councilman Perkins, who was presiding, quickly settled the issue by jumping to his feet, waving the gavel, and shouting his protests at the very thought. And it was unfortunately true that Graves' decorum was a sudden acquisition; during the previous year he had once invited the Mayor into the hall for a fist fight. The week following the attempt at rules of order Mayor Schwab joined the scoffers with remarks that the debates of previous meetings on a certain subject fully justified the critics: they were ridiculous.

The new Charter finally adopted in 1927 was designed to put responsibility for municipal administration back into the hands of the two parties. Perhaps more exactly, the parties were admitted to a share of responsibility in default of other civic bodies capable of seizing it. There is no evidence that the hostility to partisanship that led Buffalo to adopt the Commission form had softened, nor is there even yet abounding popular confidence in the ability of the parties to maintain reasonable competence in the top offices of municipal government. But the Commission form demonstrated that it was not necessarily the conventional two-party system that was the source of the trouble, and that, in this case, the five factions of the five "little mayors" performed in much the same way as the parties without even such serious watchfulness as County Chairman maintained or the selectiveness provided by the party organizations, to say nothing of the sobriety and dignity of both.

One thing more operated against the Commission form: it went out of fashion. As early as 1924 Daniel J. Sweeney, a Democratic Party leader over a very long period and then Assistant Superintendent of Schools in charge of business operations, pointed out that, in the previous two years, over 100 American cities had changed their forms of government, but not one to the Commission type. The city manager was the new device and it was strongly advocated by the *News* and others. Nevertheless the question of what was to be substituted was settled by the choice of Daniel J. Kenefick as head of the commission to recommend a new charter.

Judge Kenefick had served the same purpose almost 20 years before, only to see his proposal rejected, then superseded by the Commission Charter. He and his fellows immediately set about holding appropriate hearings in various parts of the city and soon proposed a plan similar to his earlier recommendation. This was the "strong mayor" system, with which contemporary citizens are familiar, for it has been in force with minor amendments since its official inception at the beginning of 1928, having been adopted by a referendum vote late in August 1927. The Commission-type free elections that all but forced the regular parties out of efficient action were abolished, so that party tickets were resumed. The conventional American practice of three divisions of government, whose absence was so often lamented under the Commission form, was restored. The Mayor assumed Presidential powers. He appointed department heads and could remove them, being checked in this power by the Council's right to withhold approval. He prepared the budget, but shared supervision of expenditures with a separately elected Comptroller. He might address the Council, and could impose a veto on its enactments which would require 10 of the Council's 15 votes to override. He could also appoint citizens to act on special commissions to assist him. All in all, the mayor held a strong position with only such "checks" from other officials as a good American constitution was supposed to provide—he was elected by all the people, and might not succeed himself, although the latter limitation was removed in 1960.

The 15 members of the Common Council included a popularly elected President and five members at large, also chosen by vote of the entire city for four-year terms, and nine members elected from various districts for two-year terms. Its

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procedure was in the tradition of Anglo-American legislatures with hearings, committee work, and administrative reports providing the basis for action. The final element was the court system, which was to consist of a number of courts each with its elective judge to care for the minor matters produced by police operations. Major judicial proceedings were heard by the judges of the Supreme Court, a County body.

To operate this organization could not have made an ordinary citizen shake with uncertainty, for it was all conventional and familiar. Further relaxation of fears was quickly provided by investigations of the Commission government's achievements, which proved contemptible with few exceptions. The newly reorganized Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau (now Government Research Institute of Western New York) began under this name in the spring of 1927 and published its first findings as the new Charter was instituted in January 1928. Its analysis of the Parks Department was devastating. Buffalo had less acreage in parks, higher per capita park expenditures, confused lines of authority, excessive overhead, wasteful habits of construction, poor accounting, and administrative salaries aggregating far more than the sum needed to operate the larger system of the city of Cleveland. The Bureau apologized, for its intent was to cooperate with city departments, but this was not the end of the staggering list of inefficiencies noted. It was, nevertheless, enough to reveal the utter failure of the Commission, and unfortunately more than enough to remove any sense of challenge to the partisan officers just installed. They could hardly do worse.

The adoption of the new Charter was to have renewed consequences because the County began to note the problems springing from a rapid expansion in its business. Judge Kenefick's delayed triumph brought him an immediate reward in an appointment to a Commission to design a new County Charter—with results almost identical to his work with the City Charter. Twenty years later, this effort was

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also to be crowned by success.

While the city's charters had been passing through this process of experimental development under the pressure of leaders who devoutly believed that an ideal form would guarantee, or at least considerably assist, honest and efficient management of city affairs, Erie County had plodded along under the provisions of Legislative enactments amended occasionally as it became plain courts and offices must be improved or slightly enlarged. When the State of New York edited and revised its statutes in 1910, Erie County followed by selecting and editing those applicable to itself so that it could be seen under what sanctions it operated. The ruling Board of Supervisors was constituted and empowered by a series of 10 statutes from 1874 to 1911. These had been enacted at fairly even intervals, indicating that this central organ of government, the policy-making board, had had careful and continuous consideration. But the enactments relating to the Board were greatly exceeded in bulk by those related to finance. This matter was so sensitive that it took 26 pages of the statute book for the County Treasurer alone, he being instructed and cautioned at length and in detail. To this were added eight items empowering the County Auditor, much of whose duty was to watch the Treasurer. The Auditor was by this measure as important as the County Clerk himself, who was the nearest thing to an executive officer that the County possessed. Comparable to these were the long sections devoted to the Department of the Poor and to the Workhouse, which were matters of finance or of charity, depending on one's outlook.

The County constitution was thus stable, explicit, and basically simple, but it was nevertheless attacked and finally altered. When the *Consolidated Laws* were published in 1913, there may have been some misgivings about the conventional arrangements of local government but they had been worked out by the statesmen of early New York State, different in many respects from those of New England or Pennsylvania, but evidently suitable to this state to have lasted so long. When serious agitation for amendment began, following the work of the Kenefick Commission in the 1930's, it became a reproach that there had been no serious recasting of the County's form of government for 116 years—a reproach seldom directed at the even more durable national Constitution, whose stability was considered a virtue.

A larger and larger segment of voters felt that the form appropriate to the rural county of 1800 or even 1821 could not serve a largely urban county in the twentieth century; this was not necessarily true, but only believers in party responsibility were sure that it wasn't. While Buffalo had 80% of Erie County's people in 1900, 1910, and 1920, the division of functions and the splitting of tax income gave little difficulty; and if there were trouble, the city exerted such pressure through its dominance of the two political parties, for as late as 1928 city dwellers cast over 75% of the votes, that the members of the Board of Supervisors from the towns were constrained to compromise. Meanwhile, the townships' holding of half the votes in the Board gave them strength enough to discourage hoggishness on the part of the city members. But by 1956 it was quite different. In that year the vote in the presidential election was clearly larger in the towns while, in the previous year, Buffalo's share of the income in the sales tax district had fallen to less than half. Its population was still estimated to be slightly the greater, but there was no longer the least doubt that the city limits were awash in the rising tide of suburban masses.

The earliest stirrings of the realization that some amendment to the County's governmental arrangements—a clumsy term but appropriate to the subject—initiated work to provide the necessary changes, and Judge Kenefick was called upon for his second effort. Frank Moore, who was to have a great career as administrator and Lieutenant-Governor, started matters in 1932 by proposing a plan to establish a strong executive who was to be chairman of a much reduced Board of Supervisors, his administrative authority to be checked by an elected Comptroller. The Municipal Research Bureau under Sidney Detmers objected to the combination of legislative and executive powers—the example of this danger in the city's Commission Charter was only five years in the past—and doubted whether the Board's numbers could be reduced in the face of its inevitable opposition. The Bureau countered by proposing a purely administrative head such as the Manager set up by many cities and counties previous to this time. This kind of functionary worked under the direction of the policy-making board, usually depending on the board for appointment or removal. What everyone agreed upon was the need for simplification of the system, which was then operated by a rash of Board committees—in 1932 over 20 of them which, by nature of the Board's composition and operation, could not always achieve adequate deliberations on the problems and complexities of County operations. Paid negligibly, the Board met seldom, the committees infrequently could muster full memberships for their deliberations because personnel overlapped, and only rarely did the members possess professional competence in the matters they undertook to direct. With startling figures on mushrooming County finances before them, they felt that they must do something for, in spite of diminishing taxes as business suffered through the Great Depression, both expenditures and debt rose despite grim determination to avoid deficits.

Administrative reorganization was not the only remedy considered. The proposal to divide Erie County between city and towns again appeared, as it did periodically. The *Buffalo Times* reported December 1, 1932, that a number of associations favored separation with the feeling that both city and towns would benefit, but the proposals were vague

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as to how this should be accomplished. The persistence of this rude suggestion led the Republican County Chairman in 1935, W. J. Hickey, to dismiss it curtly as "chimerical and crazy." Neighboring towns remained wary of the power of the city but saner counsels prevailed until it became clear that a satisfactory arrangement would depend upon integrating the interests of the whole county and perhaps even a greater area than that.

Judge Kenefick took up the problem with a commission set up by the County Board of Supervisors in 1933, appointed attorneys M. Edwin Merwin and David Diamond to conduct background studies and develop a charter proposal, with Dr. Victor Reinstein as research director. They began work in October 1933 and, by the following July, were occasioning serious debate in the Legislature on the Bernhardt-Wojtkowiak bill which embodied amendments to the statutes to establish a strong executive. This had the support of the Municipal Research Bureau, but the existence of stout local opposition was attested by the bureau's protest that opponents were blocking true home rule. The amendment did not pass and the Commission set about drafting a complete charter in the autumn of 1934.

The Commission's final report, submitted in March 1935, was signed by Judge Kenefick, E. L. Miller, G. B. Abbott, Charles Busch, D. R. Nott, W. W. Parker, A. J. Walkowiak, and Harry Yates. Ganson Depew had been a member but had died in 1934. For contemporary citizens it is easy to sum up for it is very nearly the system in operation at present. The Executive was to be in control of the administrative bodies and to direct other functions such as tax equalization. He was to be elected along with a Comptroller and 18 Supervisors, the latter in equal numbers for city and towns. Welfare bodies were to be merged in the County department. It was correctly noted then that Judge Kenefick had repeated his theories of municipal administration as previously expressed in the City Charter of 1928, although no one seems to have commented as to how much this depended on the form of organization developed by American business corporations, with which the Judge was thoroughly familiar by virtue of his law practice. His success, delayed though it was in both cases and little recognized at any time, is significant.

Nevertheless, it was not thought at the time to be necessarily a logical step for all that, and division of opinion in the County killed the Charter when it finally reached the Legislature during the 1936 session. It had been somewhat delayed by the Judge's illness but when it came to Legislative hearings no sort of agreement could be reached. Local legislators were shy and the sponsor, Frank A. Gugino, went no further than to say that he was not afraid to handle the bill. The Research Bureau declared for a County Manager plan in order to eliminate the duality of executive and legislative power in government, and persuaded many to support that. The Bureau then asked, on Frank Moore's advice, that the matter be postponed on the grounds that all of the proposed bills had serious defects, and this was done. The Legislature contented itself with the enactment of a general measure, the Fearon Law, that would give counties a choice among four different types of charters plus a fifth composed of bits of each of these.

The bureau had its way, and in 1937, a referendum was held on a county manager plan. It had to be carried by the separate votes of both the city and the towns, it was lackadaisically supported by the newspapers, and it lost. Its greatest benefit had been to continue the discussion of the new needs in County government, and during the year the city and County welfare departments were merged. This merger, however, was sponsored by Edwin F. Jaeckle, County Chairman of the Republican Party, as a part of a strategy of ending accumulating problems by integrating the functions of local government, he having no confidence in any sort of constitution's excelling responsible party rule. The general discussion, by now rather vague, ended abruptly as war loomed and then broke over events in Europe.

The consolidation of welfare functions in 1937 remained in Jaeckle's mind and, with a Republican electoral victory in 1945, he saw that it would be possible to go further since the Republican Party would control both City and County governments. In 1946 the County Health Department was organized and action was begun to transfer to the County the Adam Memorial Hospital in Perrysburg. Meyer Memorial Hospital followed, since its services were County-wide. Consolidation of the libraries into an integrated system was added, and probation departments were united. This boldness had the usual consequence of public revulsion, bringing about an electoral defeat for the Republicans in 1947, but the reforms now enjoy unanimous approval. County Medical Director W. H. Handel could boast in 1950 that public health work in Erie County was of the highest quality, whereas two years before, of 30 such agencies in this county, only two qualified for State aid. The Department itself was two years in the planning following the welfare merger, the work being done by the Dean of the University's Medical School, Dr. Witebsky.

By 1950 further and hotter discussions were proceeding. The term "suburbanitis" was coined to sharpen its point although no sharpening was needed. The burden of the complaint in the city press, here as elsewhere, was that the city was furnishing the essential services on which the newly rich suburbs depended but to which they did not contribute. The former research director of the Kenefick Commission, Dr. Victor Reinstein, tartly replied for the Town of Cheektowaga that, on the contrary, industry was sited in the suburbs and Buffalo was working there at the townships' expense. He cautioned against haste, citing the Commission's observation that the small unit of government

consistently got more for its money, adding that mere experiment was not to be thought of in his or other such areas, citing an incautious expansion of a sewage district that had, at a stroke, ruined agriculture in the township. He soon after added that the towns were bound to be careful since the political parties were controlled by the city, since 882 of the 1,336 Committeemen in each party (nearly two-thirds) were from Buffalo. Dr. Reinstein was only giving rational form to the mutual suspicions of city and towns, and he was echoed by others such as George Sipprell of the Municipal Research Bureau and H. Dale Bossert who stated publicly that there were animosities that had so far prevented even the effective planning of reorganization. Such warnings were now considered carefully while determined advances were still made.

The County Survey Committee of the Board of Supervisors began a protracted, unremitting, and muted consideration of the state of County government. In this there was little loud and insistent advocacy by anyone, no battling at Armageddon for the vague cause of civic purity, and thus not much resistance on the equally vaporous basis of civic patriotism. Periodically there was an airing of related problems such as the claims of the critics of "suburbanitis" in 1949 and later, and the vigorous counterclaims of suburban leaders who found that local authorities outside of Buffalo had problems as demanding as those of the shrinking city, problems related to the economic and social forces released by its shifting population and economic activities. These occasional bouts cautioned the already alert advocates of reform as to the high tempers bound to be stirred by partial or injudicious action.

Nevertheless, there was again movement toward the production of a new Charter. The Municipal Research Bureau appears to have been a strong motivating force in this, and was aided by the League of Women Voters. At no time was there opposition from the two political parties although some of their capable veteran leaders could see no real reason for a change and no doubt said so in the right places. But in time, and it may have been chosen because some of the constant sources of city-township irritation were quiet, a new Charter was rumored. After a cautious wait to see if opposition would appear it was produced to little fanfare and no contrary eruptions. By this time shifts of population had largely abolished the misbalances in taxation and representation. City and townships were about even by 1958 so that a constitutional change was not necessarily viewed by each group as a certain unfair advantage to the other.

The climate was favorable in still another respect. The State of New York in 1958 surprised its local divisions with another general release of constitutional authority. It had given them the advantage of becoming domestic corporations in 1893, had followed in 1922 with further home-rule concessions under Governor Alfred E. Smith, and now made a considerable extension in time to assist Erie County's advocates of a new charter. The new shift would make counties as free as cities to choose the form of government they would use. This was not complete freedom by any means, but it would remove prohibitions on proposals that many wished to consider. Therefore the proposals of the Survey Committee were put before the public in two hearings on January 7 and 14, 1958, and then laid aside while the Home Rule Amendment to the State Constitution was considered. It was adopted at the fall election, clearing the way for the new County Charter.

The two hearings produced little more than a polling of the revision advocates as to the means of choosing an executive for the new government. The determined advocates of efficiency thought, with George Sipprell and the Municipal Research Bureau, that the best talent would be found if the elected legislature were to appoint, but most of these exhibited a basic uncertainty that probably was the cause for rejection of a system of appointment. Most of them proposed elaborate procedures involving independent committees, thereby revealing the inherent difficulty of selecting the most powerful administrative officer in the County without acknowledging that he was politically important. The old contradiction in terms was back; again and again people had dreamed of an Olympian chief administrator who was indifferent to the question of the source of authority and who would understand the people without ever stooping to consult them through an organization. In this instance (not that anyone necessarily realized how often in our history this impossibility had been exposed) advocates of political responsibility

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Edwin F. Jaeckle

prevailed. Party members, Liberal as well as Republican and Democrat, asserted the truism that the American system depends upon popular selection of governmental leaders, and this prevailed. There was no attempt to exclude partisan nomination.

No one hinted that it might be wise to put party leaders themselves into such a position of authority, and indeed the creation of the elective County Executive actually destroyed the essentially parliamentary nature of the system that had served Erie County since its inception in 1821. The Board of Supervisors had established policy and then conducted administration through its committees in the manner of the English Parliament. Since its township members were automatically selected by virtue of serving as Chairmen of the elective Town Boards they had extensive administrative experience, and there is no body of evidence that impeaches the Board's efficiency during its long reign. Members from the city had no such advantage, and this perhaps accounts for the fact that the better-known County leaders have so often been township representatives in spite of coming from, until recent times, the minority segment of the population. Only one tentative remark delivered in the 1958 hearings might suggest that the situation could have been grasped and developed into a truly parliamentary system of party responsibility. Robert Holehouse of Eden noted that the single really effective County leader during the preceding quarter of a century had been Edwin F. Jaeckle, Republican County Chairman. As we have seen, it was he who had taken the responsibility for consolidating County governmental functions beginning in 1938 with the Welfare Department, but beyond Mr. Holehouse's perceptive statement, there was no recognition of the services of either party. Another citizen at the same hearing expressed great skepticism of the practicality of government by experts, but there was no thought of entrusting control to parties directly.

Dr. Reinstein continued during this protracted discussion to follow the direction agreed on in the Kenefick Commission of 1931-35. While its view had been to consolidate executive functions of the County in Judge Kenefick's corporate form, the Commission strongly advocated maintaining local administrative units because they had been repeatedly shown by cost studies to have been highly efficient. Now he urged that attention be given to a system of providing technical services—to be paid for—to local units. These would include valuations, Sheriff's aid and advice, and other matters demanding technical proficiency. But there seemed no way to guarantee such action.

The vote on the Home Rule Amendment in the fall of 1958 passed comfortably, and in June 1959 the finished Charter was submitted. It had been carefully drafted by the attorneys of the County Survey Committee, Edward B. Murphy and Thomas P. Flaherty (one from each major party), and

Sheriff B. John Tutuska, County Clerk Robert W. Grimm, Albert J. Zeitler, 20th Ward Supervisor and County Executive Edward A. Rath, in front.

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its adoption by the Board of Supervisors with bipartisan support was assumed, particularly since it proposed no alterations to the Board or its elections, or in certain other sensitive areas. It was only a few years later, when adjustment of electoral districts was ordered by the fiats of high courts, that the drafters revealed that they had been restricted in a number of directions by the State's enabling acts. But the Treasurer's position was eliminated, adequate powers were assigned to the County Executive, and all was accepted by the Board of Supervisors and by the voters in the November referendum. The votes were decisive, and the Board set about devising the administrative codes that would be needed for the new system that began January 1, 1961, with Edward A. Rath in the Executive's chair.

Subsequent changes have been serious operations only in the reduction in the number of representatives in the County's policy-making body. In a referendum on March 28, 1967, the voters approved the substitution of a County Legislature of 20 members in place of the Board of Supervisors. Since each seat was to have its own special district, the old system of township representation came to an end. Under the prevailing demand for precisely equal representation of all voters, the districts were carefully drawn, and proportional voting schemes in both Board and Common Council were tried.

The period in question therefore closes with City and County governments similarly constituted under the philosophy of Judge Kenefick with its attention to administrative efficiency and its balancing of centers of authority to discourage autocratic control from any. The system in the County is currently receiving a gruelling test in the efforts under B. John Tutuska as County Executive to settle the questions of a sports stadium, and the resulting confusion and uncertainty have been not only unsettling but positively disheartening to many. It may easily be that still another search for the ideal constitution will soon begin while many are still persuaded that it has already been found.

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XV. The Services of Parties

Mayor George Buck's personal triumph in defeating the charter repeal in 1921 did nothing for him. He announced that he would stand for reelection in the succeeding fall, only to have the professionals gather against him. Dr. Conrad E. Wettlaufer, chairman of the Republican County Committee, announced that he also was a candidate and, when challenged by Buck, replied contemptuously that he would discuss nothing with him, that he should be mayor or resign, for effective leadership was needed. Fred Greiner was almost equally offhand, saying he favored leaving the Commission form to its fate and keeping the party out of the battle. Francis X. Schwab announced himself as a candidate on the "wet" ticket, Buck replying that the question of Prohibition was surely irrelevant in a local election. But William Fitzpatrick was reported to have put the Democratic organization to work for Schwab as well as for a candidate for the Council, John Meahl, also a Republican. Why he favored Schwab is a problem; helping Meahl was a way to punish John Malone, with whom he had broken.

The professionals have left a strong opinion that Buck was a stupid politician, but it is difficult to find in the public record any cogent reason for their opinion. Perhaps they held against him the fact that, in the midst of this campaign, he put the Republican party on the spot by suggesting that it intervene with the State Land Board to transfer title of certain waterfront lands to the city. It certainly was an acknowledgment that party organizations served an important function in municipal affairs, something the Commission advocates had always deprecated. But he dealt with the Prohibition issue as skillfully as was possible, striving mightily to keep the Superintendent of the New York Antisaloon League out of the campaign and out of Buffalo during it. Buck can hardly be blamed for the obtuseness of that person, who wrote and spoke strongly against Schwab, to Schwab's great benefit and consequently to Buck's disadvantage. It is plain that Buck did not please the politicians, and Greiner would only say to mutual friends by way of explanation for dropping Buck that he was tired of being attacked as a boss by someone who should have felt loyalty toward him, which was unusual in a man who had always been amused by the appellation. He had, however, remarked with some bitterness at some time toward the end of his life (he was to die a year later) that officeholders recently felt neither loyalty nor friendship toward the men who helped in their elections.

Whatever his offense, Buck was defeated by Schwab 62,500 to 60,000, and the margin was clearly built up in a very indifferent west side, where Buck and the party should both have been strong. The only hope for the Commission Charter had been in maintaining such leadership as Buck's, and when the issue was joined, indifference won. At Democratic headquarters there was satisfaction, and it was predicted there that they would elect a Governor next year. Schwab promised to fire the Board of Education and reduce the Superintendent's pay, while his pledges to end Prohibition were redeemed by his motion in Council to petition Congress against it, which his colleagues obligingly killed by refusing a second.

Transfer of public interest in politics from disinterested administration to the battle of the regular parties was swift, and it was made explicit by rapidly growing sentiment favoring resumption of partisan elections. With the approach of the election of 1923, in which the majority of the Council was to be replaced, it was observed that no one seemed to favor their reelection; the party leaders disliked them, Mayor Schwab urged their replacement, and the newspapers divided on the subject. Nevertheless, it proved to be difficult for the parties to resume control of the nominating and campaigning processes. A temporary organization proposed a Citizens' Ticket, and Fitzpatrick announced that he would favor such a ticket if it proved strong. Two of this Citizens' Ticket were carried through the primaries to the final vote, but lost. In the meantime, the Republicans were being led by Greiner's successor, Fred H. Bradley, who was to have a relatively short career, in part because in 1926, he put the party behind a personal candidate in the primary and lost—a thing a chairman could not do without penalty. In 1923, Bradley

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Alfred E. Smith, at right.

chose to continue Greiner's latest policy on municipal affairs, strict disinterest, until the Commission Charter was superseded.

The only success won by those who were attacking the Commission was the retirement of Arthur Kreinheder, who backed as his successor William F. Schwartz, Commissioner of Streets in his department. In the campaign Graves and Perkins were heavily criticized as quite unworthy of their grave responsibilities. They won handily, as did Schwartz. Perkins piled up a tremendous vote, polling over 70,000, which led him to demand once more his assignment to the Department of Public Works, voting without success against himself as head of the Department of Public Affairs, but thereby at least preserving his reputation for unvaringly voting negatively on all important matters. In each case the victory was gained by a personal organization, convincing the party managers even further, if that were needed, that it would not be easy to control municipal elections as long as the Councilmen had administrative departments to provide them with election workers.

The following year, a bill passed the Legislature to restore partisan elections, the Commission Charter Association objecting because the Bill did not provide for a referendum vote, and Governor Alfred E. Smith agreed with them in applying his veto. He added that he had just succeeded in getting a new home rule law adopted, one important provision of which was elimination of the Legislature's prerogative of amending municipal charters, and this measure simply disregarded it. But the rout was on, and it was only a matter of time to the end of the Commission form in Buffalo. Even the original draftsman of the Charter, Dean Carlos Alden of the University of Buffalo Law School, agreed that a return to party responsibility was desirable. Many others echoed him; District Attorney Guy Moore declared that proper candidates did not appear because they could not depend upon party support. This may have been connected to the eternal problem of the expense of elections which was always a heavy drain on officeholders, and it was estimated that Council candidates might spend from $7,000 to $20,000 during an election. But professionals who ran for office at the time testify that they seldom were given more than printing costs by party committees. The support candidates normally hoped for had more to do with guaranteeing them tenure and protecting them from unwarranted competition than with providing funds.

But just when it appeared that everything was for sale and no one was capable of any serious kind of business, virtue would be rewarded, and a stand for integrity would be made. Schwab resolutely fought the habit of the Parks Department to furnish housing for its employees, chiefly, of course, the Commissioner-Councilman. He attacked John Meahl, the incumbent, in 1923, and succeeded in getting an adjustment that brought the treasury a modest rent for the house Meahl occupied in Delaware Park. Far more serious, Schwab fearlessly opposed the Ku Klux Klan when that fanaticism appeared in 1924. From this imbroglio, Schwab emerged with all the honors except those due to a few other courageous citizens, Charles S. Desmond among them. The pastor of the Sentinel Methodist Episcopal Church denounced opposition to the Klan as an attempt to destroy all virtue and decency, demanding that the Mayor desist from his "insane" course. Police investigations of the Klan went on, and quickly led to open gunfighting, one encounter resulting in the deaths of a policeman and his assailant. This made some of the Klan think, and they began to look silly when the crusading Methodist preacher was summoned before a court to be charged with public indecency. He had parked along a road in Cheektowaga in the company of a woman, and the Justice of the Peace refused to believe his statement that she was his wife. He ultimately escaped punishment

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upon appeal, but he was also then charged with perjury. Another crusading minister was tried in Kenmore a little later on a similar charge. Aided by these stupidities Schwab had a complete victory.

The election of 1926 brought the Legislature's and the voters' approval of a charter change, and under pressure from the whole Council Mayor Schwab nominated a commission to propose a new system, Judge Kenefick again being appointed as chairman. Hearings were in progress before the end of the year, but it was still a question as to how the parties were likely to react to the renewed responsibility for municipal government. Republican leadership was uncertain as a result of Bradley's inability to replace Greiner's immense authority, and Fitzpatrick had since 1924 shown little interest in politics, nor was his spirit to renew itself except very sporadically before his death in 1932. For a few months in 1926, it appeared that the Democrats had again found a master in H. M. Naylon. He had intervened decisively in the campaigns of 1925, or so it appeared since his candidates had won. During the 1926 season he wrested control of the Party from John P. Sullivan in spite of Sullivan's readiness to cooperate with him, and even to get the State Chairmanship for him. He appeared unwilling to accept the crown, but seized it to place it on his own head. A serious controversy in the State Democratic convention left him in the position of bearing responsibility for an unpopular choice, which he then arrogantly flaunted. This was admirable since it seemed to mark him as a master—but he lost the fall elections.

Certainly the candidates on this occasion were beaten at the polls, and they were unwilling to take the blame for the defeat, in which they were supported by Congressman James M. Mead even though he himself had easily won his now accustomed victory. The burden of the complaints was that the Democratic Party headquarters had collected $40,000 and given less than a tenth of that sum to the candidates. One disappointed candidate had been reluctant to run, saying that $25,000 was needed to win it. Naylon had persuaded him with a promise of at least that much but had produced nothing. Thus it was that the handwriting was on the wall for Mr. Naylon, and Jim Mead, who had presented him with a gold watch at a testimonial dinner in January, was demanding his resignation in December. But since Naylon was claiming leadership for himself, the party was assured of direction by a great vote-getter. At the time the Republican future was not so sure, but even the censorious editorial board of the *News* was encouraging its leaders to seize power, acknowledging at long last, it was the Republican Party that had elected Buck in 1917.

Neither party was outwardly in good position to exploit the opportunity to reassert partisan control under the new charter of 1928. The Naylon split was still visible in the Democratic Party as he remained in control of a faction, while the group around Congressman Mead appeared to be equally strong. The Party was about to experience the misfortunes that normally attended a party directed by a popular elective official, for Mead foolishly tried to serve in Congress and direct the County Committee. He only added to the turmoil that continued even after the greatest vote-getter of all, Franklin D. Roosevelt, had won the Presidency, and Roosevelt's interferences had only worsened the situation. The Republicans were not much better off. Greiner's death in 1922 left matters to Bradley who was to win some notable victories for the Republicans (the last just as the Depression was breaking in 1929) but who was constantly under heavy attack in his own party by responsible leaders, as well as the normally pugnacious political types. The Democratic leader was John W. Henry (1926-1931).

Both parties went into the 1927 September primaries with contests to be settled for almost all positions. The regular party officers were usually referred to as the "organization," and so it was on the primary ballots, but the Republican dissidents wanted a reorganization of the party, so it was the Organization against the Reorganization. The Democrats strove for a truce, but got none, and its voters faced a similar lineup on primary day. The outcome was a victory for the regular organizations in both parties, particulary in the all-important matter of choices for the County Committees themselves, where the majority vote ultimately controlled. There were some stinging defeats nevertheless, one of them the victory in the Republican camp of Ulrich for County Treasurer. He was backed by Edwin F. Jaeckle, who was beginning his move to the Chairmanship. It cost Jaeckle his job as Clerk of the Board of Supervisors—penalties were exacted for irregularities—but he was on his way.

The news of primary day was, however, another of Frank Perkins' coups. His post of Councilman-Commissioner expiring, he filed his candidacy petitions for the tickets of the Socialist, Democratic, and both Republican factions and won them all except the Democratic, where Henry F. Jerge prevailed. Following the primary were the statutory reelections of the party officers of the County Committees, and both meetings were quiet, although the Republican dissidents presented an opposition candidate and demanded a ballot, which they lost. But it appeared that the Democrats had almost lost their labors, for the Republicans swept the elections in November with a vengeance, piling such a victory on their previous string of victories that the *News* was complacently able to announce that all City and County officers were Republican. This was no great source of wonder,

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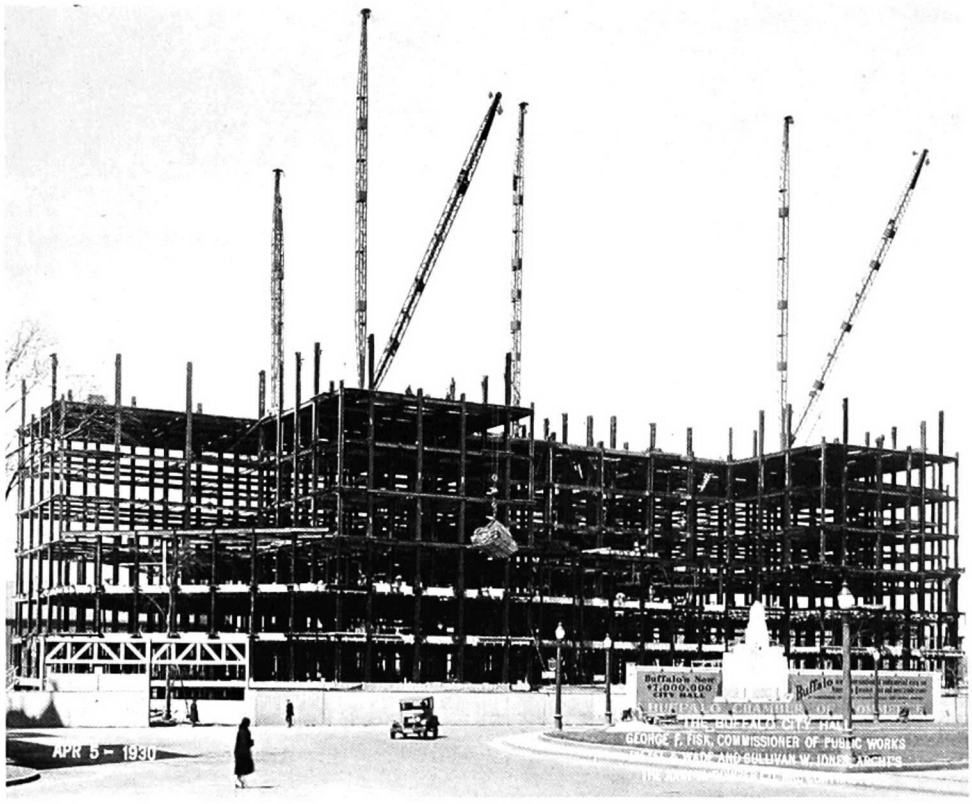
for registration figures were heavily weighted on the Republican side; a year and a half later, with still more of the industrial prosperity of this period back of them, they counted 182,000 registered members to the Democrats' 101,000. There was only the presence of the egregious Perkins to blot their copybook. He had run as Socialist, Republican, and Independent, and had beaten veteran Democrat Dan Sweeney 75,000 to 51,000 for Council President. So there was some humility to be learned from having a Socialist at the head of the winning ticket, the Mayor's post not being in contention.

The following year was almost a repetition from the lowly view of the hundreds of faithful party workers—some of them in this century have been known to have served their party for as long as 50 years—with the single exception of the revolution wrought by the nomination of a Catholic for President in the person of Governor Smith. This sent the Poles of the east side swarming into the Democratic ranks, and Democratic friends of Republican incumbents, having volunteered to run sacrificially to make the election look conventional, found themselves winning a real horse race. They did win in many cases and party registration figures in Buffalo began to change rapidly, although the Democratic party could make little capital of the fact. National Committeemen Norman E. Mack and John W. Henry eagerly hunted for a way to agreement among the factions, and certain adherents of former Chairman Naylon surrendered but only to join the dissidents under other leadership. Even the women were beginning to learn the gentle art of kicking a fellow when he's down—not a pretty thought, but a classic formula for victory—and assailed the perplexed leadership with demands that a woman vice-chairman be named. This tactic was to be repeated two years later by the Republican women after that party began to realize the depths of its depression-bred troubles. Feminist demands for partisan equality were ultimately realized in part.

City Hall under construction, 1930



Perhaps the most striking report of the year 1928 came from the County Treasurer, who noted the suburban growth that was making County government a matter of first importance. The County's business had grown 300% in 10 years and indebtedness on account of various improvements 600%. There was little of the unexpected in Hoover's winning the city by a narrow margin while Franklin Roosevelt was carrying it for Governor on the Democratic ticket. Primaries were quiet, and the only great animation, apart from the bitterness developed from Smith's candidacy, was provided by those great comedians of the Commission era, Perkins and Schwab. During this year, Perkins achieved his highest ambition by becoming mayor *pro tem* during Schwab's vacation; upon Schwab's demanding that he call a special Council meeting on a personnel matter, Perkins grandly issued the call only to be completely crushed by a cold legal opinion from City Attorney Hickman, pointing out that such a meeting must be called by the Acting Council President. That silenced him, but the picturesque old guard carried on successfully in the person of Mayor Schwab, who late in 1928 discovered that he could cause great distress to the County officers by remaining in his offices in County Hall until the new city hall was completed. This contravened the sale agreement by which the old hall became exclusively County property, but the prospect of a suit only seemed to stimulate the Mayor's keen interest in his mischief. The admirers of his histrionic talents no doubt renewed their applause.

Desperate to provide themselves the means of uniting to oppose Republican domination, the Democrats tried constitutional devices. In 1929, they arranged an organization in which the County Chairman, then John C. Stiglmeier, was only a presiding officer. The real ruler became the Executive Vice Chairman of the

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Cornerstone laying at State Teachers College, 1929

County Committee, also Chairman of the Assembly District Leaders Council and Chairman of the Leaders Conference of Western New York. The holder of these impressive titles was still Henry, and the prestige of Tammany Hall itself rode on this system, but disasters continued. A clumsy and belated effort to change candidates for Mayor simply gave a last chance to Schwab, who was in trouble in his own party and was forced to make a run for the Democratic nomination. Schwab won, and the Democratic County Committee assembled glumly to elect officers. This they did smoothly and quietly by virtue of the rather pointed absence of the real leaders and all recent chairmen; this strategem was repeated a year later. The Republicans swept the 1929 elections, but great changes were just ahead. The Board of Supervisors was Republican 40 to 14, the Council 14 to 1. Seven of eight Assemblymen were Republican, and John J. Roesch became Mayor, Schwab putting up a good scrap in spite of the indifference of both parties to him.

Bigger factors now entered the political stage. The overwhelming discouragements of a general depression and the equally sudden, perhaps related, birth of presidential ambitions in Governor Roosevelt made themselves felt in both parties. The Republicans should have been warned and the Democrats encouraged, but the party organizations proved inflexible. Oliver Cabana, Jr., a banker, industrialist, and farmer, was asked by Roosevelt to end the Democrats' civil war in Erie County, but his harmony efforts only seemed to increase the Democrats' difficulties. In desperation during the following year, 1931, he took the final expedient of splitting the party for a showdown vote, with Fitzpatrick, again active as he had only sporadically been since 1924, his chief opponent in support of Henry. This victory finally achieved momentary unity; the Democrats were presented with control of the Common Council and held the Board of Supervisors by 28-24. The patronage problems now became theirs, the Republicans having warred over what they complained of as inadequate supplies of jobs in the two previous years.

Almost the only change that had been made by the long efforts to reorganize it was to rename the Executive Committee: for a time it bore the grandiose title of Board of Governors. But the difficulties remained and the fateful decision to go along with Roosevelt and his policies was made in the midst of this unremitting internecine battling. Oliver Cabana, Jr., Roosevelt's man, became County Chairman following the electoral victories of 1931—unexpected as they might seem in view of the party turmoil, which now appears far less significant than at the time. As Henry and Fitzpatrick withdrew after their victorious election, the common talk was of the new policy that was appearing, a "new deal" and a modification of Prohibition. It is likely that the party workers had a clearer idea that an important decision had been made than did the newsmen. It was finally openly declared that this platform was generally approved in the rounds of party talk, so the foundation for Roosevelt's presidential campaign had been laid, at least in Western New York.

By the time of the great electoral shift of 1932, which began to alter preponderancy of national opinion from Republicans toward the Democrats, the party system in Buffalo was established and operating smoothly enough, although with outward discord. Within the political community, which was now showing second and perhaps third generation practitioners in its ranks, the rules were well understood and fair methods agreed upon. Certain unfair campaign methods were consistently practiced, such as gossip about the private lives of candidates, but never by serious leaders exposed to retribution. So far as the details of party organization were concerned,

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there was substantial accord, the successful traits of one being promptly adopted, as we have seen, by the other. The one great change that now appears, and it need not be discussed since there is at present no solution in sight, is the current need for vastly increased funds for campaigning. A paean of praise for one chairman has just included a casual note that the party's debt is $350,000—a sum that in the memory of former leaders would have paid for more than one campaign over the whole State. The imagined necessity to compete with commercial organizations in the purchase of television, radio, and advertising services is responsible, and no one can suggest where revenues on this scale are to be procured.

The forms under which the parties operate are constantly studied and changed. Whenever difficulties appear, and elections produce repeated defeats of the party for no clear and apparent reason, revisions of the County Committee and its administrative officer, the Executive Committee, and the Chairman's staff are considered. This tendency to change appears superficially to be mere backing and filling with no real object achieved, but there are good reasons for the sensitivity party leaders feel on this matter. They must control the political community with which they work. This community—the party workers and their backers—is not often identified as an entity in itself, for the reason, apparently, that Americans do not like to think of anything standing between themselves and their chosen representatives. But parties stand just there, and the visible portion of parties is but the protruding tip of the iceberg. Working largely out of sight are several thousand citizens, and their numbers continue to increase, who are the people whose hard labor of canvassing at campaign time is only, again, the visible part of their effort and their power. They are the bases of the two parties, not only the means of getting out the vote but of knowing what people are thinking and, reversing the flow of opinion, of suggesting what they well might think on issues about which the party leaders must assume a position. They form a small community in themselves and exercise immense influence, for experienced party leaders know that after years of good work such workers may lose the energy needed for canvassing, but gain sensitivity as assessors of opinion. Their reports may decide points in the party platform.

They likewise often are the people whose knowledge of aspiring candidates may advance one toward the top of the list of availables or disclose weaknesses that eliminate another. Party leaders are put on notice in either case by the talk of members, and this gossip, as it may appear to be, is another important function of the political community.

Therefore, the efforts of party leaders to maintain control (in the parliamentary sense) of members, and to assure them of their own responsiveness, is essential no matter how trivial it may appear. At times, changes of the rules are necessary, as when a new County Chairman is elected and finds himself with an unsympathetic Executive Committee. The solution is a reduction in the number of its members and power to appoint enough to give him control. At other times, as when there is a crisis in confidence, enlargement to include dissident factions may be indicated. Merely making these efforts furnishes party members reassurance of the concern and alertness in the now professionalized front offices of the parties. Even more assuring are the constant efforts to maintain a reasonable balance between city and towns, depending upon shifts in population and sources of party voting power. Many other aspects of the life of this remarkable community have the constant attention of its leaders.

Development of the County Committee with its officers to direct the party has taken place during the century 1870-1970, but the essential means of supporting the organization has not changed from long before that century began to draw to its close in our times. Naming people to governmental positions as rewards had been important to parties almost from the moment of their creation. Such appointments have likewise been under attack as the "spoils system" since the beginning, since they too often penalized the public interest through the discharge, for political reasons, of skilled officers. During our century, limitation by the operation of a merit system under Civil Service rules has been forced on party managers as rapidly as possible, but in spite of the removal from the spoils list of most positions demanding professional skills, there are still thousands of jobs in Erie County to which victorious officeholders can appoint their own followers. Furthermore, workers under the merit system have found that hearty cooperation with political heads of departments can make a great difference in the rate of promotion. The right to pass out these favors is still essential to the operation of parties and skillful use of the right can alter the political landscape radically. Even changes of County Chairmen have been accomplished by careful and continued use of a major officeholder's patronage, and superseding an

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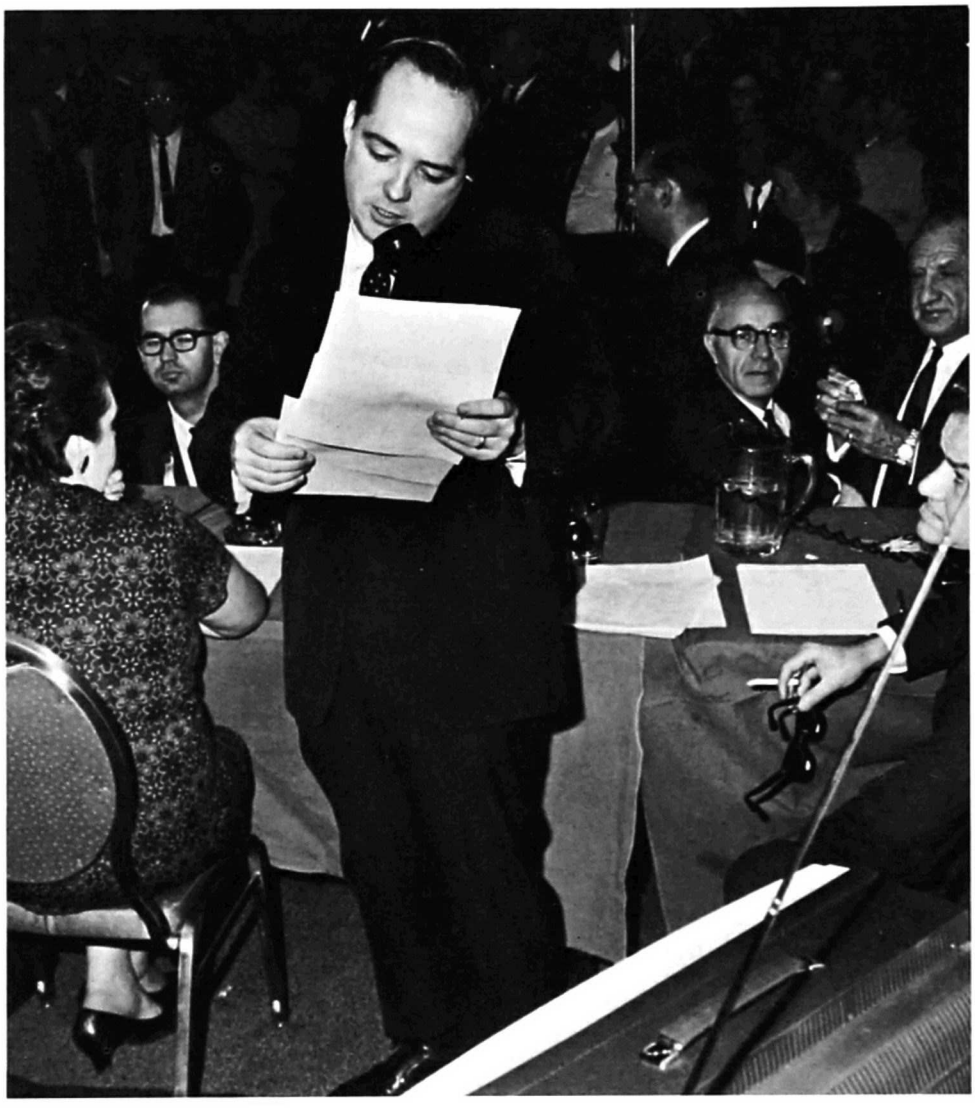
unwilling Chairman is among the political operations that rank as very difficult indeed. The continuance of the political spoils system in an age convinced of the virtues of professionalism, and in which party management itself actually approaches professional standards, may be a surprise. But the basis of party organization is patronage.

Another fact of politics has not changed: the great difficulty of maintaining order within the parties themselves. Made up of competitive if not pugnacious characters because the first duty of a party is to win the pollings that puts its men into office, party directorates understandably frequently, as has been noted, fall into disagreement within their own ranks. Often also a confident and capable man cannot wait until his turn comes to lead, or observes that he will have his chance only if he seizes power—or he thinks that he is the able man stupidly held back by incompetent incumbents. It is easy to find dissidents, for no ambitious politician ever felt that he was adequately rewarded or given the support in patronage his contributions warranted. Only a master can long hold such a group to his will, even after approval by majority vote of the Committee. Such a master as Fitzpatrick never got the Democratic Party workers willing to recognize majority votes as ending any given controversy, although he did his best for 30 years in a conciliatory and unselfish manner.

The Republican Party was to have a devastating battle in its own ranks during the closing years of our period, so there is no distinction to draw between the major parties except that strife within the Democratic Party has been more constant. One veteran of politics, Charles L. Feldman, remarked in 1933, when he was Corporation Counsel, that the one political constant during his lifetime had been the warfare within the Democratic party. He was 70 at the time and had been Chairman of the Civil Service Commission 1914-26, from which post the party battle and its consequences were clear indeed. A veteran reporter, C. H. Armitage, noted in 1936 that the Democrats had had at least 22 chairmen since 1900, in spite of the fact that Fitzpatrick had occupied the place during a good many years. At the time of Armitage's observation, Frank B. Carr held the post but was succeeded by E. C. Dethloff in 1937, who was displaced in an open fight by Paul E. Fitzpatrick, son of the famous "Mr. Fitzpatrick." When Fitzpatrick moved up in 1942 to the state chairmanship, he was succeeded by his own nominee, George B. Doyle. Doyle retired at the close of 1946 and was succeeded by William B. Mahoney, who had been Fitzpatrick's adversary in 1940. He remained for seven years and was replaced by Peter Crotty (not without a sharp conflict), who gave the party a long and steady administration during which the careful organizing efforts of several of his predecessors were brought to completion. The great state Democratic victory of 1964 was his undoing. For many months he fought the New York City branch of the party for control of the new Legislature, was defeated when Republican legislators intervened in favor of his opponents, and resigned amid the bitter recrimination that followed. His assistant, Joseph Crangle, succeeded him immediately and in the five years since, to the time of this writing, has shown every sign of establishing a well regulated and professionalized secretariat. So the recitation of the Party's apparently endless troubles concludes on an entirely different note.



Joseph Crangle

The normally better disciplined

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Thomas Keating, Ralph Lehr, Walter Mahoney and Nelson A. Rockefeller

Republican party must have regarded all this with more or less amusement over the years, particularly since they had a slight but consistent advantage in the voting and normally boasted a larger registration also, although by 1950, the Democrats were occasionally showing the higher figures in the City. The Party had enjoyed a notable administration under Chairman Edwin F. Jaeckle from 1935 to 1948. His successors were Harry Forhead 1948-55, Ralph Lehr 1955-59, and J. H. Cooke 1959-62. These successions were only in consequence of promotions to high public offices, so nothing could have looked more stable. But in 1962, Robert W. Grimm undertook the chairmanship in addition to his duties as County Clerk, and by the end of the year was in controversy with State Senator Walter Mahoney, a veteran of many terms who had risen to the position of Majority Leader in the Legislature with all of the advantages for Erie County in his eminence. Mahoney had the ear of Governor Nelson Rockefeller and recruited his help to control patronage, one of Rockefeller's acts that have tended to weaken the official party organization—acts that have been balanced by equivalent irresponsibility felt by the Democrats from the personal politics of their own wealthy family, the Kennedys. The consequence of the Grimm-Mahoney split was more than two years of bitter internecine struggle, wounding and inconclusive, while the Democrats went on gathering the harvest of registration that in 1965 put them ahead of the Republicans in the County as a whole.

The climax of this self-destruction came in 1964, when Mahoney was refused party endorsement for reelection and was beaten along with many other Republican candidates—the worst beating in 30 years. A compromise candidate for Chairman was proposed but beaten by the Grimm forces in a riotous County Convention and this candidate, T. W. Ryan, had then to watch reprisals on his backers. But the courts found too many violations of the rules in the convention and ordered another election, which Ryan won. He spent what remained of 1965 restoring order, then resigned. He was succeeded by J. R. Lawley, who smoothed away the last rough places in party feelings and set about using special assistants and an expanded Executive Committee to regain winning ways. In 1967, he had some success although there was still grumbling about a two-year absence of state patronage. This controversy helped Lawley to choose to resign; Alfonso Bellanca succeeded him, only to face two bad electoral beatings and a monumental financial problem.

The services of the two major parties is still not well understood in spite of the oceans of printer's ink that is devoted to them in the newspapers. In a day when so much protest is raised because voters do not appear at the polls, it is not uncommon for the Erie County organizations to bring out over 90%. It has happened that such very satisfactory figures have even been reported in elections that are strictly municipal, as in 1937, when Thomas F. Holling was elected over Jaeckle by an extremely small margin in a poll totaling 91% of registration. The issue was almost entirely the nature and responsibilities of the parties. Holling was an independent who proposed to clean up the Democratic organization, Mayor Zimmerman having used the post of County Chairman to get into office only to be caught in dishonesty. Mr. Jaeckle proposed to repeat the electoral maneuver from his Republican Chairmanship, only with the proviso that he would immediately resign if elected. He succeeded admirably in the voting except in his own case, and it appears that the greatest heat in the

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campaign was developed over the superficially theoretical question as to what were the duties and powers of a County Chairman. In spite of a continual belittling of parties and denigration of their managers by the public press and even by the writers of school textbooks (and by each other in campaign fury), the people of Buffalo reacted with violence when they suspected that the parties were being misused. The Chairman's arousing public interest in just this way might be thought extreme, but it made sure that the citizenry recognized the worth of parties. This is well to know if there are doubts whether means exist to arrive at plain decisions on matters of public concern. The parties plainly provide one.

Erie County is normally served by at least one party leader whose power reaches into the upper strata of the American political community, as has already been seen. The spectacle was remarkable at the time when Grover Cleveland was holding the Democratic party to his own line in spite of the power of John C. and William F. Sheehan in both Buffalo and New York City.

In the next generation Greiner and Fitzpatrick exerted comparable authority, and our own times do not lack impressively strong figures. Fitzpatrick's son, Paul, had chosen a business career and was only persuaded with great difficulty to become County Chairman in 1940 to reorganize the local party. Under him Mayor Holling resumed regular relations with the organization, and the worst disorders in it were controlled, but in 1942, Fitzpatrick was called to the chairmanship of the state organization. Here he served for 10 years with distinction, representing Erie County with the integrity and force we are accustomed to. His brief summary of the work of the State Committee under his chairmanship, issued shortly before his retirement in 1952, is preserved in the Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society as an evidence of this area's live and informed political tradition. In Fitzpatrick's report may be found such novelties as a system of instruction he devised for students in the State's colleges—the disappearance of which may be more keenly regretted in the light of the current collegiate disorders—and the item of racial justice set forth in the list of actions the party must take. The stubborn battle fought by Peter Crotty in 1957 for the appointment of a Black candidate who had been promised a municipal position, shows that party undertakings are not always lightly made, and that the sense of duty can be felt from top to bottom.

The Republican counterpart of the younger Fitzpatrick was Jaeckle. He was in close agreement with Fitzpatrick on one of the important qualifications for political leadership: a County Chairman should be a man who could guarantee personal disinterest by giving his time as a public service. While this is an increasingly difficult requirement to meet as political management grows more and more professionalized, demanding lifelong training and employment, during their time Fitzpatrick and Jaeckle found great advantage in taking no salaries. Sophomoric aspersions on their honesty could be ridiculed and the pretensions of moral superiority on the part of amateur officeholders could be instantly crushed with the question, "How much salary do *you* get?" In a society ascribing magical qualities to money, they were at an advantage.

Mayor Thomas Holling

Jaeckle had started working in party operations as a young man in 1916 and soon found himself elected

Thomas E. Dewey, second from left, and Edwin F. Jaeckle, third from left, 1937 Buffalo Mayoral candidate.

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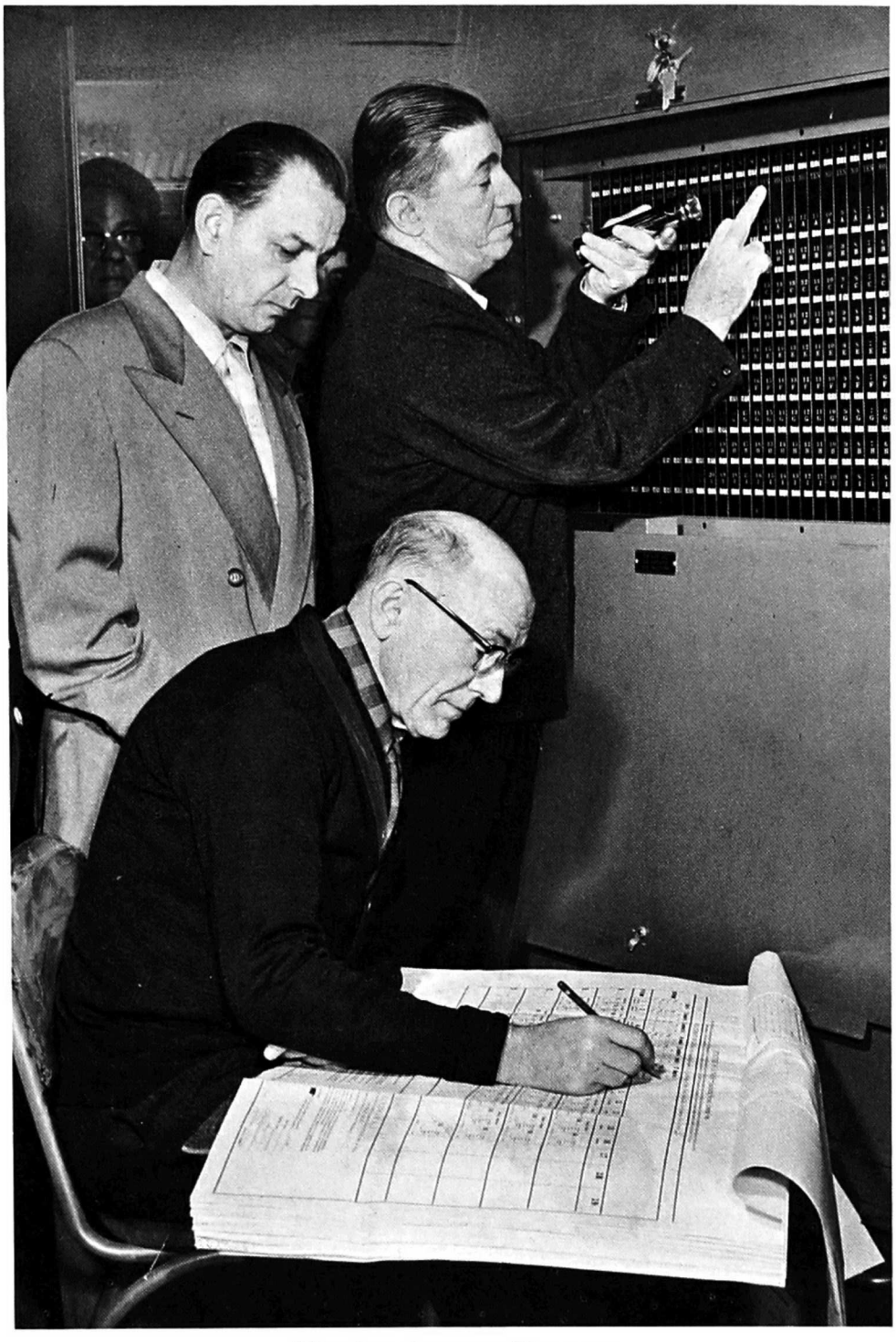


Election deputy tallies votes

to the Board of Supervisors. After war service and management of ward committees, he managed the election of an independent candidate to the County treasurership and was rewarded with an appointment as Collector of Back Taxes that proved unexpectedly lucrative. Thereafter, he was in a position to maintain himself with such law practice that could be managed evenings and weekends while pursuing party management in a serious way. Seeing that the Republicans had no chance of returning to power in the 1930's except by shaking off the Wall Street label and adopting progressive aims, he led attacks on the chairmen until, in desperation, he was allowed his chance. Beginning in 1935, he restored Republican county domination until, during the war years with President Roosevelt very popular but his wartime restrictions very unpopular, the political landscape began to look very much as it did toward the close of Boss Greiner's career. The plight of the party in state elections after 1920 was equally galling, so Jaeckle gradually encompassed the defeat of the leaders who refused to adjust to changed conditions, finally accepting the State Chairmanship.

His rise coincided with that of Thomas E. Dewey; the two were for some time partners, and Jaeckle managed his campaigns for Governor. This was successful enough so that he became Dewey's manager in his campaigns for the presidency. This is not the place to comment in detail on the relations of the local organization to the affairs of state and nation, but the obvious connection in a career like Jaeckle's makes it evident that great affairs are actually, as he declares, settled in the party operations in election districts and wards and towns.

Collection of The Hartford History Museum

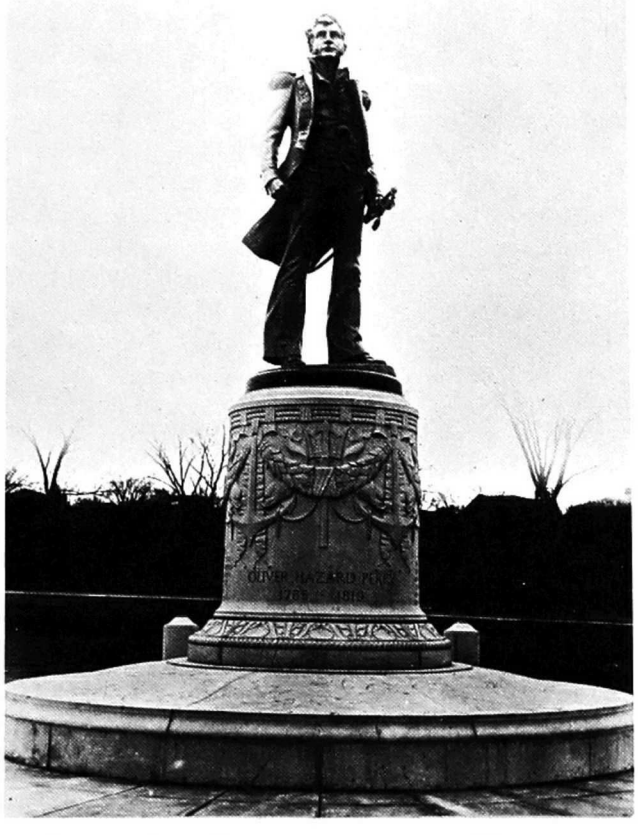
The Hiker monument

Military Heritage

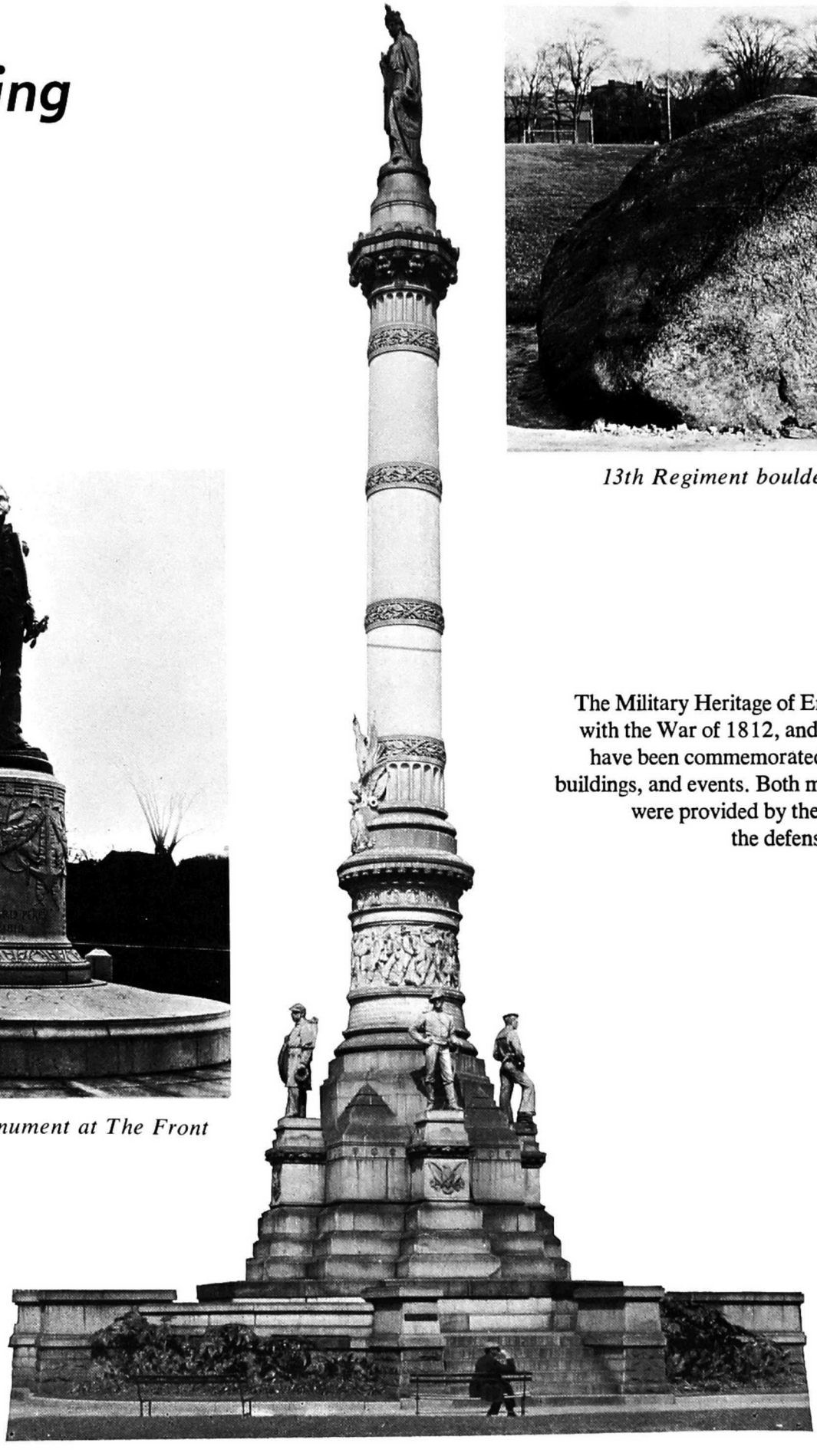
Collection of The Buffalo History Museum

Honoring the Dead

13th Regiment boulder at The Front



Commodore Perry monument at The Front



The Military Heritage of Erie County began with the War of 1812, and the many heroes have been commemorated by monuments, buildings, and events. Both men and materials were provided by the County to aid in the defense of our country.

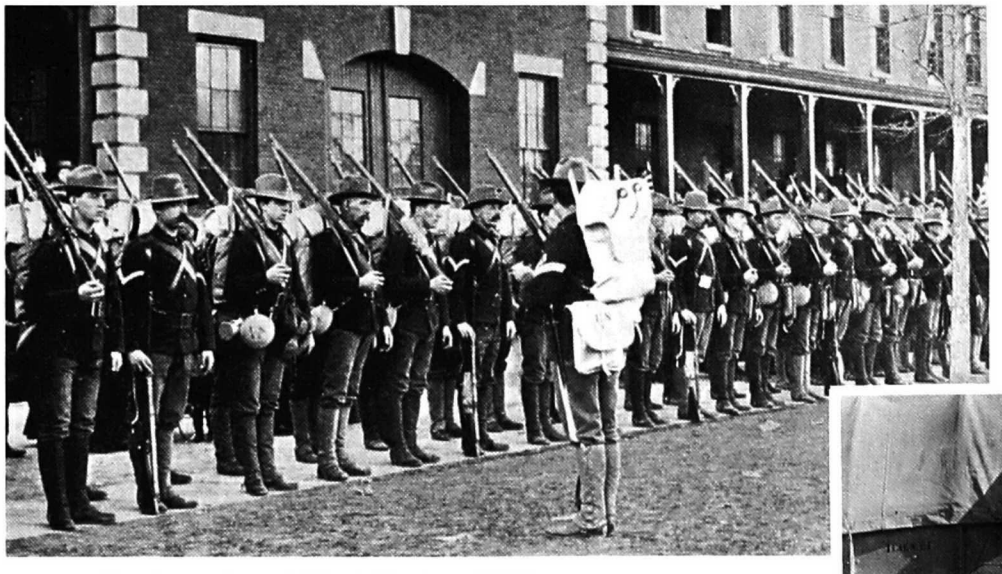
Collection of The Buffalo History Museum

Forest Lawn Cemetery graves on Memorial Day

War Memorial Stadium

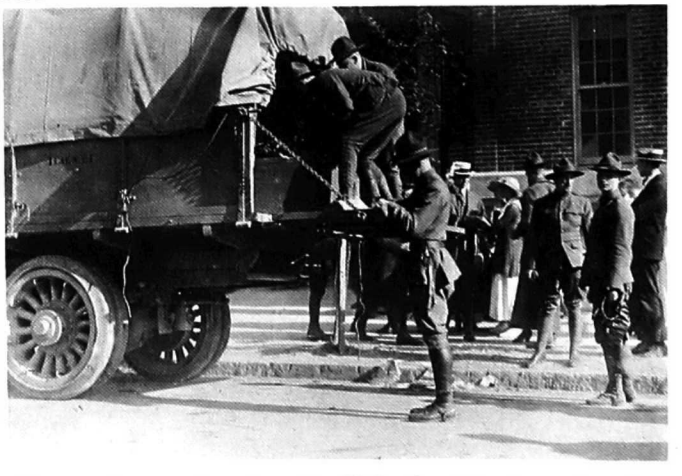
Collection of The Buffalo History Museum

Troop I cavalrymen



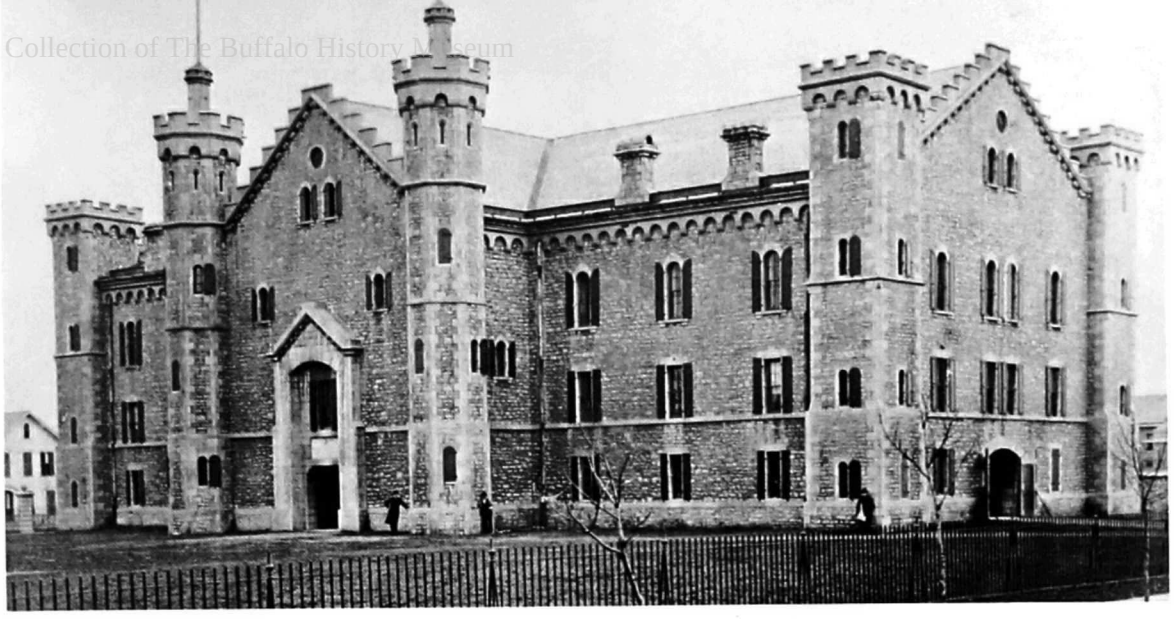
Last muster at Fort Porter, 1899

The Military 1870-1916



Troop I men leaving Buffalo for Mexican border

Collection of The Buffalo History Museum



The State Arsenal at Buffalo, 1874

Spanish American War infantrymen on parade, 1898

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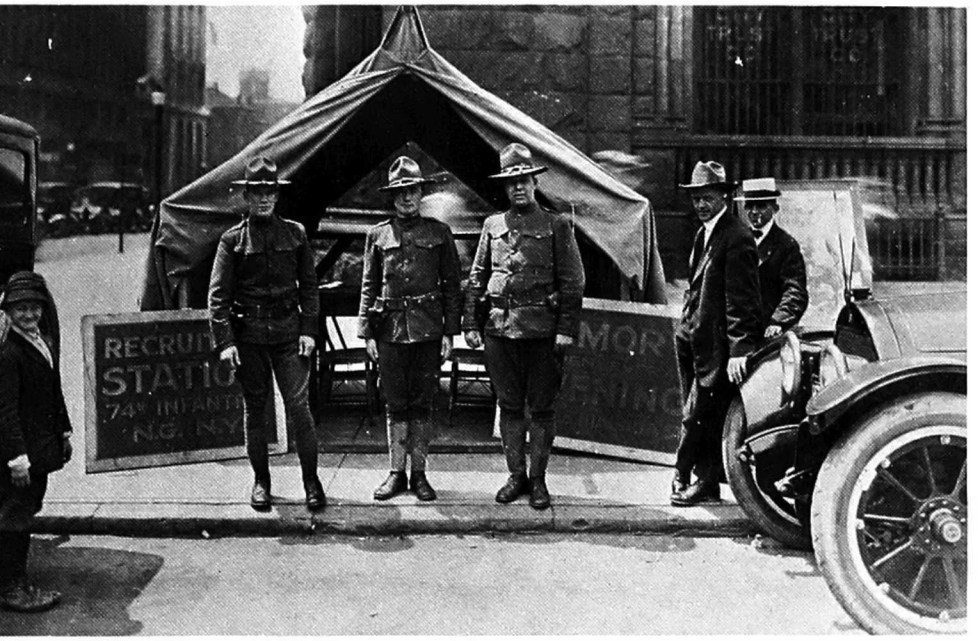
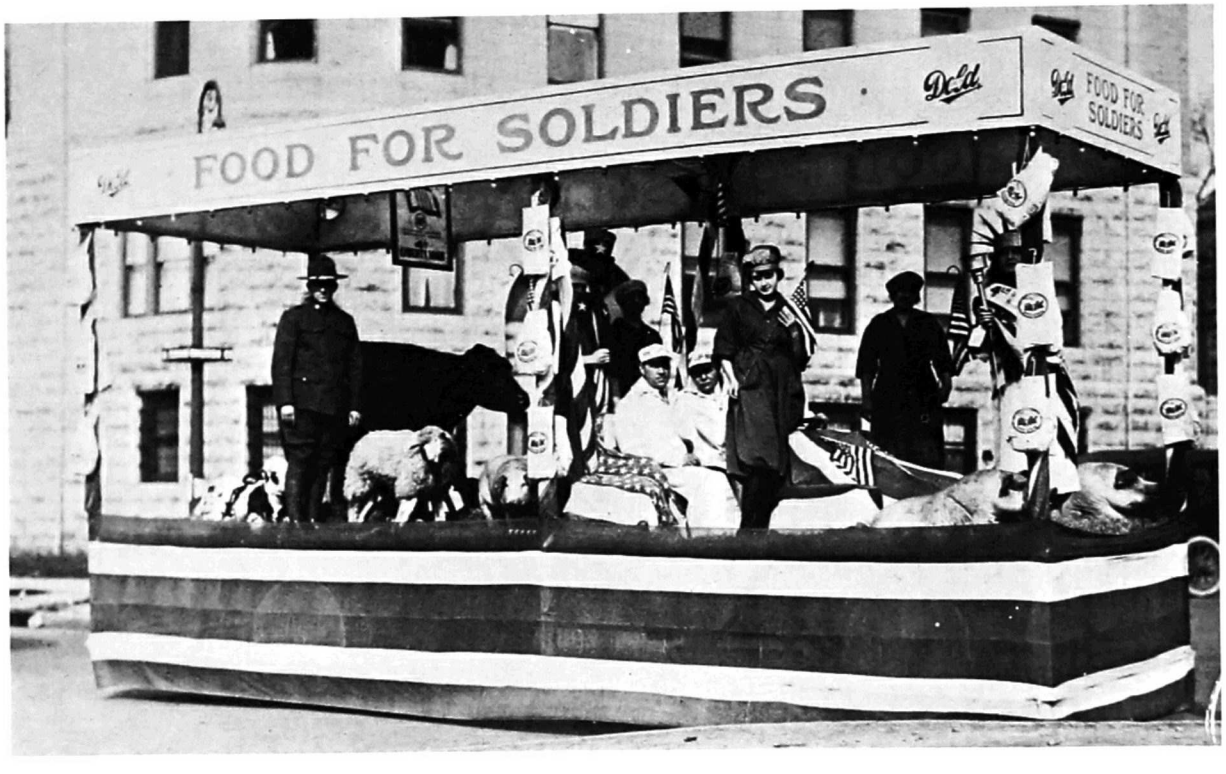


World War I recruiting station

Return of troops, World War I

Ferguson Shipbuilders, 1918



Collection of The Buffalo History Museum

Black group enlisting to fight for democracy, World War I

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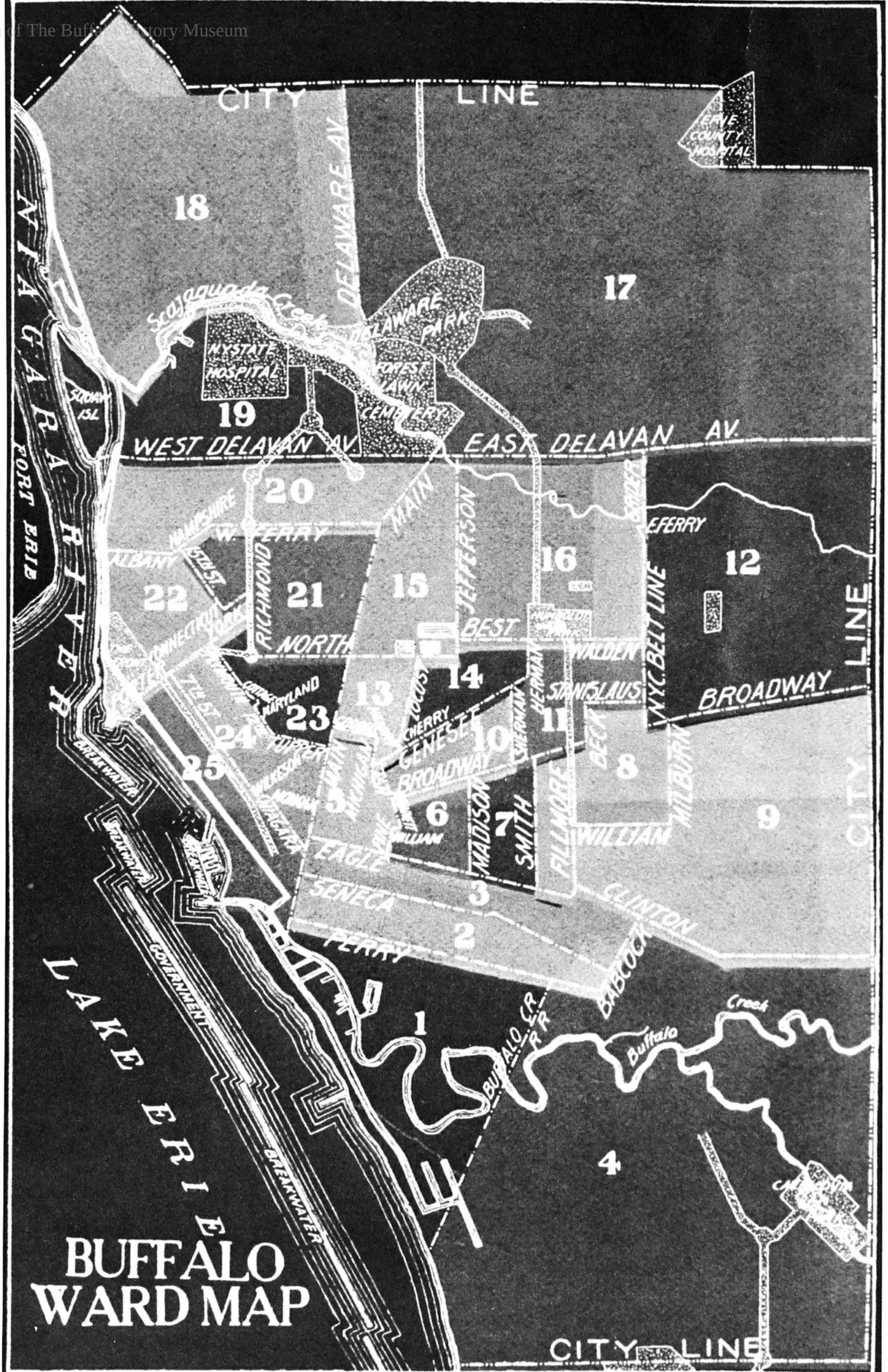
M. Wile & Co.
production of army uniforms

Collection of The Buffalo History Museum



BUFFALO WARD MAP

Collection of The Buffalo History Museum

XVI. A Cosmopolitan Population

Erie County has long been an attractive settling place for the foreign born. When the Erie Canal was built, many Irish laborers who helped dig the canal remained in Buffalo and Erie County after its completion. During the 1850's, a large influx of Germans began. Because of its location, the county has always attracted Canadians. Buffalo's docks and factories required the unskilled labor that the immigrants could provide, while at the same time the area was readily accessible, being on a direct route from New York City via the Erie Canal and later the railroads.

After 1870, Erie County experienced the same shift in the type of immigration that was happening in the rest of the country. Before this time most of the newcomers came from Northern Europe, while after 1870 they came from Southern and Eastern Europe. In 1870, the dominant ethnic group was the Germans, but by 1920, the Polish and Italian born population was increasing rapidly. At this time, the Polish community was the second largest such community in the country, exceeded only by that of Chicago. The height of the Italian influx came slightly after that of the Poles, in the 1930's. During World War I, an internal migration began that was to bring to Buffalo large numbers of Blacks, presently the city's largest minority group.

All immigrants faced problems of adjustment to the new country; those who came later had special difficulties. The languages, customs, and religions of the Southeastern Europeans differed greatly from those of the Northern Europeans who had settled in this country earlier.

When the great tide of Polish immigrants was rolling into Buffalo in the 1890's, their troubles were complicated by a great housing shortage. It was not unusual to find 17 people living in a single room 14 feet square. It would be so packed at night that it was nearly impossible to open a door. Polish people were often forced by necessity to board in miserable and unhealthy shelters. Twenty Italians during the same period, could be found living in a room considered adequate for two. Often several families shared accommodations in a single room, or one room might shelter a couple of boarders in addition to a whole family. Single and double houses still stand in Lackawanna and other industrial areas that were built at the turn of the century and housed up to 100 persons.

A street scene typical of that period when immigration was at an all-time high, would have depicted a small crowd of scantily clothed people carrying bundles, bags, or boxes which contained all the possessions they had brought with them from their homelands. They would have been seen moving slowly through the streets, desperately seeking shelter. They had come with high hopes, and they encountered tremendous obstacles, not the least of which was earning their daily bread.

At the turn of the century, about 72 percent of those arriving in the United States from Eastern and Southern Europe found employment in the railroad construction, the steel industry, and in the mines. In West Seneca and around the steel plants, Hungarians, Poles, Croatians, and the newly arrived Germans lived in huddled tenement houses and huts.

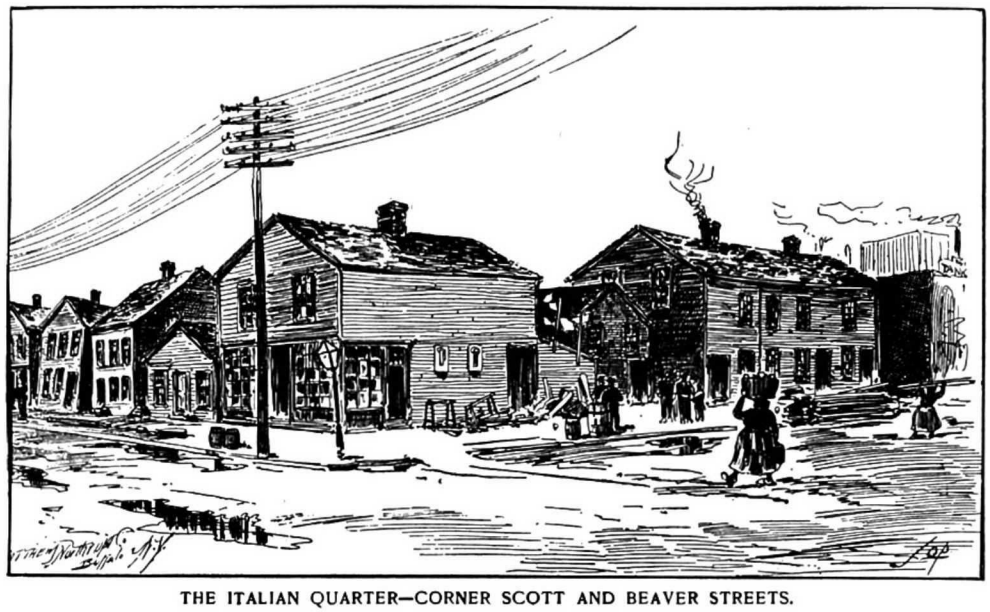
Collection of The Buffalo History Museum

Prior to this time, trade unions were not sufficiently organized to protect workers, hence these men were often denied basic rights. They found themselves unable either to express their dissatisfaction or to protect themselves against exploitation. Their average wage was $1.50 for a ten-hour day, or about $21 for a continuous two weeks of work. Unscrupulous boardinghouse owners exerted pressure on these workers after their board and room were paid, to spend the balance of their money right in the boarding houses for beer and liquor, or they would not allow them to remain. The tenements were overcrowded, and a laborer returning from work might have found his bed still warm from a fellow worker who had just left for another work shift.

The following incidents illustrate the severity of the existing conditions of that time. During the winter of 1907-08, a group of Hungarians were found near starvation at 490 The Avenue, West Seneca. They had no income, and no welfare aid was available. Fathers Baker, Ryan, and Basso undertook the relief of these poor men, and Father Basso's work eventually led him to feed about 700 men daily. Several oldtimers still living in that area recall this period as the most critical of their experience.

The immigrants were faced with the prejudice of some of the native-born citizens. In 1882, a series of laws were passed prohibiting the admission of Orientals. During the early 1920's, a new wave of anti-immigrant feeling emerged under the slogan, "America for Americans," which swept the country. Foreigners were blamed for the rise in the number of criminals and gangsterism. Congress passed a series of immigration laws and established quotas to limit immigration. Clashes between immigrants and earlier settlers were as common in Erie County as elsewhere. Street fights between the Irish and the Italians were often reported in local newspapers, and the animosity between the Germans and the Poles was well known.

The political patterns that developed in Buffalo reflect the polarization of the various ethnic groups. The Germans were traditionally Republican, while the Irish were Democrats. Thus, the Poles joined the Democratic Party in opposition to the Germans, and the Italians joined the Republican Party in opposition to the Irish. It is important to note, however, that all groups employed the established American institutions to express their opinions. Save for a fleeting attempt to form a Polish political organization, there were no attempts to form a political party on purely ethnic grounds.



THE ITALIAN QUARTER—CORNER SCOTT AND BEAVER STREETS.

Efforts to retain customs and group identification were common to all ethnic groups. Often a group centered around a church in which the services were conducted in the language of and according to the customs of the homeland. All groups organized cultural clubs and self-help organizations. The mutual aid societies that developed in the Polish, Italian, Jewish, and more recently, the Black communities indicate the desire of these groups to help their own rather than depend upon the charity or welfare of the community.

While all groups shared these common problems, each developed in a unique way creating the complex pattern of today in which various ethnic groups participate economically in the mainstream yet retain their cultural, religious, and to a certain extent, political identity.

German migration had begun in the 1820's and continued until the 1890's. By 1870, the Germans were the largest immigrant group in Erie County; the census recorded over 31,000 inhabitants of German birth or parentage and over 52,000 in 1890. Most of the German immigrants settled east of Main Street in what is known as the "Fruit Belt." Later they expanded from the Fourth Ward, into the Fifth and Seventh Wards.

For the most part, the Germans prospered in Erie County. The brewery business, the tanneries, the lumber industry, the flour mills, the foundries, and bakeries were filled with German workers and owners. One 17-year-old German immigrant, Christian Klinck, arrived in Buffalo in the 1850's. First, he took a $6 a week job as a butcher; eventually, he founded a meatpacking business, the Christian Klinck Packing Company, that covered 25 acres and comprised 25 buildings. Jacob Dold, Louis Fuhrmann, Laux and Edbauer, and the Klinck brothers were among those whose businesses made it common to see a mile-long drove of hogs, cattle, and sheep being herded down Main Street out toward the stock pens.

Another German, Jacob F. Schoellkopf, immigrated to Buffalo directly from Germany. He opened a modest leather store on Mohawk Street in 1843 and kept enlarging

Collection of The Buffalo History Museum

his activities until, at the time of his death in 1899, every variety of leather which could be made from sheepskin was manufactured in the Schoellkopf plants. His products carried the Buffalo name to countless people in Europe and South America. He also took part in the development of the infant hydroelectric power industry by establishing, in 1878, the Niagara Falls Hydraulic Power & Manufacturing Company. This industry was to influence the whole future of the Frontier.

A year later his son, Jacob F., Jr., introduced the Aniline & Chemical Company that later became the National Aniline Division of the Allied Chemical Corporation. The names of both father and son became nationally known in industrial circles.

But financial affairs did not claim the whole attention of the German community. The entire cultural and social life of Buffalo was stimulated by all the various German organizations. German beer and German food, their popular picnics and musical clubs became well known throughout the community.

German American Day picnic

The Germans formed numerous musical and literary societies. The German Young Men's Society was formed to encourage the study of German literature and to preserve the knowledge of the German language and culture among German-Americans. The *Liedertafel*, *Orpheus*, and *Saengerbund* were among the singing societies in existence during the 1870's and 80's. A major social organization was the Buffalo *Turnverein*. Their activities originally centered around gymnastics; however, they soon became involved in social and political activities as well. They were known for their efforts to uphold the rights of naturalized citizens of Erie County.

Several German language papers were published in Buffalo in 1870. *Die Freie Press* was a Republican-oriented paper, while *Der Volksfreund*, organized in 1868 was Democratic. The latter continues to publish in Buffalo at the present time. Both papers published in German and stressed the news of the homeland. However, the paper also served

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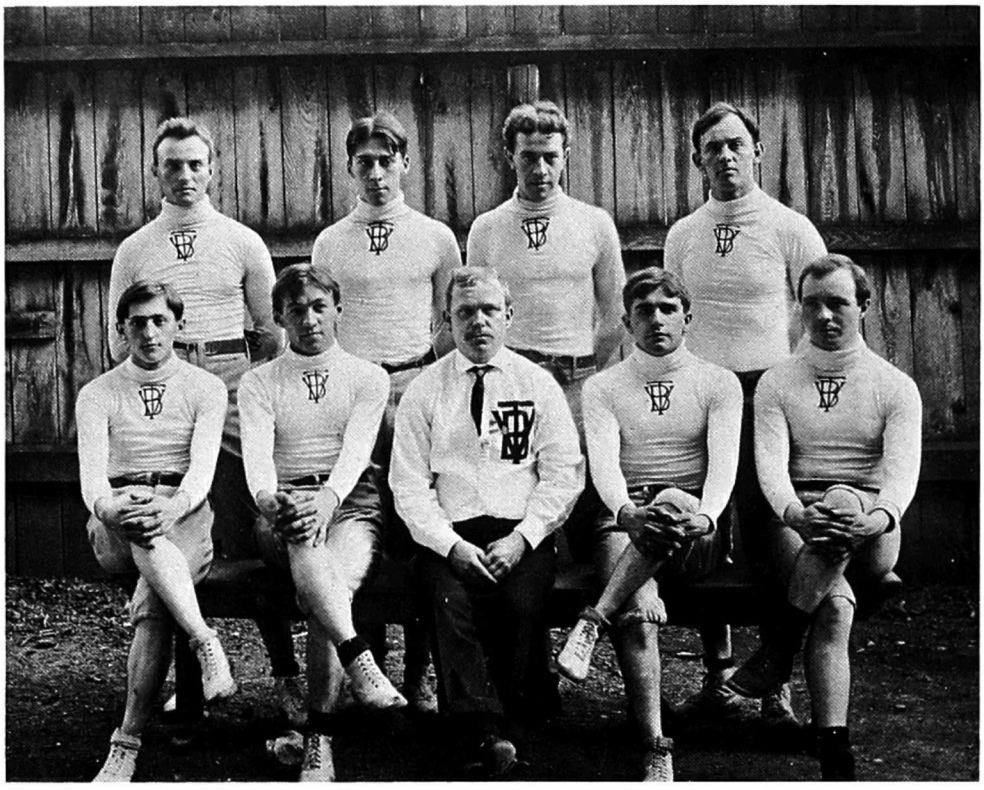


Buffalo Turn Verein, 1905

to inform the County's German-speaking residents of local and national affairs. The partisan nature of the newspapers attests to the interest of the Germans in local matters.

The political influence of the Germans in Buffalo is evident. In 1876, Philip Becker became the first German mayor of the City and he was succeeded by Solomon Scheu, another German. There have been at least eight German mayors in Buffalo's history, the last being George J. Zimmerman in 1937.

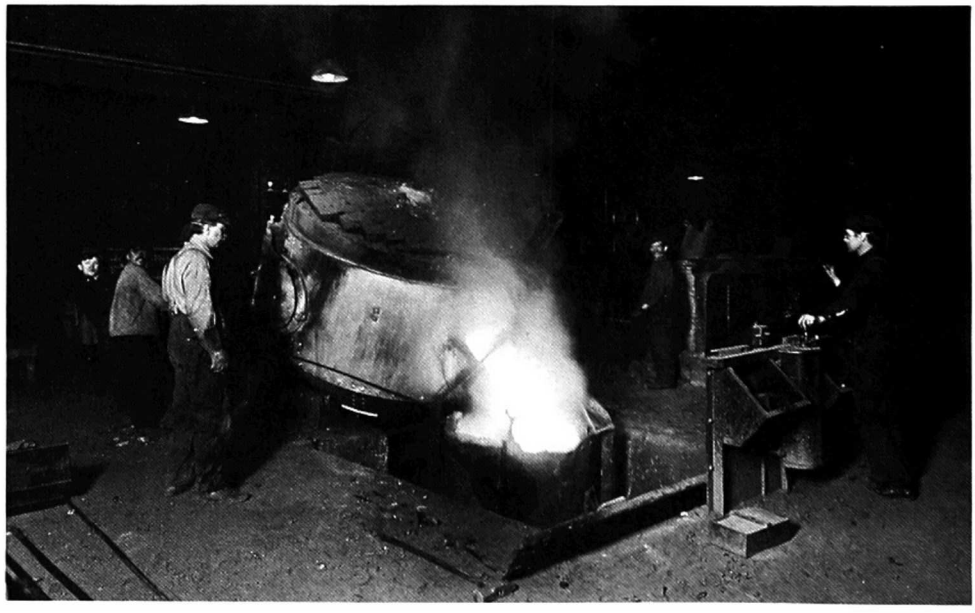
The post Civil War boom in Erie County created a large demand for unskilled labor. One nationality group met that enormous need—the Poles. Until 1872, most of the Polish immigrants were only passing through Buffalo on their way further west—to Chicago, Detroit, Toledo, and Milwaukee.

After the St. Stanislaus Society was established, more Polish people stayed in Buffalo and their small community grew. A German Redemptorist Father, Elias Fred Schauer, advised Joseph Bork, City Treasurer, that the surest way to encourage Polish settlement would be to build a church and school for them. In 1873, Father M. I. Gartner brought to Buffalo John Pitass, then a young Polish seminarian from Rome, who later was ordained to the priesthood at Niagara University. Father Pitass found about 30 Polish families when he arrived in Buffalo. Joseph Bork deeded land to him for the first Polish church, St. Stanislaus, in a then underdeveloped area at Townsend and Peckham Streets, and after the church was erected in 1874, the real Polish colony began. Ten years later, the present St. Stanislaus Church was built. Pitass opened the first Polish parochial school, established St. Stanislaus Cemetery, organized the first Polish language newspaper *Ojczyzna* (later *Polak W Americe),* and was appointed dean of all Polish parishes in the Diocese by Bishop Ryan. Father John Pitass came to be recognized as the founder of the East side Polish colony and was known as the "Patriarch of Polonia" in Buffalo.

In the 1890's, a second Polish colony was established at Black Rock where they were attracted to the growing steel industry there. Later, Poles claimed a third section of the city, that part bounded by Clinton and Snow Streets and Buffalo Creek. In the 17 years from 1875 to 1892, about 13,000 more Poles came to make their homes in Buffalo, an enormous influx.

The newly arrived Poles settled between Adam and Fillmore Streets on the west, Broadway on the north, Clinton on the south and the city limits on the east, which became the center of "Polonia." At that time, however, the number of people born in Poland was still less than the 40,000 Germans, for example, some of whom claimed three generations born on American soil.

Before 1920, Polish immigration is difficult to trace since Poles were



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listed both nationally and locally as Germans, Austrians, or Russians upon entry, depending upon which part of divided Poland they had left. An estimate made in 1908 indicated there were 27,500 Polish born immigrants, and a total of 60,000 of Polish descent including those born in the United States of Polish parents. In 1940, there were 76,465 Buffalonians of Polish background, including second-generation citizens born in the United States.

In the early period of Polish immigration here, only unskilled hard labor in the iron foundries, construction, and clothing industries was open to them. They encountered a great language barrier and suffered greatly because of lack of training. As a matter of fact, the great majority were peasants unaccustomed to city life. A severe housing shortage brought more suffering to their people, and again Joseph Bork with his brother, George, and Henry V. Vogt helped the newcomers build hundreds of one- and two-story houses in the Polish district. Even these low mortgage houses were crowded, and as time went on, even more crowded. Most families found that they had to take in boarders since their average family income was too low to adequately support them.

The Polish newcomers had a difficult time when they first started to move to Buffalo's East side. Their neighbors were members of a large well organized German community. At the beginning of the Polish influx, Germans were most helpful to the newly arrived immigrants. Later, however, when the Poles overflowed the East side of the city, the Germans considered them intruders. Many Poles, remembering conditions in their fatherland, were less than cordial to the Germans.

Soon after their arrival, Buffalo's Polish citizens began to take an active part in politics. Father Pitass encouraged Poles to organize politically. Pitass wanted Poles to retain their identity in the United States and discouraged Poles from joining non-Polish organizations. However, he wisely encouraged his parishioners to join the Democratic Party, recognizing the necessity for political power. Buffalo Poles have traditionally been Democratic, perhaps originally due to the fact that the Germans were predominately Republican.

As early as 1892, the Polish Democratic Club was founded under the leadership of Jacob Rozan, who later became an assemblyman. Frank Burzynski claims the distinction of having been the first Pole from Buffalo elected to the State Assembly. In 1892, Francis Gorski was elected city councilman on the Republican ticket. As the number of Poles increased so did their political power. The steadily increasing number of Polish councilmen, supervisors, and other city officers shows the strength of their political activity and ever growing influence in the city. Joseph Mruk was elected mayor in 1949, and Chester Kowal in 1962. Both were Republican candidates, although most of the Poles are traditionally supporters of the Democratic party.

Life became easier after the turn of the century, and the Polish people organized nearly 15 singing societies and musical clubs. About 400 Polish businessmen established the Polish-American Business Association. Educational opportunities increased noticeably. Polish youngsters, born in Buffalo, enrolled in various departments of the University of Buffalo. New Polish parishes, such as St. Adalbert's, Assumption, St. Casimir's, St. John Kanty, and Transfiguration were founded, along with parochial schools in which the Felician Sisters of Cheektowaga played a prominent role. "Dom Polski," with its Polish library, and the "Falcon Hall" were organized and buildings erected. The most powerful Polish club, the Polish Alliance, began its work. By 1929, Buffalo had 14 Roman Catholic Polish Churches. The first Polish language newspaper, entitled *Ojczyzna*, was edited by Stanislaw Slisz in 1885; two years later it was renamed *Polak w Americe* and was published for 32 years, edited by M. J. Sadowski and his successors. Several other newspapers lasted for short periods, but the *Polish Everybody's Daily* (*Dziennik Dla Wszystkich*) lasted for half a century, from 1918 to 1957, and was the most successful.

Cardinal Wojtyla reception 1969

One outstanding figure among the Polish-Americans was Dr. Francis E. Fronczak, City Health Commissioner after 1910. It was largely through his efforts that Polish traditions, culture, history, and literature became known throughout the city. One of the most successful local Polish businessmen was Stanislaus K. Lipowicz, who arrived here in 1885 and five years later opened a grocery store. His business ultimately developed into a wholesale grocery business serving all the Polish groceries in the city. He was also co-owner of a vinegar works and a soap factory, and later, director of the Stock Yard Bank and the Liberty Bank of Buffalo. Greatly interested in civic affairs, he was one of the prime movers in establishing the first vocational school opened as the Peckham Vocational School, now known as Emerson Vocational High School.

The Polish community, like the other ethnic communities, grew larger, but maintained its separate identity. Many attribute this fact to

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the influence of Rev. Pitass, whose ideals continued to shape the Buffalo Polish community well into the 20th Century. Pitass wished Poles to maintain their identity and to remain separate from the Buffalo community. The Poles tended to fear that associations with the community as a whole would mean loss of their culture. In 1898, when there was a movement to introduce a course in Polish to the public schools, Poles attacked the measure as an attempt to undermine the influence of the Polish parish school.

In the course of but a few decades, the Poles in Buffalo were able to overcome almost insurmountable obstacles—not the least of which were the English language and the traditional English law and customs so common to many of the English speaking immigrants who became Americans. Polish contributions in all areas of civic life have been great and have influenced the growth of Buffalo as a city with a distinctive Polish character.

Lack of economic opportunity in Italy was largely responsible for the Italian immigration to this country. Though the greatest numbers came from the rural areas of southern Italy and Sicily, most of the early immigrants came from the northern provinces of Italy as political refugees. In the 1890's, a large group from northern Italy arrived, and the state census of 1892 shows that there were about 2,500 Italians in Buffalo that year.

The greatest influx occurred between 1900 and 1920. Between 1900 and 1910, the Italian population grew to 11,399, a 100% increase in the ten-year span. By 1920, they were the third largest ethnic group in the city of Buffalo, surpassed only by the Poles and the Germans.

Unlike the Poles who found jobs in heavy industry, most Italians worked on the railroads, on the docks, in the construction trades, and as fruit and macaroni dealers. They also worked in seasonal fruit and vegetable picking and canning, due to their experience with farming in Southern Italy.

The typical chain of Italian migration is illustrated in the case of the Barone family of Valledolmo, Sicily. In 1877, Francesco Barone came to Buffalo. After laboring in the city for some time, he was able to send for his family to join him. By 1905, 14 more branches of the Barone family had settled in Buffalo and by 1947 8,000 Valledolmo residents had made this city their new home. Immigrants helped relatives and friends to come to America. As early as 1901, Buffalo Italians annually purchased between 1,000 and 1,500 passages for their countrymen. As they moved in, they congregated in the 1st, 3rd, 19th, and 20th wards, and these wards became predominantly Italian.

Immigrants from the same Italian province tended to settle together. Thus, by 1927 there were five distinct Italian colonies. The major colony, the Lower West Side, predominantly settled by Sicilians, was known as Little Italy. However, the Abruzzi (a province in Southern Italy) had settled on East Delavan Avenue, the Calabrians (the area at the southern tip of Italy) on South Buffalo and Hopkins Streets, and the Compobassese (located in South-Central Italy, bordering on the Adriatic) on Lovejoy and William Streets, and the Campanese (the area surrounding Naples) on Swan and Seneca Streets, between North and South Division.

The difficulties faced by the Italians were numerous. The severe housing shortage in Buffalo from 1880 to 1910 and the rapid rate of immigration during this period caused extensive congestion in the Italian districts. The 1910 census revealed that the population density was greater in the Italian wards than any other areas of the city, including the Negro districts.

Life was not easy for them as they moved into an area that for decades had been an Irish stronghold. Oldtimers recall how Italians fought Irish with empty bottles, brick and fists. In time, however, Irish were forced to make way for the large numbers of thrifty Italians who were buying land and building homes.

Typical of the turbulence of the period was the battling among boys. At one time the Irish and German boys had a monopoly in the newsboy and shoeshining businesses on Main Street. When an Italian boy was caught working there he would be driven from the streets, but gradually around the turn of the century, this monopoly weakened. Those who once fought on the waterfront streets became ward leaders and policemen. Boys who fought vicious-

Collection of The Buffalo History Museum

ly at the drop of a hat, grew into men intent on dominating the political life of the city.

Hostile feelings towards the Italians were also common among other groups in Buffalo. An article in a Buffalo paper in 1883 expressed the extreme nativist sentiment of the times:

> Don't blame the Hamburg Canal for smelling; blame the Italians. They throw garbage in it like they would in Venice. Such people are full of hostility and are knife wielding criminals. They are fugitives from the law of *vendetta* and are not cheery workers like the Irish and the Germans, nor are they like the Poles. They dislike the Americans.

Until 1930, most Italians remained at the bottom of the economic ladder, the average laborer making slightly less than the average Pole and a little more than the Blacks. Because the Italians were employed in seasonal work and in construction, Italian unemployment was higher than in many other immigrant groups. In spite of these disadvantages, Italians slowly advanced their status in this area. Several outstanding men quickly became leaders of the community.

One of the most prominent of the early Italian settlers was Louis Onetto who came to Buffalo in 1868. He opened an ice cream shop, later started an ice cream factory using a steam process, and built an ice house. He established a wholesale fruit business and introduced the first peanuts and popcorn fritters to the city. In 1890, he started the first Italian macaroni factory in Buffalo. During the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America, he played the role of Columbus in the parade. He helped to establish the first Italian language newspaper, *Il Corriere Italiano*, and to build the first Italian Roman Catholic Church in Buffalo, St. Anthony of Padua. He died in 1943 at the age of 93. His businesses are still thriving. Louis Onetto was known here as the "King of Peanuts and Macaroni" and was truly recognized as "Patriarch of the Italian colony" by all residents.

Dr. Charles R. Borzilleri, an immigrant from Valledolmo was one of the outstanding leaders of the Italian community. A graduate of the University of Buffalo Medical School, he was revered by "Little Italy" residents as the first in the community to attain professional status. It was due to his leadership and contacts with the larger Buffalo community that the Columbus Hospital, originally a community hospital dedicated primarily to the care of Italians, was opened in 1908. Here Italians were assured that they would be understood and that they would be served meals satisfying to their tastes. Dr. Borzilleri was also influential in numerous professional societies and a recognized leader in the local Republican organization. His fellow countrymen often came to him for advice on court cases and other contacts with the "Americani."

The poverty of the Italians when they first came to Buffalo served as an important impetus to the formation of Italian organizations. The Italians felt that the greatest indignity a person could suffer was to have a pauper's burial. In order to avoid such a fate for their fellowmen, Italians began to take up collections among their countrymen when someone died. The next step was to develop these collections into organized groups called *societa di mutuo soccorso*. Each member of such a society would contribute a fixed sum monthly or weekly. When a member died, he could be guaranteed a certain sum that would pay for a dignified burial ceremony. Some of the organizations also would provide money to the member for illness. The first mutual benefit society in the city of Buffalo was formed in 1874 by Louis Onetto. By 1922, there were 50 such societies in Buffalo.

The societies were not entirely dedicated to mutual aid, they also satisfied a basic need for sociability. Events such as picnics and dances were organized to raise funds. These events were attended by members of the society and other Italians. The societies might also participate as a group in the Italian holiday celebrations. The members of *La Societa Serradifalco* would carry a statue of the Virgin Mary from their club house to the church on every holiday.

The societies formed in Buffalo represent an organized attempt to hold on to the past as long as possible. However, the Italian societies also helped the immigrant adjust to his new environment. He was given protection against illness and death in a strange country and he could enjoy social events with people from his own country.

As the status of the Italians began to improve in the Buffalo community, the Italian societies began to receive more recognition. The activities of the various societies were reported in the local papers after 1920. In 1935, the Federation of Italian Societies was referred to as "an agency of unity for the Italian people which has the aim of betterment for the city as a whole." The Italians were being accepted by the other citizens of Buffalo, making the Italian societies become more concerned with the community as a whole. The Federation of Italian Societies joined in the city-wide fight for better schools in 1935. Every year an outstanding Italian-American in Buffalo was honored, thus emphasizing the achievements of the Italian community to the other citizens of Buffalo. In the 1930's the Federation took a stand against the strict immigration laws.

The Italians were slow to develop political power. However, a major impetus to organization may have been hostility towards the Irish Democratic organization. Thus, Italians were most likely to support the Republicans. By 1926, they were able to cast ballots to elect Charles A. Martina as State Assemblyman. Buffalo elected its first mayor of Italian origin in 1958, Frank A. Sedita, a Democrat, who served from 1958 to 1961. Mr. Sedita was reelected in 1965 and again in 1969, which shows their increasing political influence on the local scene.

Before 1870, there was a small

Jewish community in Buffalo, consisting primarily of educated German Jews who had migrated to America in search of political and religious freedom. This group had settled along North, West Franklin, and Tupper Streets. However, the majority of Buffalo's Jews today are descendants of the Eastern European Jews who immigrated to the city after 1880 and settled on the East Side on Jefferson near William Street. In 1890, there were about 1,500 Jews living here.

The new influx of Eastern European Jews met the hostile feelings of the older German Jews. Although of the same religion, the language and traditions of the two groups were diverse. The newcomers were often poor and ignorant, finding employment in Buffalo as peddlers, tailors, junkmen, or operators of small family businesses. Many had been needleworkers in their homelands, and they found such occupations in Buffalo. These workers did not remain at the lowest levels of the clothing industry, however. In the mid 1890's, 14 of the 17 Buffalo wholesale clothing firms were Jewish.

Although they had conflicts with the Eastern European Jews, many German Jews helped the new immigrants to adjust to their new environment. The Jewish Welfare Society was devoted to relief among the Jews in the William Street community. The Society not only provided charity, but also encouraged the study of Hebrew and religion.

Mortimer and William Streets became the heart of the new immigrant section. On these streets one could find Russian and Turkish baths, a Kosher butcher shop, and a Jewish grocery store. A Yiddish theater was located on William Street where the "Jewish King Lear" highlighted one season. By 1911, nearly 75% of Buffalo's Jewish population resided in this neighborhood which was largely self sufficient with its own grocery and clothing stores, libraries, theaters, and synagogues.

Like other Buffalo ethnic and religious groups, the Jews have formed numerous social organizations. The Montefiore Lodge of B'nai B'rith, the Independent Order of the Free Sons of Israel, and the Order of B'rith Abraham are several organizations that served not only a social function, but also provided aid to newcomers, including sick benefits and cemetery burial rights. Jewish musical, literary, and artistic groups have also been plentiful in Buffalo.

As they became more prosperous, many Jews began to move into the Humboldt, North Park, and Hertel Avenue area. The synagogues, the center of the Jewish community, moved along with their members. By 1940 there were six synagogues in the North Park area. Whereas previously their occupations were as tailors, clothiers, and peddlers, many of the Jews later prospered as real estate businessmen, cigar manufacturers, jewelers, physicians, bankers, lawyers, and contractors.

An article in the *Buffalo Sunday Times* in 1927 cited the achievements of Buffalo Jews. Bergers, Bakers, Kobackers, Victor's Furniture, and Givens were all owned by Jewish merchants. The Lafayette Theater had a Jewish proprietor. The first Corporation Counsel of the City of Buffalo, Louis E. Desbecker, was Jewish, and from that point on Jewish interest in local politics was established. Simon Fleischmann had attained the post of President of the City Council and Leonard W. Marcus had become Supreme Court Justice.

Buffalo's first Anglo-Jewish paper, the *American Jewish Review*, was published on November 9, 1917. In 1921, the paper, now the *Buffalo Jewish Review*, became a weekly. The paper has been a cohesive force in the community, stressing Jewish activities in the local area, as well as international Jewish affairs.

In the 1920's as the close-knit community began to break up and Jews began to spread throughout the city and the suburbs, steps were taken to maintain the cohesiveness of Buffalo's Jews. The major emphasis was placed on educating the young. The Bureau of Jewish Education was formed to assist in the improvement of the temple schools.

Before and after World War II, more Jewish people came to Buffalo as refugees from the totalitarian persecutions of the Nazi. By 1950 there were about 22,000 Jews in the city. Today, they and their children

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may be found in every profession.

In 1870, Buffalo had a small Black community, numbering approximately 700. The community, settled in the Michigan and William Street area, mainly consisted of the descendants of fugitive slaves, who, making their way to the North on the Underground Railroad, had decided to settle in Buffalo. Many of the Negroes were employed as porters, maids, and in other service-oriented occupations. As in most Northern cities, the Buffalo Black community was highly segregated in housing and schools. The segregated school system came to an end in 1872 when the city of Buffalo closed the Negro public school it had maintained since 1842.

When the Fifteenth Amendment was ratified, the Blacks had a huge celebration. They gathered at the Michigan Avenue Baptist Church, led a procession through the city streets and afterwards had a dinner at St. James Hall to honor that auspicious occasion. By 1892 the Black population had increased to over 1,000. Some of them took jobs in railroad construction and the heavy industries of the city, but most of them were employed as barbers, cooks, waiters, and caterers.

The growth of the community remained stable until the industrial expansion during World War I attracted many Blacks to the North. Seeking a source of "cheap labor," the steel industrialists and employers at the docks brought trainloads of men from the South to fill their labor needs. As in other cities, blacks were discouraged from joining unions and, in several cases, were used as strike breakers in Erie County industries. During the World War I era, Buffalo's Black community expanded rapidly and housing became a serious problem. Most had come from rural Southern areas and experienced difficulty in adjusting to an urban, industrial environment.

Like other Buffalo groups, the Black community had leaders. One influential man was the Rev. Dr. J. Edward Nash, pastor of the Michigan Avenue Baptist Church. He was born in 1868 in Virginia as a son of slave parents, graduated from Whalen Seminary, came to Buffalo in 1892 and lived here for many years, becoming instrumental in the founding of the Buffalo Urban League and local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Buffalo's Common Council recognized his meritorious work and in 1953 changed the name of Potter Street to Nash Street. In 1954, the National Conference of Christians and Jews presented him its annual Brotherhood Award in the field of human relations. Rev. Nash died in 1957 as a pastor emeritus and a dean of Buffalo's Protestant clergymen.

Another prominent member of the community was Mrs. Mary B. Talbert, who early in this century was elected national president of the Federated Negro Women's Clubs of the United States. Mrs. Talbert was a winner of the Spingarn Medal, which is awarded annually to an outstanding Black by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

By 1920, there were over 5,000 Blacks living in Buffalo. In this decade, the Buffalo Urban League and the local chapter of the NAACP were established to aid local Blacks in adjusting to their new environment. The Buffalo *Criterion*, a weekly paper dealing with both local and national Black affairs, began publishing in 1925. Another Black newspaper, the *Challenger*, was founded in 1962.

During the Prohibition era, Buffalo's development of night clubs and cabarets mirrored that of Harlem's. This period was the heyday of Black entertainers and big bands. The Little Harlem Hotel on Michigan Avenue, which was the largest employer of Black entertainers in Buffalo, attracted both black and white patrons.

World War II brought a new expansion of Buffalo's Black population. In 1940, there were 19,918 in the county, and by 1960, there were over 74,000. At the present time, approximately 18% of Buffalo's population is Black. The sudden growth of the community caused crowding and slum conditions. Since Blacks found difficulty in obtaining FHA mortgages for homes in white neighborhoods, Black neighborhoods and schools became even more segregated.

Blacks have faced greater obsta-

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cles in being absorbed in the mainstream of American life than most other minority groups. Unlike other groups they could not guarantee their acceptance by changing their name and adopting middle-class American customs. Poverty, segregation, and prejudice in Buffalo has helped to spawn numerous self-help organizations. BUILD (Build Unity, Independence, Liberty, Dignity), the Community Action Organization, the official antipoverty agency in Erie County, and the Black Development Foundation are several of the most influential groups. One organization, the African Cultural Center, established in 1957 by Malcolm Erni, has attempted to reestablish a cultural link between the American Blacks and their African heritage.

Better living conditions and job opportunities attracted many Blacks to the city. Since 1945, when the State Commission Against Discrimination was created, prejudice against the Blacks has gradually lessened, and they are now on the way to becoming an influential power in the downtown area. Their community is now well organized with many churches and societies.

Mary Talbert

They are presently experiencing a high rate of unemployment as a result of automation in industry and their lack of job training. Despite this, they are better off here than in many other northern cities, and the city is making great strides in solving the problems of slums and acute housing with its Ellicott Redevelopment project. Today, Blacks in Buffalo are not only working as janitors and hardworking laborers, but also as lawyers, physicians, and community leaders. Their businessmen and teachers are highly respected.

Recently Blacks have begun to recognize their political power and have become active in local politics. In 1966, William Sims became the first Black to serve as City Court Judge, and Robert Howard became the City's first Black Fire Commissioner. Blacks have also served on the Common Council and the Board of Education.

The Ukrainians form one of the more recent Buffalo ethnic groups. Their first small colony was founded in the area now part of Lackawanna, and this settlement was followed shortly by the Black Rock colony. At the beginning of the 20th Century, a large Ukrainian colony was established in the Fillmore section of the city where they built their national church, St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic Church, at 308 Fillmore Avenue.

Both World Wars brought increasing Ukrainian immigration to the United States and also to our city. Ukrainians themselves estimate that Buffalo has 12,000 citizens of Ukrainian parentage and about 6,000 foreign-born. Three Ukrainian Catholic, one Orthodox church, and more than eighteen societies care for the spiritual needs of Buffalo's Ukrainians. Ukrainian Home *Dnipro* at Genesee Street serves as their cultural center. The intellectuals among them occupy important positions in the city. Former Mayor Steven Pankow is of Ukrainian descent.

Another prominent group is the Greek community. Four Greeks were living in Buffalo in 1880, but generally regarded as their first forerunner was George H. Peters, a tinsmith, who appeared in the area five years earlier. At the end of the 1890's, Buffalo's Greek population included John D. Farmakis, Peter S. Niarchos, Samuel Niarchos, and Theodore K. Macheras, copartners in a confectionery firm at 317 Main Street. They were the pioneers of the

Ukrainian Easter observance

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present Greek community. In 1906, a Greek Orthodox Church was erected, and the Greek community grew slowly. During the following 30 years the Greeks increased to 1,366, including those born in the United States. The center of the present Greek community is the Hellenic Orthodox Church of the Annunciation on the corner of Delaware Avenue and West Utica Street. The Greeks did not settle around their national church, but rather they spread out over the entire city. In the past, several societies and clubs were organized to hold the Greeks together, but they assimilated rapidly. Their traditions and cultural heritage have been preserved, and among them are prominent lawyers, physicians, teachers, pharmacists, engineers, and businessmen representing a distinguished and well-to-do nationality group in Buffalo.

The 1892 census lists 94 Hungarians mostly settled in the 11th ward but also later in the 1st ward and the 2nd ward, or Black Rock. They founded St. Elizabeth's Roman Catholic Church in 1906, and in 1918, the Assumption Church in Lackawanna.

Hungarian immigration to Erie County increased from 1910 to 1940 from two to nearly three thousand. In 1956, an unsuccessful revolt in Hungary against the Communist regime dispatched additional Hungarian refugees to our shores, the "Freedom Fighters." Hungarians in Buffalo today have created their own stable community and have contributed their music and other arts to our culture.

The Puerto Ricans are recent newcomers to the city. Many of them work during the season as laborers on farms in the villages of Erie County. Many of them have saved their money to improve their poor economic situation; some of them have tried to find permanent jobs here and have settled in the southern sector of the city. By 1960, the Puerto Ricans in Buffalo numbered 1,386, with 790 of Puerto Rican parentage.

The East side of Buffalo, the Riverside section, and the City of Lackawanna have been cradles of other nationality groups. In Lackawanna, the Hungarians, Croatians, Spaniards, Serbians, Macedonians, Arabs, and Mexicans gathered, joining other major nationality groups of that area. These people settled, built their national churches and established their societies or benevolent organizations. They centered on these areas because it was easy to find jobs in the nearby factories. Other recent immigrant groups have been: Rumanians, Slovaks, Lithuanians, Bulgarians, Belgians, Czechs, Turks, Latvians, and Estonians.

Croatian dancers

The newcomers and foreigners coming to the city of Buffalo are assisted in their many needs by the International Institute. It was organized first in 1917, as part of the YMCA. In 1934, the Institute was established as a community agency supported by the Community Chest and now by the United Fund. The staff assists those seeking naturalization and citizenship, those wanting to keep families together, to adjust to new surroundings, and to locate a new job. They direct special classes in English for those with difficulty. Professional persons are organized whenever necessary. Other services of a diversified nature include translation and evaluation of foreign language documents, organization of nationality and community clubs, special meetings to help newly arrived persons to be quickly integrated. The general purpose of the Institute is to assist newcomers in many ways to become useful, industrious citizens of the community.

On December 5, 1963, the Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society opened in its museum a major exhibit entitled "People of Our City and County" as a tribute to the many nationalities who have helped to build Erie County. In addition to the exhibit it inaugurated the First Annual Folk Festival in which nine ethnic groups participated. Over a period of three months, each of these groups presented performances on Sundays in the Society's auditorium. On October 15, 1965, this project received an award of merit presented by the American Association for State and Local History. In 1967, a group of prominent leaders of several ethnic groups formed the Niagara Frontier Folk Art Council, Inc. as an educational, cultural, and

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non-profit organization with the purpose of promoting better understanding, friendship, and Americanism among the various ethnic groups, sponsored by the Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society and the County of Erie. Afterwards the County of Erie became the sole sponsor of the Council's activities. The Festival continues to attract many thousands of people to performances which remain free of admission charge. Each Festival is concluded in February with the presentation of the United Folk Festival in which each of the participating ethnic groups is represented in a ten minute segment of the six-hour program.

The Niagara Frontier Folk Art Council by making possible the continuation of the Folk Festival has familiarized the people with the culture and contributions of various nationalities which are the backbone of our nation, has promoted understanding among many diverse groups, and has encouraged the cultivation and the preservation of folksongs, music, dancing, legends, and history of these groups.

The people who settled here sought freedom, but because of improved social conditions in this century, they are today entitled to have equality of opportunity and to be protected by the law regardless of their race, creed, or their national origin.

In an effort to reduce prejudice and discrimination, the Buffalo Commission on Human Relations was created in 1965, consisting of 25 members, later increased to 35, appointed by the Mayor. An Executive Director aided by a staff of professionals, carry on Commission affairs.

Swedish Lucia Festival

ERIE COUNTY POPULATION FIGURES FROM THE FEDERAL CENSUS

	1870	1890	1900	1920	1940	1960*
Total	**178,699**	**322,981**	**433,686**	**634,688**	**798,377**	**1,064,688**
Foreign Born	60,907	103,453	119,470	147,309	118,942	324,300
Negro	858	1,206	1,805	4,954	19,918	74,813
England, Wales	4,777	8,015	7,873	7,918	6,906	26,660**
Scotland	1,125	1,765	2,045	2,281	3,569	
Ireland	12,535	12,601	12,101	8,048	4,181	13,835
Germany	31,150	52,515	45,881	26,308	16,814	55,443
France	4,133	1,259	1,036	2,443	973	3,907
Poland	138	8,929	19,448***	38,647	26,879	82,249
Austria	144	1,059	847	3,957	3,267	7,795
Italy		1,908	6,257	18,893	20,443	60,222
Canada		11,872	17,966	17,687	17,194	66,917
Hungary				4,905	2,938	7,306
Greece				744	840	2,041

* All figures for 1960 are Foreign Stock.
** United Kingdom
*** Includes 3,020 Russians, 2,959 Austrians, 13,469 Germans
† Last available figures

The functions of the Commission are to foster mutual understanding among all racial, religious, and ethnic groups; to foster the spirit of Americanism; to encourage equality; to prevent any discrimination against any racial, religious, or ethnic group; to cooperate with other agencies and to study human relations. Courses of instruction in order to achieve harmonious intergroup relations are presented to public and private schools and city employees. A Grievance Committee investigates complaints of discrimination and holds private and public hearings.

Between 1870 and 1970, Erie County has become a truly cosmopolitan area. During this time the dominant ethnic groups changed from the Irish and Germans to the Poles, Italians, and Blacks. In 1870, 42% of Buffalonians were foreign born; by 1970, only 9% were born outside the United States indicating a virtual end to our immigrant population, but their culture lives on among their children. There have been the inevitable conflicts and periods of adjustment but the County has benefited greatly culturally, socially, and economically from its citizens from abroad.

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King's Mammouth Balloon ascension at Buffalo, September 16, 1873

Sports and Recreation

Through the last century Erie County has provided its citizens with a multitude of pastimes, both spectacular sports and recreation for the individual and sometimes simply a place to get away from everything.

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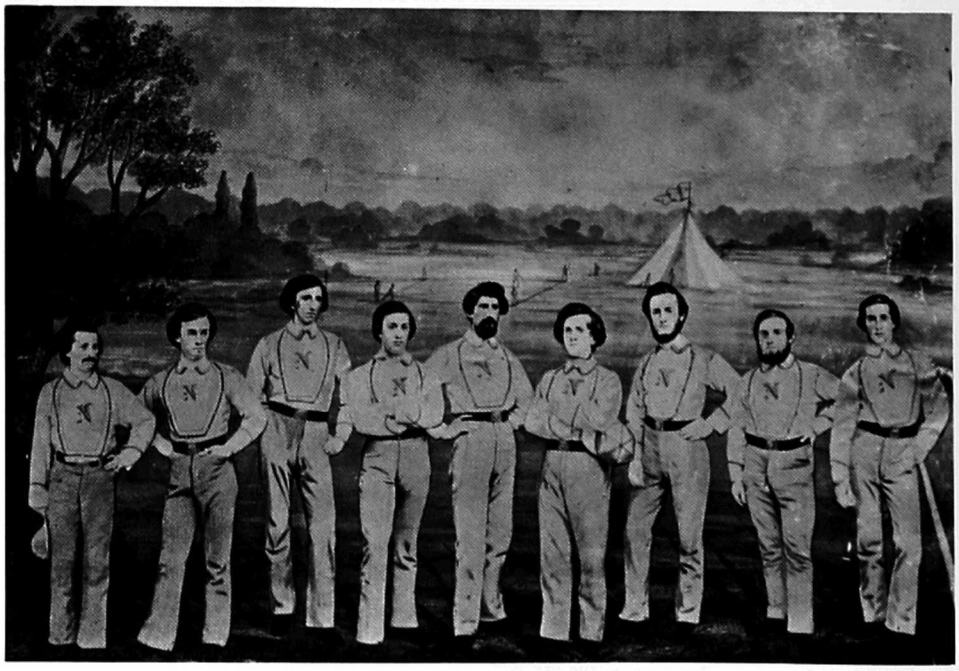

First organized baseball club in Buffalo, "The Niagaras," 1857

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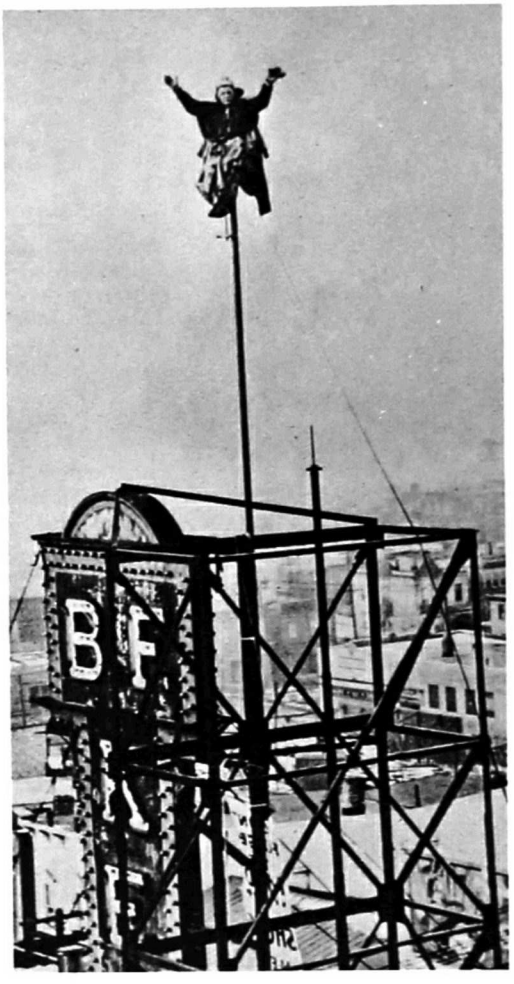

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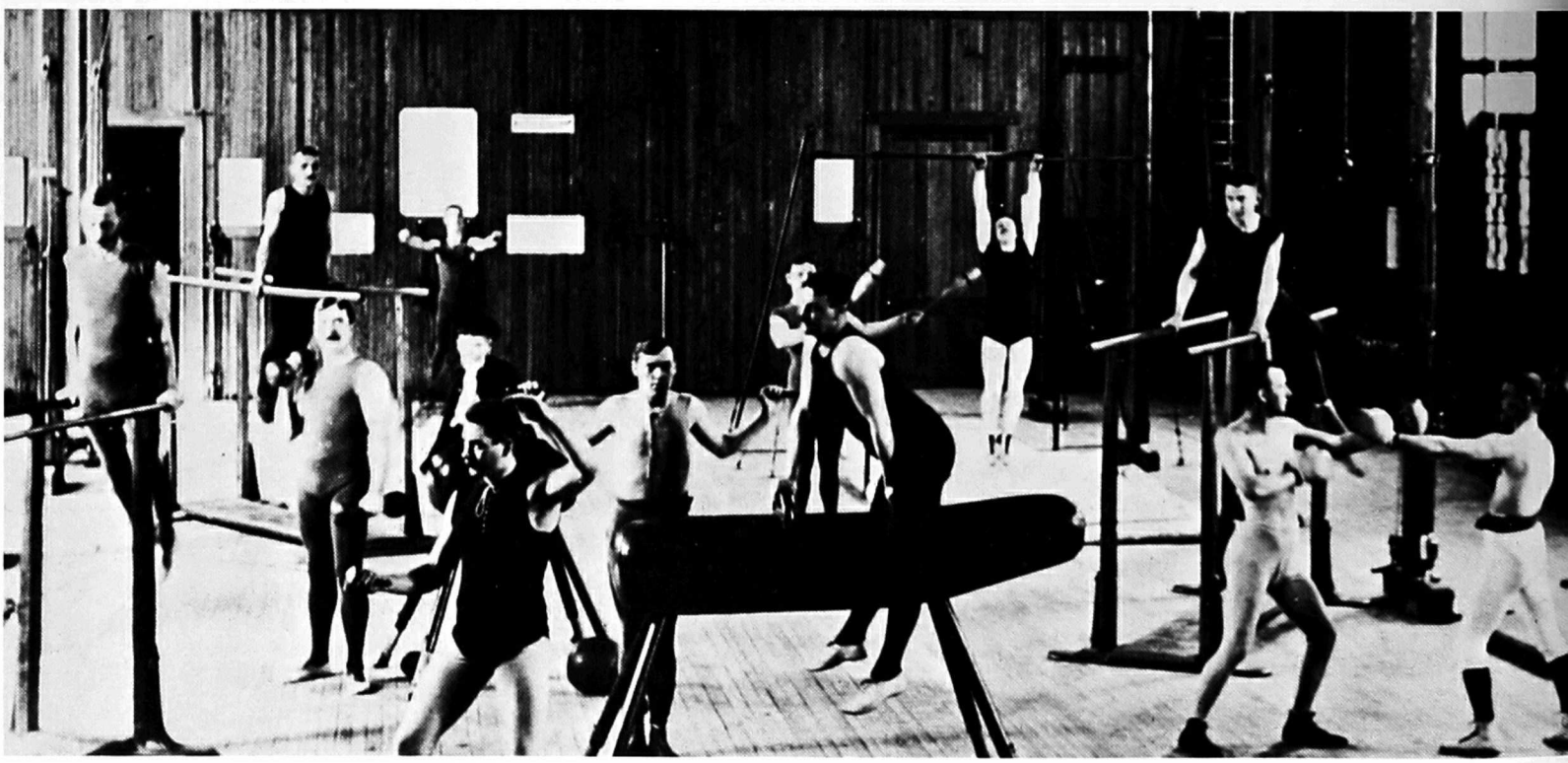

Old Buffalo Athletic Club about 1890

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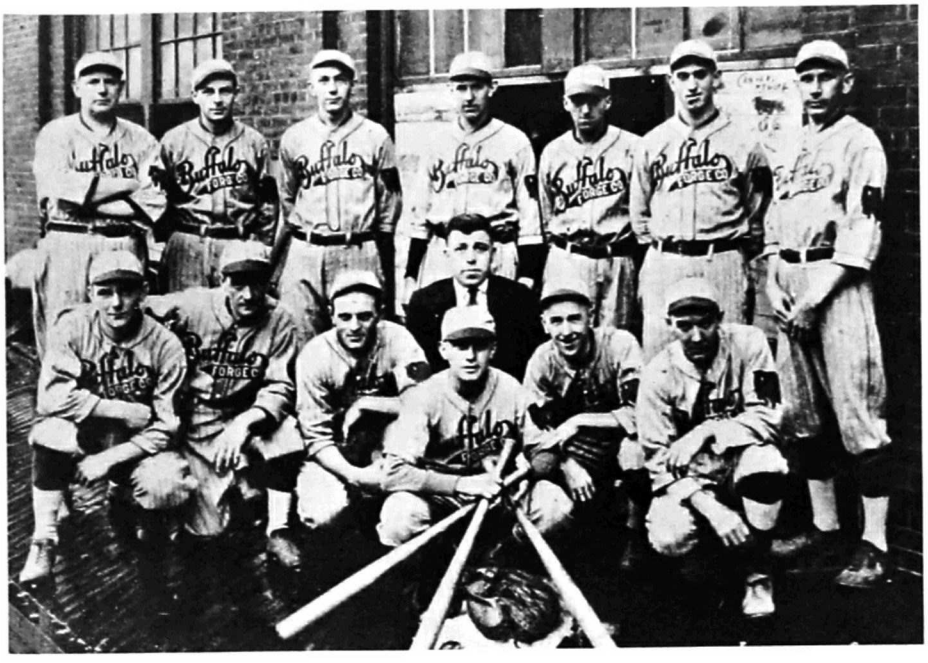
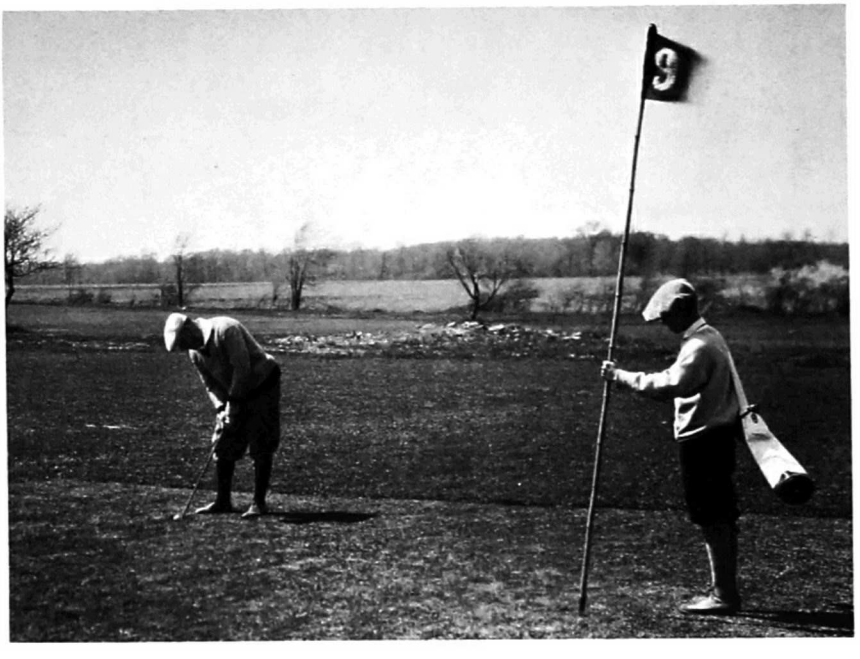


Buffalo Forge Company Baseball team, industrial champions of Buffalo, 1923



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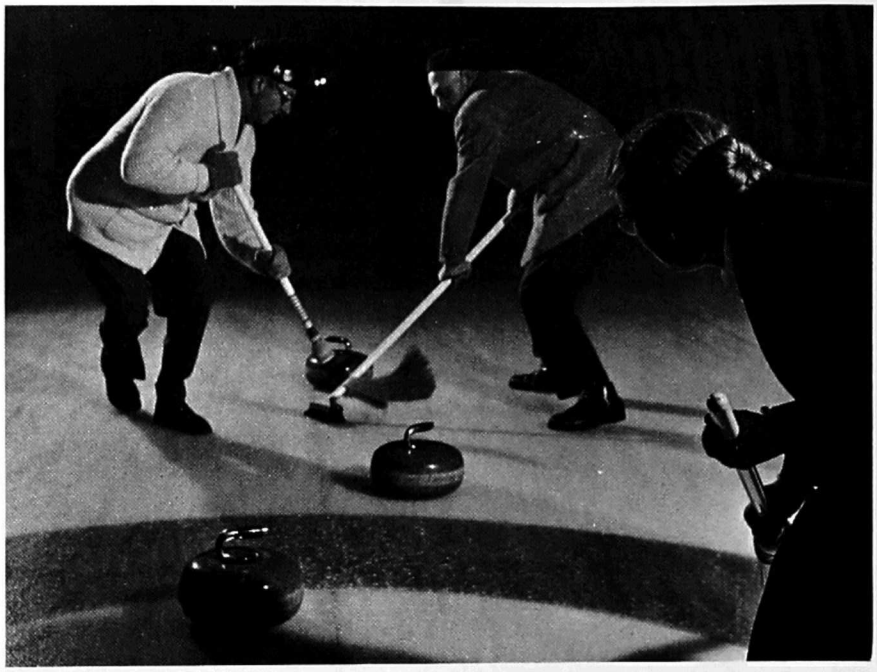

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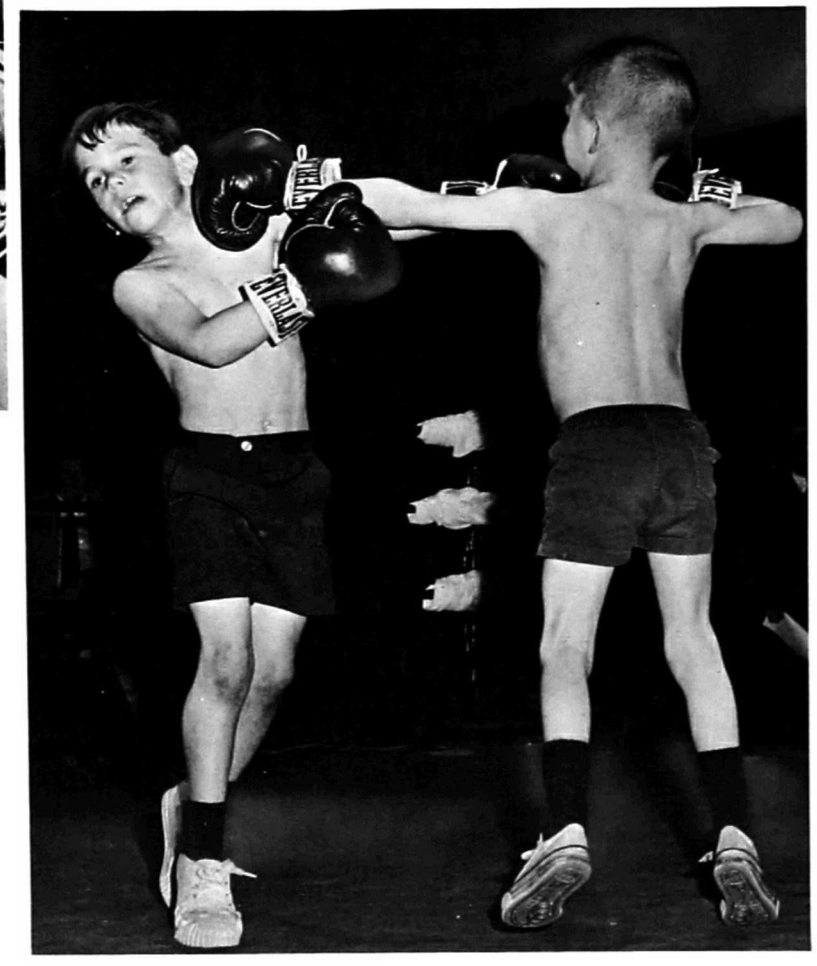

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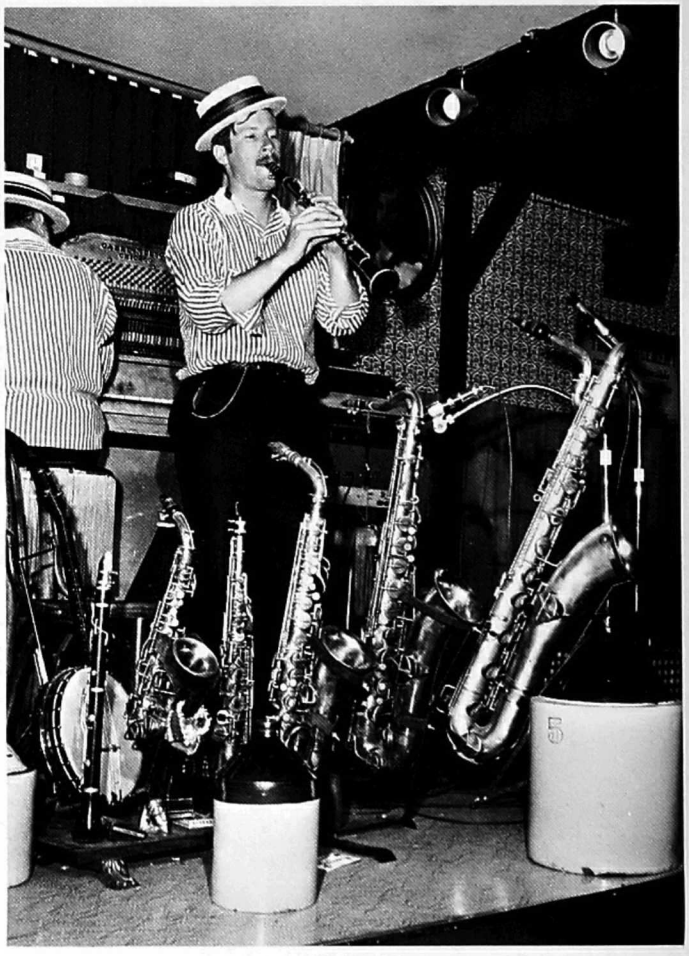

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XVII. Social Service

"Fifty, seventy-five, and sometimes even a hundred persons are crowded into one building, and the insane helplessness of some, the intemperance of others, and the filthiness of almost everyone combines to stifle all healthful spirit and activity and breed sickness and death." So complained Buffalo newsmen of the 1870's in their periodic attacks on the usual side-effect of rapid city growth. Tenements were on the increase as new groups of poor settlers and immigrants flocked to the industrial Niagara Frontier seeking employment and a better way of life. Unfortunately, neither were available in proportion to the need, so, basically honest and ambitious men and women were forced into notorious districts to struggle for daily survival and watch their children grow up in the company of thieves and vagabonds.

The dilapidated structures just off Commercial Street quickly changed into dwellings such as the one described above, "Where the poorest of the poor live." The tenement at least gave them a type of shelter where most of them might "suffer until their vitality gives way and then the Poorhouse gives them a home, or the hospital a free passport to the grave." The social conditions (along with the dwellings) continued to create greater problems until, around 1883 the Charity Organization Society began a formal investigation of the tenement problem and ways to correct it.

But even the well organized and concentrated machinery of the C.O.S. would prove "not entirely successful" in solving that major social problem of the Industrial Revolution; especially when it was being complicated day and night by new groups of settlers, adding their own problems of custom, health, and language.

The C.O.S. *Report of the Committee on the Condition of Buffalo Tenement Houses*, published in January of 1898, listed 429 houses each containing five entire families or an average of "21 occupants per house." Committee Chairman, Dr. J.H. Pryor, fixed the average age of these buildings at about 30 years and noted that they were not originally built to house a large family. The doctor noted "overcrowding and bad sanitary conditions" and how most of the tenement inhabitants were "below par—physically deformed, deplorably degenerate" and afflicted with "horrid disease." Dr. Stephen Smith, a companion investigator, aptly summarized the Committee's findings when he commented, "The poor themselves have a very expressive term for the slow process of decay which they suffered, viz: 'Tenant-House Rot.'"

Suggestions regulating housing ordinances had been, through the efforts of the C.O.S. Tenement House Committee, adopted by the city council in 1897. Again, in 1901, our local organization (cooperating with the New York C.O.S.) brought

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about enactment by the New York State Legislature of the most comprehensive tenement act ever proposed.

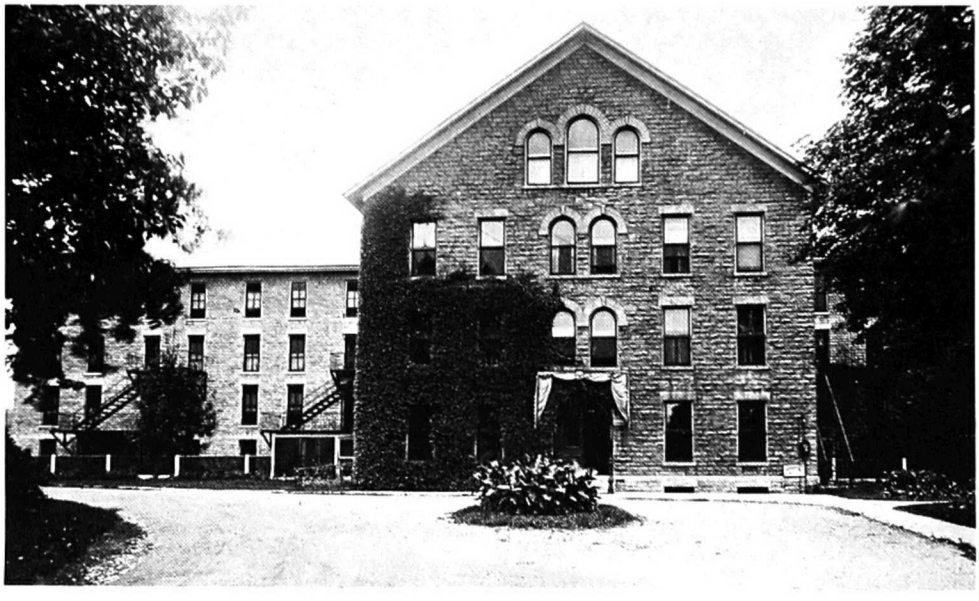
Nevertheless tenements remained the city's ugliest poverty symbols. The C.O.S. continued its never-ending war against the slum area frequently aided by the press in bringing these dangerous conditions to the public's attention. On April 6, 1910, the *Buffalo Commercial* published extensively on the "Bad Condition in the Tenements." The C.O.S. had lately acquired another champion in the newly formed Buffalo Association for the Relief and Control of Tuberculosis. The Association's Investigating Committee told of finding the usual filth, broken down plumbing, over crowding, windowless rooms, etc; but went on to add a peculiar touch of horror by describing many dwellings in which rats were nesting in rooms occupied by children. When questioned about the possible dangers of the situation, apathetic parents replied that their children "were not afraid" and often "made pets of the rats."

In 1917, the Tenement House Committee tried a new approach to their old problem—one completely original and apparently quite workable. It bought a lot and built an attractive four-family house to demonstrate that "sanitary houses for unskilled laborers could be built at a safe profit of 5%." This was a plan very much like a modern day apartment complex. In much later years it would be again taken up (with varying success) by the architects of urban renewal and redevelopment programs. The plan was quite radical but extremely practical (the C.O.S. trademark). Unfortunately, it never really got started, the stringencies of World War I preventing further construction.

Between 1900 and 1903, New York State made three more commitments in its expanding supervision of child care and the treatment of public health problems. A hospital for the treatment of incipient pulmonary tuberculosis and a hospital for the care of crippled and deformed children were established along with children's courts which heard cases of children under 16.

In Buffalo, as elsewhere, the local

Erie County Home



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agencies welcomed the unprecedented attention the entire area of child welfare was receiving from the State. Supervising and financing the care of the delinquent, dependent, and handicapped child was becoming more and more the responsibility of the better equipped state agencies while actual care still remained in local jurisdictions. By 1901, some programs that had outlived their usefulness (such as the Fitch Provident Dispensary) were discontinued so that more attention could be given to studying conditions and problems that might warrant the future possibility of State supervision. In 1902, an investigating committee found the County Almshouse at Buffalo Plains in "bad condition." The Poorhouse was then and remained a favorite political football, though usually reports were well founded and bad conditions quickly corrected.

The Catholic Diocese, following the pattern initiated by Bishop Timon, continued its policies of social service under Bishop Stephen Ryan and his successors. In 1902, during the Episcopate of Bishop Quigley, the Church of the Immaculate Conception founded the St. James Mission for Poor Children. The old people were not neglected. That same year, St. Francis' Home for the Aged and Infirm was built at Gardenville, just one year after the Holy Family Home for the Aged and Infirm opened at Williamsville, both being extensions of the old St. Francis Home on Pine Street.

Other religious denominations continued spreading the Social Gospel. In 1902, the White Light Mission opened at 355 Ellicott Street as an interdenominational service to the needy, although it was later helped a great deal by the Michigan Avenue Baptist Church.

Although awareness of social difficulties was increasing as to many aspects of urban life, there were still a few who held out for the old way of doing things. *The Buffalo Evening News* of January 6, 1902, carried a letter from an indignant reader criticizing outdoor relief as "too expensive for the city." The writer alleged (mistakenly) that Buffalo was the only city with this type of relief. He also denounced the sending of relief patients to private hospitals since Buffalo was paying 85% of the County Hospital expenses. For the most part, however, the majority of citizens were satisfied with the way their governmental, religious, and private agencies were spending their money. Social welfare expenses were in fact holding the line well in the face of increasing population problems—in some cases they were even decreasing. The Mayor of Buffalo would allude to this fact in his fiscal report for 1903, noting that expenses of the Overseer of the Poor for outdoor relief were $9,875 less than those of the previous year.

The City's Poor Department requested an emergency appropriation of $16,000 during the unusually severe winter of 1904-05. They also attributed their request to increased expenditures, an unusual amount of sickness and the county hospitals being filled to capacity. Generally, Overseer of the Poor, Louis J. Kenngott received no argument from the city fathers. The money was considered well-spent, particularly since many persons who received help from the city later repaid as they were able, about $1,500 returning annually in this way. The memories of the depression years of 1893-94 reduced the problem to tolerable proportions.

In 1903, the Jewish Federation for Social Service was established to guide future charitable causes. The board of governors included 13 women. Member agencies included the Sisterhood of Zion, operating the Jewish Community Building; the Ladies' Sewing and Aid Society; the Men's Hebrew Union Benevolent Society; the Ladies' Jewish Benevolent Society; and the Jewish Aid Society. The purpose of the Federation was to coordinate the work of Buffalo's Jewish charities. Representatives from the *Young Women's Jewish Benevolent Society* established and staffed a Fresh Air Camp at Angola in 1906 for the benefit of Jewish children. It was officially incorporated seven years later.

Efforts to keep the family together as the basis of a community were given some solid social support when New York State, in 1906, decreed that henceforth desertion would be a felony. Apparently one of the major problems uncovered in the child welfare investigations was the absence of the father (and sometimes the mother).

The Catholic Diocese organized a Day Nursery in 1904 for the children of working mothers. The Infant Jesus Day Nursery was put in the care of the Felician Sisters who initiated a kindergarten school for small children.

As women began to move out of the home and farm and into the business world, the need for residences to accommodate working girls became apparent. The Felician Sisters were quick to respond by opening the St. Felix Home for Working Girls almost simultaneously with their day nursery. The Home (and Creche) were located at 790-792 Fillmore Avenue and in the best Felician tradition was designed for girls of Polish ancestry.

Bishop Colton founded the St. Charles Home about that time and placed it in the care of the Sisters of Mercy. Other homes quickly opened for new arrivals. These popular residences were supported by the responsible Catholic orders and by their lodgers, who paid rent by the week according to their means. St. Mary's Home for Women and Working Girls, operated by the Sisters of St. Joseph, and St. Martha's Home, by the Sisters of St. Francis, went into operation about this time.

In 1904 the Women's Christian Association (organized 1870) changed its name to the Young Women's Christian Association of Buffalo and took new, larger quarters in the old YMCA building at Mohawk, Pearl and Genesee Streets. Many more branches and residences for women, were built, and up-to-date programs in educational, physical, recreational, and spiritual lines were presented. This development inspired the formation of a Young

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Women's Catholic Association and a Young Women's Hebrew Association.

The Lutheran Church Home for the Aged and Infirm moved from its old Walden Avenue quarters in 1907 and took up residence in a new $50,000 building at 217 East Delevan Avenue.

Continuing the pattern to stress independence and self-sufficiency, the Buffalo Association for the Blind was established and incorporated between the years 1907-10. Its original location was at 489 Ellicott Street, and in little more than ten years it was serving approximately 500 sightless persons each year under the direction of Dr. Conrad E. Wettlaufer and his staff. Restoration of sight was accomplished in many cases. Training in chair-caning, brush-making, and rug and basket weaving was supplied, all adding to the general purpose of helping the blind become self-supporting members of society.

The year 1907 marked an important further step toward social service unity when the Buffalo Federation of Settlements was organized for regular conferences and joint action on matters of common interest. It soon included such services as the Babcock Street Community House, Goodwill Industries, Children's Settlement, Jewish Community House, Neighborhood House, and Westminster House. The Federation gave initial impetus to the later unification of community fund raising.

In 1909, working with the Catholic Aid Society, the C.O.S. persuaded county officials to open a model lodging house for jobless men who needed temporary shelter while they actively sought employment. For those who were not "actively seeking employment" the C.O.S. proposed a state farm colony. It would provide a shelter for chronic vagrants, however undesirable. The Society itself continued to shelter a limited number of homeless men until other agencies began providing this service in 1932.

Locally, some of the city's public charges had taken up residence in the new County Lodging House, erected at 120 West Eagle Street in 1907-08. The building accommodated up to 100 homeless men acting as a temporary shelter for them until employment could be found. Maintenance cost about $30,000 a year. At the beginning of World War I there was more than enough employment to assure a quick turnover of most of its guests.

Lutheran Church Home

The Children's Aid Society had absorbed the Queen City Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, and was chartered in 1916 with a children's shelter located at 261 Delaware. The old Newsboys' and Bootblacks' home on Franklin Street had been given up in 1908 when the Children's Aid Society expended a generous bequest on a larger building at 261-265 Delaware Avenue.

The Deaconess' Home of the Methodist Episcopal Church acquired an additional building on their Niagara Street property in 1908, and expanded their missionary work with a free kindergarten, industrial instruction, boy's clubs, aid to travelers, dispensary, infirmary, and gymnasium. All services were under the direction of the Women's Home Missionary Society, begun here in 1888.

After 1908 the Catholic Aid Society was active in temporary care for needy families but more concerned with counseling homeless men and women, particularly those newly released from hospitals or the penitentiary.

The Crippled Children's Home was incorporated in 1910, and provided facilities for an average of 38 children per day. The Crippled Children's Guild supervised the operation of the home as well as the placement of some children in private institutions and the treatment of others in their own homes. Its professional attention was given to

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all types of "curable" cases.

In New York State during the first decade of this century, Senator Henry W. Hill and Dr. John H. Pryor worked tirelessly to improve treatment facilities for tubercular patients. The C.O.S. took up and promoted their cause. The result was the Buffalo Tuberculosis Association, organized in 1908 with a Central Dispensary at 175 Swan Street. Dr. Pryor was elected president of the association which provided intensive care and public education programs to combat the disease. The C.O.S. opened a tuberculosis dispensary with the District Nursing Association and Trinity Church. It had also established a Day Camp and helped to organize the Association for the Relief and Control of Tuberculosis before its work with this health problem ended in 1909.

Advances were made in another type of social problem when it was decreed that "after October 1, 1910, the Health Commissioner will take charge of all persons arrested for Insanity." This new ruling required that persons suffering from mental disorder would be detained for examination at a place well removed from a police station or jail. Insanity was officially classified as a disease, not a crime.

The C.O.S. had always been alert for new problems in a constantly growing and changing environment. They drew on existing resources whenever possible, established new ones when necessary and discontinued the old and impractical programs when they had ceased to be useful. In 1911, it helped in the formation of the Legal Aid Society. This agency had been the Civic Immigration League. Now, as an independent organization, the Legal Aid Society took over the work formerly carried on by lawyer members of the C.O.S. district committees. Its purpose was (and is) to provide legal services for people unable to employ a private attorney.

That same year, C.O.S. began the Central Registration Bureau (later called the Social Service Exchange). This Bureau was really the natural product of the old C.O.S. ideal of integration. Various diversified social agencies began to register their cases with the Bureau. They could also depend upon the Bureau to supply helpful information about other agencies working on the same cases. It was a groundwork for later agencies, such as the community Welfare Council, in establishing intelligent coordination of needed social services from one source.

Crippled Children's Guild

The C.O.S. was perhaps the first local public agency to approach the problem of chronic drinking as a disease, and was instrumental in the passage of city ordinances providing more effective treatment of alcoholics.

On a national scale, the Family Service Association of America had its beginnings in 1911 when the C.O.S. helped to establish the National Association of Societies for Organizing Charities. Frederic Almy, one of the most serious and ambitious leaders of the Buffalo C.O.S., was chairman of that organizing committee and served as the Association's voluntary secretary for a year.

The annual report of the C.O.S. in 1907 suggested a new and more detailed approach to social problems. It declared the chief causes of poverty to be "ignorance, disease and vice." This radical approach was certainly not new to C.O.S. members and affiliates. It was simply a restatement of their original philosophy that poverty is a curable social disease, not an "inevitable human condition."

So often had the C.O.S. found itself in the position not only of an investigating and relief finding society but also of an active relief giving society that its budget became extremely strained. In 1911, Mr. Almy, addressing the National Conference on Social Work, said that "Neglect is the great pauperizer, not relief." He advocated a more extensive and costly organization to provide "relief in the home." He did not want outdoor relief to put a drain on the resources of public charity but he began to doubt the financial adequacy of private charities to handle it. Though the C.O.S. had always supported public funds for institutional care only, it now changed its position and promoted the use of public funds in special cases of need outside of institutions, becoming one of the strongest champions of the cause that won Federal legislation establishing wid-

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ow's pensions, for those qualifying.

In Lackawanna, on Ridge Road, Monsignor Nelson Baker was supervising the administration of Our Lady of Victory Infant Asylum and Hospital. The Asylum was built in 1910 with a view to accommodate 125 residents. It was built under the aegis of the Catholic Diocese and staffed by the Sisters of St. Joseph. At this same time, the Lutheran Children's Friend and Hospital Society (affiliated with the Missouri Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church) incorporated the Lutheran Hospice. Four years later they would begin the construction of a building for the aged at 115 Glenwood Avenue.

In 1912, the City of Buffalo opened a 45-bed day camp for the care and treatment of tuberculous children at Main and LaSalle Streets. The camp was conducted by the Buffalo Association for the Relief and Control of Tuberculosis. Two physicians and three trained nurses supervised the camp under the direction of Dr. John H. Pryor. The camp was another first for Buffalo. At the time of its establishment there was no other place in New York State to send a tuberculous child.

In 1913, Ansley Wilcox, a prominent Buffalo lawyer, headed the Charity Organization Society, and a Tuberculosis Camp opened on the West farm site at Grider Street near Kensington. Dr. Francis J. Lennon was appointed physician-in-charge. The camp consisted of tents pitched around an old brick farm house and accommodated 31 men, 24 women, and 15 children.

The *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* of March 25, 1915, noted that $500,000 a year was spent to keep children in institutions, an amount, it noted, that would go "twice as far under a mother's pension system." In April, the New York State Legislature introduced a bill for the relief of widowed mothers. Twenty-two states had already adopted a system whereby "orphans could be cared for in their own homes with their mothers." To help carry out

Ansley Wilcox

its plan the State suggested that boards of child welfare be appointed in each community "to serve without pay" in determining eligibility for mother's assistance. From that time on, there was a good deal of pressure put on public and private agencies "for the preservation of the home."

On January 19, 1916, Mayor Fuhrmann announced a new Buffalo city ordinance appointing four full-time district physicians responsible directly to the Health Department instead of the Poor Department. They were to devote all their time to city calls, and replaced the former district physicians who served only when needed. Mayor Fuhrmann also changed the title Overseer of the Poor to Superintendent of the Poor.

Raising funds always provided a severe challenge to those who could see how much good might be done in these ways. For some time they wondered whether the community could keep up with the need while more and more "good causes" begged for financial support. Cleveland, Ohio, was the first to recognize the need for joint financing of all charitable work, establishing a Community Chest to collect and distribute public contributions to approved agencies that wished to join.

In Buffalo, the depression of 1913-14 put a serious strain on the C.O.S. treasury. In three years the Chamber of Commerce came to its aid with $25,000 to continue much needed and well organized programs. By 1917, the novel idea from Cleveland had taken root here. That year the Children's Aid and Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, the District Nursing Association, and the C.O.S. joined in conducting a successful city-wide fund raising campaign. Another new agency had come into existence—The Joint Charities and Community Fund. Today it is known as the United Fund. Its work will be discussed in detail further on.

World War I with its many unusual situations and pressures necessarily forced the pace of social development. The new Community Chest was treated to an example of how money could be raised by the Liberty Loan and Red Cross drives. Mayor Fuhrmann proposed to collect $100,000 a month for families of servicemen, but Federal authority took over this responsibility completely. Although the Federal action was not completely successful, it did provide another precedent of public action in the line of social welfare. With the close of the War, reorganization of the public welfare agencies in Erie County began.

In 1919, the C.O.S. helped reorganize the office of the Commissioner of the Poor. On May 3rd, the Department of the Poor had its name changed to The Department of Public Welfare. Superintendent of the Department, Louis J. Kenngott, and his office force moved from their quarters on West Seneca Street to the three-story building on Ellicott Street formerly occupied by the Frontier Telephone Company. By then the department was administering about $300,000 a year to upward of 500 families in the area. Its inspectors (besides those of the C.O.S.) included four city policemen and two private citizens, and it was proposed to add four men and five women.

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Weekly doles were replaced with more adequate and intelligently administered aid. A family budget plan was introduced providing immediate (and temporary) relief to deserving applicants while the eligibility requirements of the family were being investigated. Responsibility for proper allocation of relief funds would be on the agency granting relief. It may be noted that at this time the Public Welfare Department considered an adequate allocation to be $4 per week for each growing child and just a little larger sum for the mother when conditions warranted it. The weekly stipend was sent out to qualifying families, and inspectors now kept in close touch with their cases.

The aged and infirm could now be cared for and maintained at institutions when necessary, and in any case, proper medical attention was provided. The city was operating three health centers and free dispensaries located on Grant Street, William Street, and West Ferry Street (Municipal Hospital). Erie County provided for widows with children through the office of Charities Commissioner William Hunt.

The guiding influence of Buffalo's C.O.S. was evident in the newly created department's improved policies, techniques, and procedures. On July 31, 1919, Miss Anna F. Austin of the C.O.S. was appointed by Councilman Frederick G. Bagley to be supervising visitor of the Department of Public Welfare. She became the department's first women supervisor and headed a staff of four other women lately appointed to the welfare department.

But as with the public offices, so with the private. The C.O.S. itself had centered its activities upon family services and now found itself one among many coordinating organizations which it had itself inspired and assisted. The need for broader leadership again became apparent, and a group of agencies met in 1922 to create the Council of Social Agencies. C.O.S. secretary David C. Adie became the Council's voluntary part-time secretary. He would later leave the C.O.S. and become the new Council's first full-time secretary.

Public Welfare Building

In 1929, the Council took over the administration and support of the Social Service Exchange (established by the C.O.S. in 1911).

The C.O.S. nevertheless continued to serve broadly, and its efforts led toward major assistance in professionalizing social work in this area. There were as many opportunities in the 1920's as in any other time. Besides helping to establish public playgrounds, it played a leading part in the establishment of a Juvenile Court. It procured enforcement of the child labor laws and cooperated with school authorities in enforcement of the truancy laws. It promoted physical examinations for all school children to detect dangerous health conditions. It continued to develop its investigations of the underlying causes of need, trying to make them a scientific diagnostic process. A good diagnosis was essential for proper treatment. Knowledge, understanding, and skill would become the standard "tools" of the trained social worker.

Instead of "C.O.S. agent" or "district visitor," the word "caseworker" was coming into general usage. Each poverty problem presented an individual case calling for individual, personal treatment. When World War I brought psychiatry into prominence, the C.O.S. and other private agencies throughout the country recognized the vast complexity of the individual human situation and the need for more intensive study and training.

Social work, as most other professions, had based its training on apprenticeship. Now the C.O.S., working with the University of Buffalo (on the site of the old Almshouse), offered an evening course in "Principles of Social Casework." The class was instructed by Mrs. Anna B. Fox, secretary of the C.O.S.

In 1931, the Society and other agencies helped the University to establish its Graduate School of Social Work. The development of that school is well known today. Its graduates fill supervisory ranks

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of nearly every social service agency in the county. Learning by doing is still an essential part of social work, but now it is made a little easier by specialized education and a planned program of supervision.

In the same year that the University's Social Work School was established, the C.O.S. reduced its vast plan of district Committees. The plan had proved too large for effective supervision of the graduate students' field work. The new students were trained to be more discerning and more understanding.

Instead of merely investigating and deciding whether financial help was needed in a particular case, they reverted to the original C.O.S. principle "not alms but a friend." Plans were discussed individually with families needing not only financial aid but aid in solving the more serious marital troubles, child-parent relationships, school and work adjustment problems, and personal anxieties.

The intensity of the World War I efforts of 1917 and 1918 created among social service agencies some feelings of discouragement. Many private charitable agencies of the city were hard hit. Pinched by sudden inflation, they began to think that perhaps one financial campaign might elicit better public response than their many separate solicitations, and they had the success of Red Cross and war bond campaigns as examples.

Representatives of the Charity Organization Society, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Children's Aid, and the District Nursing Association met for discussion and soon decided that a united effort for financial support was a necessity. They promoted their scheme in the form of a Joint Charities Campaign.

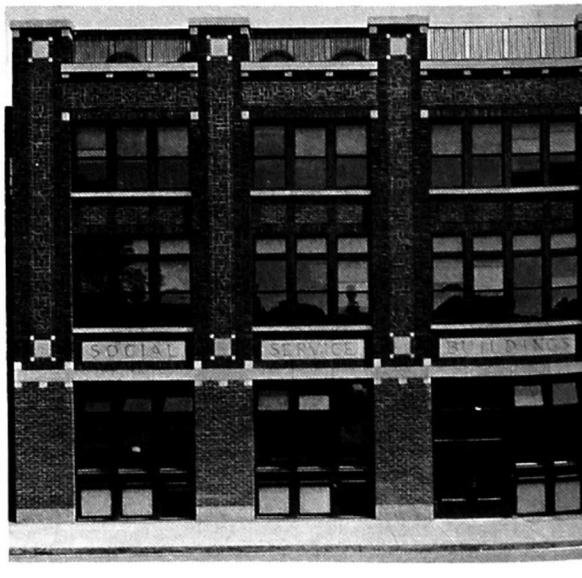
The first campaign started with an organization meeting and dinner on October 29, 1917. A large part of the groundwork for the campaign had been completed before the meeting. General Chairman William A. Rogers and his committee had decided to withhold advance publicity in order to avoid confusion and conflict with the popular Liberty Loan.

Five luncheon meetings were held with the campaign workers. The goal was set at $120,000 although many people still thought the time inopportune for new appeals. Nearly everyone but the organizers were surprised when the campaign closed on November 3 with a total subscription of $163,189. And, though the figure was later adjusted to $153,619, it was still 128% of the original goal.

"Sacrifice for the War . . . but do not sacrifice the Poor" was the slogan of the 1918 campaign. Again the public responded with donations well over the intended goal. Buffalo was among the first 16 cities of the United States to attempt one annual campaign for several agencies. The boards of the C.O.S., Children's Aid, and District Nursing Association voted to continue combining their efforts and to add more agencies under a general covenant, and six more agencies joined the Federation—the Legal Aid Bureau, Buffalo Association for the Blind, Buffalo Orphan Asylum, Crippled Children's Guild, Wheel Chair Home for Incurables, and the College Creche.

The third campaign prepared for a goal of $300,000 with an additional $100,000 for the needs of the American Red Cross. Collection teams were organized. Leaflets and advertisements were prepared for enclosure in pay envelopes. Newspapers helped in community promotion and the goal was again oversubscribed.

In 1920, six more agencies joined: the Babcock Street Community House, Buffalo Council of Boy Scouts, Buffalo Council of Girl Scouts, Fresh Air Mission, Ingleside Home, and Travellers' Aid. A Speaker's Bureau was developed and a



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Women's Division was added to the campaign organization. The campaign that year included 15 agencies and raised $373,000.

The campaign director and secretary had been on loan from Children's Aid (Douglas P. Falconer) and C.O.S. (Blanche C. Gross). But soon the Federation opened their first office in the Social Service Building at 181 Franklin Street. Only two years later it expanded to new quarters at 124 Pearl Street. Miss Alice Williams was the first full-time staff member. She soon became executive director, retaining the post 28 years. In 1921, the Federation welcomed the Mt. Carmel Guild, Neighborhood House, Seaman's Home, and the YWCA. The Joint Charities (as they were commonly called) now had 19 agencies representing the fields of dependency, delinquency, health and leisure activities. A prime requirement for agency membership was endorsement by the Chamber of Commerce. Each agency was screened to avoid fradulent claims or misrepresentation of services. Ansley Wilcox, Buffalo lawyer and civic leader, had been elected chairman of the Federation of Charities and Welfare Agencies, and did much to counter opposition to the campaign.

In 1922 the Federal Income Tax was broadened to include deductions for donations to a community fund. That year executives of the member organizations began to meet monthly as a Committee of Secretaries to study the needs of their combined organizations for mutual improvement of services. At the same time the Council of Social Agencies was organized to coordinate social work in the community. The campaign was organized under the name of the Buffalo Joint Charities and Community Fund but it included contributions from residents of Hamburg, Kenmore, Lancaster, Orchard Park, and Williamsville.

The Catholic population of Buffalo and Erie County also recognized the value of combining the many campaigns sponsored within their own diocese. Four years previously William J. Turner had become Bishop of Buffalo. Since that time he had been observing the charitable work of various institutions begun under Bishop Timon years before and continued by the Diocese. He especially noted that each Catholic institution was functioning independently of the other, each was circumscribed by nationalistic ties, and each was incurring a serious deficit annually. Every year representatives from these institutions would literally go out begging for funds on the street corners and from door to door.

Perhaps the Joint Charities' slogan "One campaign, one appeal, once a year" gave Bishop Turner the idea. Nonetheless he became convinced that public charity must be of a scientific as well as a supernatural nature. His own diocesan Mt. Carmel Guild had already affiliated itself with the Joint Charities and Community Fund.

Bishop Turner instituted a private study in 1922 and discovered that, exclusive of the Father Baker Institutions, 1,750 of the people of his diocese were being served by Catholic institutions, and that they were also caring for 75 to 80 percent of the orphans of the whole area.

He hesitated to throw such a large number of private institutions on such a relatively new organization as the Joint Charities. If he did so, much opposition could be expected from the non-Catholic members of the community—particularly during the 1920's when the nation was experiencing a wave of antagonism towards foreign ideas.

Therefore, Bishop Turner decided to federate his diocesan institutions as one independent organization and to conduct a private campaign once a year among the Catholics of his diocese. The method was the same as that used by the Joint Charities with such obvious success and popularity. On October 30, 1923, the Catholic Charities of Buffalo, New York, was incorporated. Rt. Rev. Msgr. John C. Carr was appointed director, and the fund raising campaign was planned for the spring of the following year.

The first Catholic Charities Appeal took place during the week before Easter, April 6-13, 1924, to raise $262,116. Donations totaled $325,000, a gratifying success for Bishop Turner and a good beginning for the "Appeal That Never Fails."

The Buffalo Joint Charities and Community Fund had picked up 25 member agencies by 1927. Ever seeking new ways to distribute public information, they had formed a radio committee as a "peculiar publicity device." In the Spring of 1930, the campaign reached its goal, but increasing unemployment strained all of its agencies. The wearing of a small red feather as a receipt for a donation took the place of the usual publicity expenses. One year later a "fifty-two week plan" of payroll deduction was requested for periods of employment only. Naturally the Depression adversely affected trends of voluntary giving but the Federation was actually strengthened by the Depression years.

During World War II, the Joint Charities became the United War and Community Fund, and exceeded $1 million in 1942. Two years later, 34 member organizations were included plus 6 of the Jewish Federation for Social Services, the Erie County Boy Scouts, the YMCA, and the

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National War Fund. In the four years of World War II, $96,000,000 was raised for the needs of local and war relief agencies.

After the war the United War and Community Fund became the Community Chest of Buffalo and Erie County and its first president was F. J. Schoellkopf, Jr. The Red Feather symbol became the official campaign device.

By 1951 a balanced program of community services at a minimum cost was being supplied by 51 united agencies. The first combined Community Chest—Red Cross Appeal took place in 1955. Two years later 57 Red Feather Agencies and the Buffalo Chapter, American Red Cross were functioning under their new slogan—"Give the United Way."

On July 27, 1960, the Red Feather was replaced by a new symbol, the torch, becoming the emblem of the newly formed United Fund of Buffalo and Erie County. Harlan J. Swift was its president. Whereas the old Community Chest had been a Federation of Agencies to raise and distribute funds in accord with Community needs for their services, the United Fund became an "organization of the contributing public to support a health and social welfare program for the needs of the community."

When the Great Depression came in 1929, massive unemployment led to massive relief activities. The joint charities fund was unable to finance its agencies' operations. The Mayor and Common Council tried through various plans to provide for the demands on the Department of Social Welfare. They were not successful. In the fall of 1931, the New York State Legislature passed an emergency act providing for state aid to the unemployed. This relieved the financial strains on local agencies—but only temporarily.

The demand swamped the Department of Social Welfare with huge caseloads. Another reorganization was needed. The C.O.S. loaned secretary Archie W. Swanson to make the necessary changes and proved again the value of the private agency in helping the public agency.

The C.O.S. had helped to establish the public agency as the fundamental relief structure in the community while they and other private agencies were developing casework service to a high degree of efficiency. Their financial contributions were to be more and more in the form of services and training and only occasionally to supplement public relief. Even its name "Charity Organization" no longer popularly described its purpose. It needed changing. In 1934, though many felt a certain sentimental regret, the Trustees voted to change the Agency's name. What had been the basic aim of the C.O.S. since its beginnings in 1877 was now expressed in its new name: The Family Service Society of Buffalo. It shall be referred to from this point as the F.S.S.

That same year it was able to secure the services of a psychiatric consultant and began to refer emotionally disoriented clients to the existing psychiatric clinics and the newly established Guidance Center. It continued and expanded its programs on budgeting, home management, vocational, and employment problems while keeping a substantial relief fund in readiness for special cases requiring supplementary aid. Soon this too would be changed.

By 1941, it was in total support of the idea that maintenance of relief should be the responsibility of the public agency (Department of Social Welfare) and should be sufficient in amount to sustain family life.

One of the greatest challenges facing the Family Service Society in the postwar period was the problem of the community's adolescents. First victims of the Depression and then of the War, they were suffering the usual symptons of neglect—immature feelings of self-importance and self-sufficiency and flagrant disregard of authority. Many had apprenticed in war plants in high-paying jobs. There was easy money and little discipline, for a great number of women went into the shops. The end of the war was the beginning of a new variety of social problems centering in family decay. The Family Service Society had merged the Youth Service Society's programs with its own in 1944. It had officially established a Boarding Home Service in 1944. This had now become necessary in its program of service to adolescents and also unmarried mothers. Previously its Homemaker Service (1941) attempted the training of efficient homemakers.

In the 1950's the central purpose of the F.S.S. was casework service for families and individuals. It was still evident that continuing its original methods of friendly assistance to families could not be bettered. Indeed it declared—almost defiantly in the face of a society flaunting an indifferent permissiveness—that the country's greatest asset is sound families. Its group therapy with a number of men suffering from alcoholism, undertaken in 1941, was a part of this policy, and some of the men in this initial group formed the nucleus of the Buffalo Alcoholics Anonymous. In 1949, the F.S.S. Board of Trustees authorized a program of Family Life Education.

The greatest changes in the welfare system sprang from the Great Depression. As early as 1928 Governor Alfred E. Smith had called attention to a growing problem of unemployment, but the deflation of the 1920's proceeded inexorably through the stock market crash of 1929 to the threatened collapse of the banking system in 1933. The national income was cut in half, and wageless families swelled as unemployment became the fate of nearly 14 million. Surveys by the New York State Department of Labor in 1932 showed that of all the men who were willing and able to work 32.6% could not find any job at all. Only 44% of the male population of Buffalo held full-time work. Local relief authorities were unprepared to meet this enormous rise in human needs. Nor could the city, nor the county, nor even the state. The final resort was to the Federal Government. From

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that time until the present, Federal programs dominated the social welfare scene.

In Buffalo the task had been promptly undertaken by private agencies. A grim phantom of the past appeared again on the Buffalo streets in the form of bread lines around soup kitchens, milk stations, employment offices, and food distribution centers. Municipal Lodging houses were crowded beyond their capacity but still men arrived, and women, and sometimes children. Threats to health and safety were disregarded in the presence of the greater threat—hunger. The demand was so extensive that even our well-developed systems of public and private relief soon began to buckle under the sheer weight of numbers. Government employment was limited to local residents. No married women (with husbands still employed) could work in public service. A Bureau of Industrial Aid had been in existence since 1919, attached to the municipal department of Public Welfare. Buffalo and Rochester were the only two cities in New York State who still attempted to investigate applicants for relief.

In November of 1930, the mayor of Buffalo recommended that the city "provide such temporary employment as may be possible to tide over the winter hundreds of our citizens impoverished through no fault of their own." Relief projects were set up. They involved mostly outdoor work (park improvement, raking leaves, sweeping streets, etc.) and foreshadowed the yet unborn W.P.A. programs. The wage was set at $5.00 per day for a three day week. By March 1931, this idea had helped secure temporary employment for 2,200 men.

Perhaps the best remembered of local relief programs was organized by Mayor Roesch in April of 1931. Buffalo was then planning a celebration of its Centennial and the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment suggested that many of the unemployed could be used in a kind of clean-up and paint-up campaign to beautify the city for its

Are You Doing Your Bit, to Help Your Block Hire a Father?

100th Birthday. The organization became known as the *Man-a-block*. Each city ward was represented by a director who was responsible for the organization of election districts (under the supervision of district mayors). In these election districts, block units were set up under the direction of block captains. These acted as placement agents when a man in his block area was needed for work.

Block-aid was a novel and well planned program but as spring turned into summer it became increasingly evident that the state would have to supply financial aid in unemployment relief if the breakdown of local welfare agencies was to be averted. Consequently in the fall of 1931 the New York State Legislature declared a six-month emergency and passed the Wicks Act. This provided that during the emergency period, state aid was to be extended to municipalities for work relief and home relief through a separate agency, the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration. The state had now become the financial partner of the city, providing up to 40% of the municipal welfare funds beside furnishing personnel and organizing projects to relieve unemployment.

On November 14, 1931, with the approval of the Common Council, it established an Emergency Work Bureau in Buffalo. The Bureau then set up procedures of registration and investigation, classifying families with some attempt to preserve their social position. Tools and equipment were acquired, rates of pay fixed, and working hours established. All of this was carried on in conjunction with the city's Department of Social Welfare which continued its own work relief and poor relief programs until April 1934. Buffalo's private agencies such as Catholic Charities, the Jewish Federation for Social Services, the Salvation Army, the Joint Charities and Community Fund, and others were simultaneously conducting their own programs of unemployment relief. The Erie County Lodging House, at Carroll and Exchange Streets (with annexes in the McLeod Hotel and the old Exchange Street Depot), was providing 4,200 meals each day and 1,500 beds each night for homeless men.

Still the situation kept getting worse. Federal intervention was inevitable regardless of all the protests over states rights or related technicalities. In 1933 this intervention had started through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration insured more effective cooperation between the Federal government and the state by an appropriation of $50 million. In July 1932, the Federal government had passed the Emergency Relief and Construction Act authorizing loans to states, counties, and cities of up to $300 million for public projects but it made no immediately apparent difference.

By November 1932, 15 million workers were unemployed. On May 12, 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the Federal Emergency Relief Act. It represented a change in federal relief policy by abolishing the principle of short term state loans and substituting the new concept of Federal responsibility for the welfare of its citizens. It began immediately to fulfill its promise. From November 1933 to April 1934, the Federal government assumed full administrative policy for work relief by establishing the Civil

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Works Administration (C.W.A.).

In May 1935, the President proposed to dissolve the Federal Emergency Relief Act and substitute instead an exclusive work relief program, with centralized federal control, to supply more jobs. The new program was the much maligned Works Progress Administration (W.P.A.). The C.W.A. (1933-34) had tried to employ anyone on relief. In Buffalo, the local C.W.A. committee, with Daniel W. Streeter as Chairman, worked on improvements to our parks and development of the Buffalo Airport property. Wages were the standard 50¢ per hour. In three months, the city paid wages amounting to $750,000 along with the Federal government's wage total of $4 million.

When the C.W.A. was suddenly abandoned, Streeter and a board of five members were set up as a local Emergency Relief Bureau. Now there were nearly 10,000 more families on the rolls than in the summer of 1933. The number of families on relief in Buffalo by April 1, 1934, was 28,000, and the situation continued to fester. March 1935 showed 32,000 families receiving home relief from the Buffalo Emergency Relief Bureau and 6,762 supported by work relief.

Under its direction, methodical social work was developed to a high degree. Home budgets were established, improved accounting systems employed, and administrative personnel standards raised. Policies were inaugurated covering the issuance and replacement of shoes, clothing, underwear, and bedding. Administration of relief began to pass from the experimental to the semipermanent phase. Work projects were devised more carefully and with an eye to the permanent betterment of the city. Stoves and fuel were supplied when needed as well as rent money, money for gas and electric bills, and medical aid. The E.R.B. carried a grocery bill of $10 to $15 thousand a day with the state supplying 75% of the funds. From the spring of 1934 until it was discontinued, about $33 million was spent by the Buffalo E.R.B. for home and work relief. Its programs ended in December 1935.

Construction of Buffalo Zoo

When the controversial W.P.A. came to Buffalo in January 1936, it began spending at the rate of $60 thousand per day. Yet it employed only 50% of all able-bodied workers on the city's relief rolls and, contrary to its original intentions, never succeeded in ending relief.

The reasons for its difficulties were many. Its plan was too unrealistic for the complexity of the Depression. Every worker should be taken from the public relief rolls but smaller communities did not have enough skilled workers to act as supervisors in the work projects. Besides, in a single family unit, only one member might be employed by the W.P.A. The employment projects attempted to cover everything—construction work on highways, bridges, buildings, libraries.

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schools, hospitals, museums, and nearly anything else imaginable. Three and a half million acres of swampland were drained. Water mains and storm sewers were built. Its work projects also took in improvement of parks, airports, soil and conservation works, flood control and reforestation, and the employment of artists, musicians, and teachers.

In Buffalo, during the early months of the program, most projects were just carry-overs from the local E.R.B. programs. It started in the middle of winter and was paying wages to men who could not work outdoors in such weather conditions. By the time spring came, efficiency measures had forced the layoff of more than a quarter of all its work force. Those who were assigned definite projects were too often unsuited or unqualified for them. There were delays in pay and overcrowding of workers at a single location. When the unemployed people complained that massive work crews were not busy, the workers complained that they had no room to swing their picks.

The average W.P.A. worker in Buffalo (according to a study made at the time) was an unskilled worker, about 40 years old, who was a U.S. citizen, married and the father of two children. In between mixups and delays on W.P.A. projects, the worker was continually forced to return to the public relief rolls for family sustenance. If he did not find work soon, he would be too old to be permanently employed. Besides, a new generation of younger men were beginning to draw on the strained public funds.

This typical W.P.A. worker was a good candidate for becoming a permanent burden on the city. It was hardly likely that he would find permanent employment in the struggling private industries when even part-time work on W.P.A. jobs was scarce and uncertain most of the time. More often than not, this man, once a proud and productive citizen, quietly accepted his welfare relief check or the food supplies and clothing doled out to him by a weary city. It is not hard to understand why many of these citizens developed a "conditioned reflex" to welfare support. They began to see it as the final way-of-life when everything else around them and within them was dying.

The Works Progress Administration had snatched a large number of families from welfare relief. Unfortunately, they represented the smaller families (4 members or less). Many W.P.A. workers were single or otherwise unattached. The larger families remained on the city's welfare relief rolls and the city remained responsible for 60% of their support.

Studies in 1936 revealed that the total load supported by public funds was increasing even though industrial employment was showing a slight improvement; that, after six years of emergency relief programs, public money was being spent at an even greater rate than before; and that a younger generation of workers was posing a new threat to the possibility of returning the jobless men to their old trades.

Statistical analysis of relief age skills demanded the establishing of a new program that would immediately and permanently direct all forms of relief to the goal of getting families back on a self-supporting basis. This ideal solution was as impossible as it was obvious. However, the chaos of the Depression did lead to some radical alterations in our relief systems as will be seen below.

Back in April 1929, Franklin D. Roosevelt, then Governor of New York State, created the State Commission on Old Age Security. In 1930, the commission passed an Act providing cash allowances for needy persons 70 years and older. This was extended in 1935 to the whole nation in the Federal Social Security Act establishing a retirement insurance program and regular federal support to state welfare programs of unemployment insurance, public assistance, child welfare, public health, and services to the physically handicapped. New York State had already created an Unemployment Insurance Fund and had made medical care mandatory, not only for destitute persons but also for the medically indigent, and in 1937 the State arranged to qualify in every way to join the Federal program.

By 1936, a permanent system of state aid for home relief was established and the State Department of Social Welfare was reorganized under a completely revised welfare code, and in the next year the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration was transferred to it. A better relationship was developing between Federal, State and local agencies. In 1938 over one million people in New York State received some form of public assistance at a total cost of $15,602,835. Localities paid 53% of this; the State paid 38% and the Federal Government paid 10%, which was quite a change from the age-old idea that public assistance was wholly the responsibility of the locality where it was needed.

The Buffalo Emergency Work Bureau during this time planned and completed two of its largest storm drains at a labor efficiency within 85% of private contract. A high-pressure pipeline was installed throughout the business and warehouse districts. The Cazenovia swimming pool was constructed and miles of city streets were repaired and paved. Winter had slowed the programs of the W.P.A. at its inception but with the coming of spring, workers launched into many ambitious projects under its administration. Some of its local accomplishments were the completion of the Delaware Avenue bridge in Delaware Park (a project started by the E.R.B.), completion of the water reservoir for the Ward Pumping Station, conversion of the Best Street reservoir into a recreation field including the present Civic Stadium, the surfacing of miles of Buffalo streets, completion of a program calling for the construction of additions to the city storm drain system, and the modernization of the Delaware Park Zoo with many new buildings. Its payroll supported fewer families by wages than were

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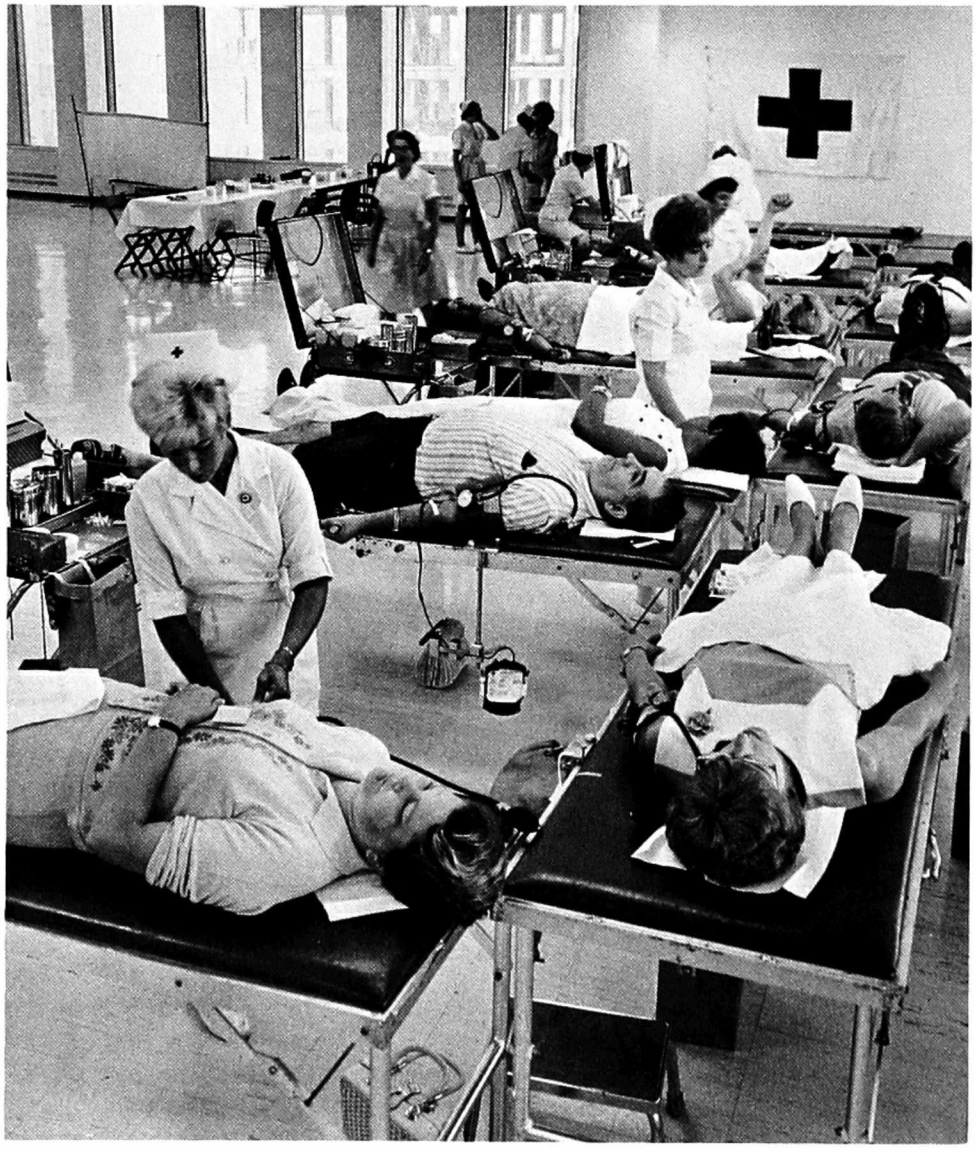
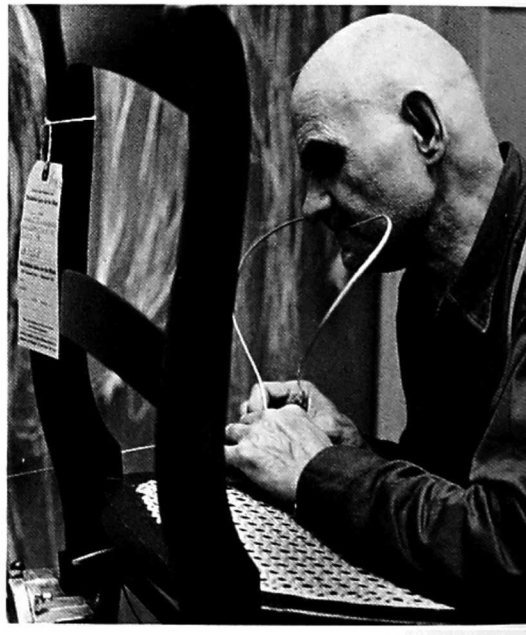
Deaf children learning sign language





Association for the Blind chair caner

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being supported by straight welfare payments. The work relief programs cost $30,000 more per week and took care of only 9,593 families. At the same time, more than 25,000 families were being supported by home relief alone at much lower cost to the community.

The disaster of Depression was not as harmful as the panic of uncertainty. Like the great cholera epidemic of a century before, it seemed to have no definite cause or no definite cure, and like any large-scale, mysterious malady it elicited a rash of emergency remedies each designed to cure some problem. In Buffalo and Erie County, as elsewhere in the U.S., nearly 200,000 individuals were being assisted by public welfare and emergency relief units (including work relief). Funds and payroll were divided among the following organizations: The Buffalo Emergency Relief Bureau, operating only within city limits; the Erie County Emergency Relief Bureau, which cared for the emergency unemployed in towns outside of Buffalo; the Buffalo Department of Social Welfare, administering the institutional and so-called chronic relief of the city; the Erie County Department of Social Welfare, which carried on similar functions in the County; and the Erie County Department of Charities and Corrections, an organization combining welfare cases and criminal cases indiscriminately and a relic of the old Almshouse era. The Erie County Bureau of Child Welfare and the Old Age Pension Bureau were also included as sub-divisions.

Not only did each of these organizations function as an individual unit of welfare but they felt strongly independent of the other's functions. The constitutional welfare services jealously resented the mushrooming of emergency services initiated during Depression years. Originally these emergency measures were intended for temporary use by families in a particular need, i.e., those out of work because of an industrial collapse rather than their own failure, the theory being that these people would strongly resent the attentions of agencies that dealt with the pauper or chronic relief cases.

The emergency organizations were created and functioned under policies differing from those of regular welfare units. It came to be no public disgrace to accept emergency relief.

An unanticipated side-effect occurred. Due to the character of the Depression and the inability of industry to revive, most of the temporary emergency cases became permanent relief cases. The change in public attitude; the new-found sympathy for the Depression destitute seems to have subtly eroded the desire for self-supporting independence so characteristic of the American.

Organizations were added to keep pace with growing welfare needs. There was much unnecessary duplication of departmental services adding to the confusion. It should be remembered, while all of this was taking place, such private organizations as the United Fund, the Catholic Charities Appeal, and others, were conducting their programs to relieve the troubles of this economically bleak decade. Most people began to realize the need for a central agency to coordinate welfare work and distribute it to sub-agencies according to the nature of the individual cases. This, of course, was what the old Buffalo Charity Organization Society had analyzed and promoted some 60 years previous.

The creation of the Erie County Department of Social Welfare—now Social Services—came as close to a satisfactory solution of immediate problems as human affairs ever permit, although admittedly the underlying difficulties created by urban living and a specialized economy were by no means abolished. The Board of Supervisors were, nevertheless, immediately criticized severely for their executive appointments, and to organize the Department satisfactorily proved to be a longer process than was expected.

The Board voted to assume Erie County's load of relief—Depression problems quite naturally dominated thinking on social welfare at that time—in March 1938. It thereby took over from the City of Buffalo responsibility within its limits, appropriated $5 million, appointed a 7-man bipartisan Board of Social Welfare to control the Department (under the present executive county constitution it only advises), and created the offices of three Deputy Commissioners to aid the Commissioner. In ten days, the County Attorney, T. S. Serio, had raised a controversy by ruling that the Board had no power to spend, but must refer every item of expense back into the Board of Supervisors' normal channels for action in spite of the latter's specific appropriations. With that objection quieted, T. W. H. Jeacock was appointed Commissioner, and his three Deputies were appointed in a manner that, within a month precipitated a serious dispute with the ruling powers of the New York State Commissioner of Welfare.

The trouble lay in the fact that two of the three appointees were currently members of the Board of Supervisors. They had therefore broken the convention that one does not assume a position that he has just created, and Buffalo's representative on the State Board, Charles S. Desmond, not only remarked on it but promised that the State's power over such appointments would be investigated. Since he later became the State's Chief Judge, his opinion commands our attention; he stated that the Erie County welfare law had been broadly drawn only because assurance had been given that such political interferences would be strictly avoided. State Commissioner D. C. Adie came to Buffalo to hold a hearing on the matter. The chief result of this was Adie's confirmation of the threat that the State would not reimburse the County for its promised heavy share of the Department's expenses so far as these positions were concerned. He cited evidence for thinking that the appointments were as political as they looked and made

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nine demands for future handling of matters so that the Board and Department of Social Welfare would be free to act without such pressure.

State regulations remained a problem, as the weeks were used to prepare for the official opening of the Department on July 1, 1938. The preliminary meetings of the Board arrived at the momentous decision that relief was to be changed entirely to cash payments to avoid the cumbersome and expensive system of distributing commodities, and further appointments of executive personnel were announced. These additions to staff brought a sour comment from H. S. Tolley, New York State Regional Director, that there were too many employees, and that the experienced and capable Paul F. Burke could have done more and was unreasonably subordinated considering his high position in the Buffalo Emergency Relief Board. The Board of Supervisors joined the guerilla fighting by echoing Tolley's complaint even though one of the supernumerary positions was acknowledged by Commissioner Jeacock as necessary for providing advice to Deputy Commissioner Roger Newcomb, one of the controversial appointees from the Supervisors' own ranks. The latter retired from the fray, growling but preferring to encourage the new Department.

Immediately upon going to work in earnest, the Department announced its permanent plan of organization. There were to be 1,180 workers to administer a load that was near its peak for the prewar years, and one that demanded the expenditure of over $1 million per month. Reluctant approvals were granted by higher authority and the new Department plunged in. By December 1938, five months later, the extent of the problem was known. Plans for serious reform such as extension of cash relief were dropped, and Board and Commissioner began serious battling to create a functional organization. They did not admit what an editorial in the *News* declared without emphasis: the distribution of commodities from warehouses had come almost to breakdown. They did admit another crippling disaster: half the staff of over 1,000 had failed their civil service examinations and would have to be replaced. It was to be a year before the damage was repaired.

The reason for this disappointing situation is readily found in the history of the emergency relief organizations, city and county, during the preceding five years. Hastily set up, under great pressure from changing policies, ridiculously inadequate pay ($1,200 for caseworkers), and consequent rapid turnover in staff, without security even for these workers, and possessing no pride of tradition, these offices could hardly have been expected to develop a body of skilled practitioners for a difficult field. Nevertheless the job was finally done. Examinations were given until enough qualified personnel could be assembled, and the new appointees were put on three-month probation, an unusual step in those days, to assure the desirability of their appointments. Problems of back pay were solved, the Board of Supervisors and the State Civil Service Commission having cut the pay rates of the workers from the older organizations to an illegal extent. The workers were given restored rates and three-quarters of the amounts illegally withheld. Reorganization pains and alarms closed with an exclusion by the Supervisors of three disfavored administrators from the benefits of a general salary increase in 1940. Thereafter, the work of the Department proceeded in a responsible and professional manner. One of those injured in this final raid, Paul F. Burke, rose to be Commissioner; Roy Newcomb, the Supervisor-turned-Deputy, also became Commissioner; the switch to cash relief payments began only two years after the Department's inception; and the later adminstrators have had only praise for the freedom to work responsibly and professionally in the public good, free from irresponsible partisan harassment. These early troubles were indeed no more than the colics of infancy.

Even while the Department was suffering these pangs, another thing began to be evident: under the unified Department it was going to be easier to observe the whole process of rescuing the unfortunate and to estimate its success. The *News* attacked the problem in a series of 32 articles entitled "Our Relief System" by Robert G. Burlingham, published May 11 - June 17, 1939. As a book-length work, its contents can hardly be summarized here, but the matters conceived by the author to be seriously problematical explain a great deal in the attitudes of the day. Burlingham was aware of certain profound and alarming social changes, and no doubt many other citizens agreed with him, having observed the same things. The most important was that a definite shift in point of view had been created by the Depression. Too many good people had found themselves in distress for it any longer to be held that economic misfortune was the person's own fault in most cases. Full justice was done to this plain fact of an overwhelming catastrophe, and to the fact that the relief systems, hastily assembled as they were, had succeeded in rescuing many of the unfortunate by providing nutrition and ending disease as well as in lesser ways.

Nevertheless a sense of wonder permeated these articles. Considering the difficulties of the duties of a caseworker and the many special qualities needed, Burlingham discovered that there was little helpful literature for the aspiring caseworker to read and that some, at least, totally ignored the caseworker's responsibility to the public in favor of a fiery partisanship for his clients. Burlingham was relieved that the Department had already initiated in-service training of caseworkers. Lying ready to his hand were, of course, lavish examples of fraudulent claiming of relief payments, including well-to-do people kept on the rolls by vigorous representations from Supervisors

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and, equally contemptible, prosperous gamblers and minor racketeers as to whom it was nearly impossible to prove the existence of other income. Even worse were the cases that the Department workers exhibited of families, already veterans in the art of staying on relief, with growing crowds of followers so that the observer began to think that there was a whole culture whose devotees' lives revolved around the outwitting of welfare workers.

The most frightening trait of the new system that was growing up was the fact that the burden of proving human need had shifted from the applicant for assistance to the authorities who might withhold it. Calamity made misfortune the norm, establishing a tendency to extend aid in the first instance, and the great numbers of applicants made the task of investigations formidable to say the least. Already close to this as a menace was the abandonment of family responsibility as authorities attempted to invoke traditional law requiring people to assist needy parents and children. This was evaded wholesale, suggesting that concealment of relationships was simply regarded as a wholly reliable defense against the prying of caseworkers.

Against this burgeoning welfare-prone subculture the Department could only unleash professional intelligence and disciplined procedures. They found that careful, even if cursory, admittance examinations eliminated a third of applicants, and as they learned where to look for concealed savings and surreptitious earnings that proportion became greater. Two young lawyers working on the appearance of overt fraud were soon bringing over 200 "chiselers" per year to justice and others were forcing restitution from the guilty. Many more cases were closed by the less damaging disclosures of alert caseworkers, and administrators quietly and persistently called attention to the fact that 1,180 workers found careful investigation impossible when the caseload rose to nearly 37,000, as it did in 1939, according to reports.

These administrative principles and a few more like them furnished a reasonable harvest, although Burlingham closed his long series of articles on notes of uncertainty, suggesting that there must be something further in view of only the first of his conclusions: that relief impairs human values, and of his closing remark that some means of better handling of the problem must be found. At the time, the second World War still a few weeks in the future, everyone was still searching, and early in 1940, the Board of Supervisors felt confident enough of their developing Welfare Department to complain bitterly about State control. In a heated debate the Board agreed that relief should be in the hands of local communities, the State to pay its 40% freely instead of doling out reimbursements measured carefully by its own standards of performance. The vote was 35-15, opponents fearing that the consequences would be that the City of Buffalo would again be called upon to shoulder a burden that had already been proved too great, noting as well that organized labor would oppose systematic work relief. A further debate burst forth a few months later when the Democrats made a party issue of the manner of relief administration, accusing the Department of inhumane procedures. By a strictly party vote of 27-22, an investigation was rejected.

The 37,000 cases and $17 million expenditure of 1939 proved to be the greatest of prewar years. Once fighting began and war orders started pouring into American factories, relief loads declined rapidly, by 20% a year or more. Pressure for labor during the war reached such peaks that apparently hopeless bed-patients in hospitals were examined for possible rehabilitation, and with some success. Not only were many people rejuvenated, but rehabilitation workers were greatly encouraged by this rare recognition of their capacities. This alone might justify the otherwise disreputable managerial habit of concealing supernumerary workers about manufacturing plants during the war, an apparently preposterous bit of management until one learns that many corporations were being paid a percentage of profit above their expenses. The greater the payroll, the richer the harvest, and the Federal Government's granting of these cost-plus contracts is to blame. But the practice did its share for Erie County in reducing the relief caseload to its minimum of 8,756 in 1945, expenditures falling below $5 million. Temporarily forgotten were figures such as those produced by the studies unit of the Buffalo Foundation: the rise of welfare costs per capita in Buffalo from $2.41 in 1928, to $31.23 in 1938, while in the same period the share borne by private agencies fell from one-third to 2.9%. One-third of Buffalo property taxes at the same time was being diverted to relief.

Other problems were quietly appearing, likewise related to war conditions. Juvenile delinquency rose sharply, foreshadowing the ballooning of child dependency, the end of which is at present farther away than ever as attitudes of family responsibility fade to a neglected phase of history. War inflation of prices likewise gently introduced the present monstrous rise in living costs. But generally the anxiety over social welfare was lost in the immense perturbation of universal war.

The subsequent expression of concern with welfare has been muted and intermittent. Two voices have been positive and forceful: the political community acting through Chairman Edwin F. Jaeckle of the county Republican Party to center all such activities in the County of Erie rather than the City of Buffalo, anticipating the extreme of fiscal difficulties developing in the quarter-century past with the flight of population to the suburbs; and that of the Bureau of Municipal Research under George Sipprell, who was later to become Commissioner of Social Services. The unification of welfare services, begun in the merger of relief departments in 1938, resumed with the transfer of Meyer Memorial Hospital to the County in

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1946. This simplified the task of the indigent sick. This was followed by acts of uniting probation and creating health departments, all of which centralized administration of these similar functions, assisting, without directly affecting, the Social Welfare Department. The problem of hospital assignment had been raging for years and was now gradually settled to the general satisfaction, as was the concomitant need to pay medical fees to family physicians of the unemployed.

Public readiness to act in these decisive ways left one function to be provided. This was the consideration of just what was to be done and how great an extent, and here the Bureau of Municipal Research (now Government Research Institute of Western New York) under George Sipprell did much to force such consideration. He was, of course, not the only one to raise the questions of what must be done as against what would be ideal and what could in fact be afforded. The Taxpayers' League added an insistent voice to his queries in 1949, and the Supervisors agreed to appoint a committee of themselves and several citizens to consider the operation and its cost. This committee continued for some time and almost immediately brought in recommendations that certain State procedures be modified: there should be residence in the County for a year—not on relief—before Welfare should assume responsibility for a family, there should be more state aid for hospitals, and no state aids should be cut. But thereafter little was heard from the committee in spite of the manifest competence of its members, among them former Mayor Thomas L. Holling, Director Elmer Tropman of the Council of Social Agencies, and Monsignor Loftus of Catholic Charities.

The discussion thereafter was of the same type. Sipprell in the Bureau of Municipal Research's semimonthly leaflet, *Just a Moment*, carefully noted the more significant changes in the Department's operations, which inevitably meant analyzing its spending increases. Pointing at the more surprising developments in the welfare load, he refused to permit diversion of attention from these sore points, such as the steady rise of child dependency. In 1949, when he joined the discussion of welfare costs that a State legislative committee had stirred, he added the mild editorial observation that under New York State law there was no limit on what might be spent on any given case. In public discussion before the Social Workers' Club, he termed welfare costs alarming, to which Commissioner Roger A. Newcomb replied that, nevertheless, they were realistic. When Sipprell went on to comment that these costs were now greater after ten years of prosperity than they had been in the worst year of the Depression, and that it appeared that it had become possible for a family supported by the Welfare Department to receive more than many workers could earn, Newcomb attacked him and the Taxpayers' League for their refusal to see the overwhelming need the Department must supply.

Just A Moment went steadily on doing its reporting with occasional additions of observations on how much it cost administratively to distribute welfare aid, apparently about 25% of the total expenditure. The steady rise of the burden remained the center of interest, particularly in some irreversible social changes such as child dependency. But the cost of administration was out of local control for the most part since the complex rules and the detailed reporting were commanded by the State and Federal authorities. Commissioner Newcomb himself was protesting equally, begging that a year or two be allowed to absorb the already elaborate rules. This was in 1951, when the New York State Department of Welfare issued 69 bulletins with new instructions. The only response was a drop to 52 the following year, and in 1953, a mass of new legislation. In spite of the Department's struggles, it was struck in 1956 by a professionally conducted survey that must have severely rasped already raw nerves. This embodied, among many other findings, a severe condemnation of the careless reporting of children moving in and out of institutions and foster homes, their histories depending solely upon the memories of caseworkers. The caseworkers then read a reflection on the fact that they spent only 35-40% of their time in the field because they remained so long over paperwork at their desks. But it is apparent already that the instituting in this country within a decade or two of a complete system of social security where only rudiments had previously existed, was inevitably resulting in confusion and frustration.

As for the discussion of ultimate aims of welfare within our society as a whole, it becomes evident that the executives of the Department of Social Welfare, frantically trying to put new directives into operation, were not in position to ponder such matters. There is little evidence that other civic agencies devoted more attention than they. Among civic leaders the wise ones knew that welfare operations were really decided in state capitals and, with the final authority of enormous fiscal resources, within the fevered Federal halls of Washington. Others dismissed the matter as "politics" or as "merely local." As has been noted, party leadership treated the matter with the utmost circumspection if not with wisdom based on higher motives—which, in Erie County, is more likely the case.

"Merely local" it surely was not; it might have been better had the Board of Supervisors been given its chance to operate freely on local rules when it made its early demand for fiscal freedom to try its own remedies, but it was not. The benefits of the welfare system were extended steadily and purposefully by State and Federal administrations both Republican and Democrat. George Sipprell finally burst out in *Just A Moment* on September 13, 1956, with open criticism of the spirit of the welfare system, demanding the end of secrecy (on the analogy of the public right to know of bankruptcy proceedings), asking for clearer reporting from the Department as a

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whole, and renewing the old plea for a residency law. He then put his finger on the sorest point, declaring that child dependency cases should be handled in a manner to discourage desertion, whether real or pretended. He openly stated also that it appeared that welfare had become a crutch for a considerable part of the population rather than a means of rehabilitation for a few unfortunates.

His outburst was quickly followed by an acknowledgment of improved reporting, and this was greatly developed under the administration of Commissioner Paul F. Burke, who was responsible for the quickened pace of these critical reports. *Just A Moment* in 1957 noted that many of the dependent children, already unfavorably regarded because 10% of them were nonresident, were of illegitimate birth in one-parent families that nevertheless continued to expand. With the proportion of the County budget devoted to health and welfare rising to 63% in 1958, Commissioner Burke undertook a more careful study of child dependency and found the situation worse than anticipated. He had been warned by a study in New York City that showed that this subsidized illegitimacy was in fact a provision for the children of irregular unions. The New York investigation showed that two-thirds of such mothers lived in what used to be "common law marriages." This adding of fraud to moral indifference led Sipprell to a conclusion that the basic concepts of social welfare needed reconsideration.

Just as it began to appear that rational administration had been achieved without the personnel actually to do the job, resources were granted. Amendments to the national Social Security Act in 1962 provided the necessary funds, but this Congressional deed was preceded by a debate in Erie County that, if it did not weigh noticeably in the debates in Congress, at least reached conclusions demonstrating that here the problem of welfare is understood. The annual reports of Commissioner Paul F. Burke embodied much more than statistics, as has been hinted. In 1957 and 1959, they noted steady changes in the Department leading toward careful integration of all divisions and continuing responsible reporting of things not done as well as those that were.

In 1960, Burke was treated to a thorough investigation of his work conducted in an imaginative, but, to him certainly, in a startling and perturbing way. On June 7 the *Buffalo Evening News* began publication of a series of articles by a reporter who had joined the staff of the Department as a caseworker. Burke quickly acknowledged that he disliked the procedure but treated the contents of the articles objectively, with the result that he declared agreement with them since he had already stated most of its complaints fully and freely himself. What the reporter, Ed May, contributed were vivid and lively details written in a manner that won him considerable approval. He was able to give the earthy realities of working on cases, such as his colleagues' advice to get the relief checks out and to do the investigating later—for which, he was to find, there never was time. Equally the squalid mess of paperwork (demanded by law) became through his vividness a matter of public concern. There was little else new in the reports, although of course the previous reports had been entirely forgotten—mere history—by this time, and the reminders were useful. He did not fail to hint that "politics" must be to blame by recommending that definite standards for the choice of Commissioner should be adopted by the Board of Supervisors. Since Burke had come into welfare work after considerable business experience and without formal schooling in welfare this jab probably failed to soothe and reassure him. Nevertheless he participated by avoiding complaints and then capped a splendid performance by permitting a recent statement to the New York Legislature to be reprinted as a conclusion to the series. He had already topped an important item in May's catalog of Departmental shortcomings. May had pointed out the desperate shortage of caseworkers, a very old and tired complaint, and Burke only noted that he had stopped asking for more because there was simply no office space for them until new quarters were provided.

Within a month Burke submitted a set of specifications that went outside the conventional complaints and yet stayed within the bounds of things possible. Acknowledging that proper administration was currently impossible, he put his finger on the legal changes needed to eliminate the clutter of paper. He proposed to set up contacts with other agencies and workers to make casework shrink within the capacities of people who could be recruited, trained, and retained. He declared his belief in home rule and pointed out that the Federal and State rules had moved to protect rights of the needy but not to encourage a sense of responsibility among them. He proposed counseling that could make a start on the frightening social indifference to the masses of unprotected children, asked for further development of work relief, and demanded limits on expenditures for a single family.

Concurrently another report inspired by the *News* series appeared, this one from the Citizens' Welfare Advisory Committee, a volunteer group established by the Board of Supervisors. George Sipprell was Chairman and so could continue to make his earnest contribution to policy. This Committee proposed five points on which reform seemed practicable, of which one was immediately accepted. But two others were condemned by a member of the Committee in a Minority Report, and since he was Dean Benjamin H. Lyndon of the University of Buffalo School for Social Work, the sting was drawn from the Report as a whole. A debate in the Board of Supervisors' Welfare Committee found Democratic Floor Leader Joseph A. Scoma's proposal that Burke be fired, answered effectively by Burke's asking Sipprell if his Committee had at any point said that the Department was doing a poor job. Sipprell in reply complimented

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Burke for being the first Commissioner in 23 years to listen to suggestions and to open the door to discussion. Scoma elucidated his complaint, which was that the Republican Party had always selected top Department personnel without consulting the Democrats.

The following year found steady development in administrative arrangements and a continued effort on the part of the Commissioner to put into words the thoughts upon which welfare work must proceed. "After more than three centuries of growth and change, the American Social Welfare System has become a complex of governmental and voluntary services. The basic attitudes which determined the current trends in public and private social welfare and social work are now relatively clear. Fundamental human rights have become the aim of organized society and the responsibility of government if we are to maintain a democracy." The watchword had become rehabilitation, and every member of the staff was urged to keep it clearly in mind. The ancient C.O.S. principle was further extended as private bodies and professional schools actively joined in many parts of the program.

Fortunately the Federal authorities who were talking rehabilitation and individualization were at the same time providing the money needed. By 1964, Burke was able to report that the Social Security Act amendments of 1962 requiring more work upon the problems of the needy person also made it possible to hire the people to do the job. Caseworkers were to have no more than 60 cases, and supervisors were to be limited to five workers. By the following year the usually fearful overloads were reduced to near the specified levels, and Commissioner Burke could retire early in 1965 with the feeling that an organized Department not only existed but commanded resources reasonably commensurate with its tasks. He was succeeded by George G. Sipprell, who had not only prolonged interest in the Department but experience as Director of the Budget under the new County Charter of 1961 to fit him to go on with the next set of problems in a field that remains the puzzle the reader encounters at the beginning of the century 1870-1970.

The overwhelming impact of public welfare programs should not obscure the fact that, true to tradition, private charitable efforts have continued in a manner that promises persistence for a long time to come. The United Fund and the Catholic Charities are the agents guaranteeing the activities of a considerable number of private units in the welfare scheme. Their function is predominantly procurement of funds although Catholic Charities, as a part of the administrative offices of the Roman Catholic Church, acts as a directing agent as well. In the case of both funds, demands upon them have continued to increase in spite of most relief clients—the sick, the widow, the orphan—having been swept into the carefully organized arrangements of the County Welfare Department. This does not mean that stagnation has ensued and that the habit of giving merely threatens to descend to aimless and permanent habit. Specialization appears to be the key to understanding newer developments in private and ecclesiastical charities.

Social work education is the concern of one group supported by the United Fund, the Community Music School represents another interest, and the inclusive United Health Foundation of Western New York, another broad field of interests. Such a list presents some notion of the variety of work undertaken, and these agencies are also among the relatively new ones. Catholic Charities has shifted its objectives less, its strictly charitable functions having by no means been made obsolete by public welfare services in maintaining homes for the aged and in striving to maintain strictly Christian ideals of marriage. It provides much more careful counseling, investigating of foster or adoptive parents, and furnishing of psychiatric and other aids, than of maintaining institutions like the orphan asylum.

It is usually conceded that the aged should be regarded as having earned their way to tranquil rest, but the harshest critic will be surprised, if he looks at other of the works of the United Fund and the Catholic Charities, to discover that most are directed in some degree toward establishment of healthy individuals. The adoption and fostering of children, marriage counseling, counseling and schooling of unwed mothers, and the neighborhood organizing of church community development departments must be recognized as having more than temporary objects in view. These comprise much of the work of Catholic Charities.

Traditional approaches such as these, but with modern and scientific methods fully employed, should not turn a stern critic away. In the list of 65 United Fund agencies and purposes, at least ten aim directly at rehabilitation, and one at least, the Vocational Rehabilitation Center of the Niagara Frontier, displays the name. Goodwill Industries has long been known for its steady following upon the intent in its use of workers who otherwise might find difficulty in procuring employment. The Hearing and Speech Center, organized in 1953, working at the physical problem to keep people operative, obviously continues the effort at rehabilitation that the St. Mary's School for the Deaf has worked at in Buffalo for over a century. The blind have their own modern agency, as have the alcoholic, the arthritic, the epileptic, the sclerotic, and those handicapped by cerebral palsy and learning disabilities. These tend toward the medical, and there are ten more agencies that are entirely medical, but the social and educational needs are not forgotten, and the concern for health in any sense puts on this list such interests as the National Assembly for Social Policy and Development, which devotes itself to evaluating both governmental and voluntary programs. If the critic remains dissatisfied, he is free to enter a program that aims at a rectification.

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XVIII. Universal Education Realized

Erie County was during this period to continue the devotion to education which so marked its early years. The improvements and modifications advocated by superintendents from Thomas Lathrop to Henry Emerson were also to be continued and even strengthened, not always, however, without a struggle.

In Chapter VIII the growth of the Buffalo public school system into a broadly oriented professional system was traced. The dominant figure in this development was Henry Emerson. Following the retirement of Emerson in 1918, the Board of Education selected Ernest C. Hartwell to continue the tradition of efficient management for the benefit of the individual pupil. During his three terms of six years each, he compiled a distinguished record and brought the Buffalo public schools to a unique state of confidence and satisfaction. For a time the city was to witness the example of an institution that regarded itself as second to none and behaved with the spirit this self-regard inspired. Down to the least of its pupils the system aroused loyalty and a feeling of pride.

It might have sprung from the accumulating confidence created by the steady developments of the Emerson administration, to which was now added the construction of many new elementary schools to match the new high school buildings just finished. These visible tokens of public esteem and confidence could only have raised the morale of those working in them, and having generous space had its own rewards, as did the beauties of the new structures which everyone expected the puritanic Emerson to protest, but seldom did. Certainly the better feeling within the system did not spring from willing and generous backing from the Commission Council, which still retained full financial control of the school system. From that source there were heard frequent doubts as to the wisdom of expanding the educational commitments of the city.

Before Hartwell had completed four years of his first six-year contract a clumsy effort was made to get him to leave because of Commissioner Graves' determined hostility to him. The Council allowed only $7,000 in the school budget to pay Hartwell, who had been promised $10,000, resulting in a suddenly explosive situation with the Board voting to hire an attorney to force proper payment. They were already suing to demand the issuance of bonds to the amount of $3.5 million for seven new buildings already voted. The Board's minutes relate that there was severe embarrassment because someone in authority had invited an educator from out of town to come to Buffalo as Superintendent, and he had come only to find Hartwell peacefully occupying the office in spite of broad hints that he depart. The Elementary School Principals' Council strongly supported Hartwell in a letter to the Board, approving his work on the curriculum, applauding his plan to help teachers toward further training, and declaring their admiration for his plans for twelve intermediate

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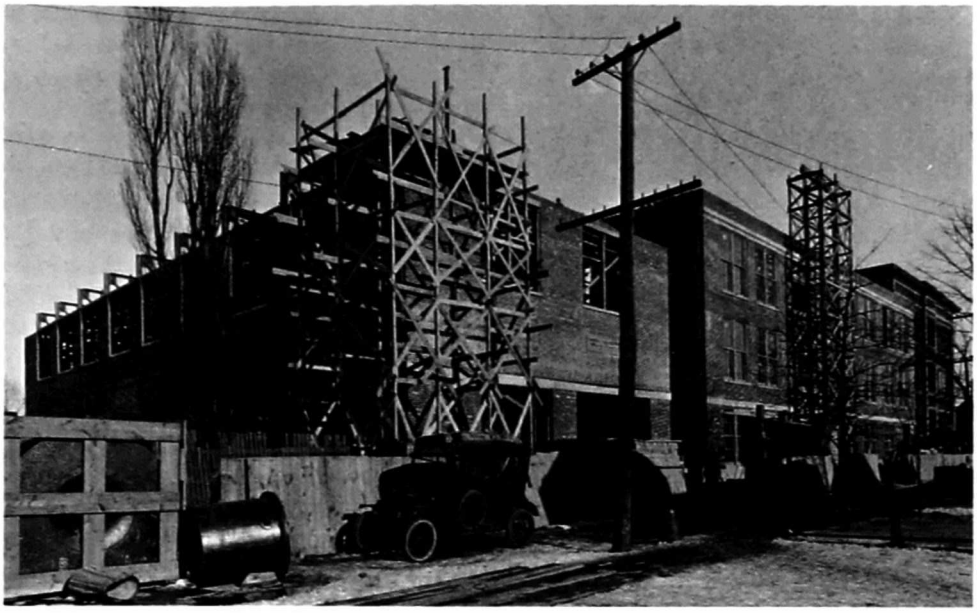

School 60 under construction

schools. These points were echoed by the Buffalo Federation of Educational Associations. The controversy led to a hot argument over salary funds for the manning of the new school buildings then being completed. The chief opponent within the city administration was apparently the Commissioner of Finance, and he was roundly accused of wild inaccuracies about costs and school functions. The Council irritably responded by placing on the fall ballot a referendum proposal to allow the School Board the power to determine school taxes and bond issues, the Board replying that the proposal was absurd unless the Board was to become elective. Frank Baird intervened as a citizen with an offer of $3,000 to make up the salary difference to Hartwell if the Council remained adamant.

Peace was somehow restored, the new schools opened, and Hartwell remained to be faced two years later by a crisis within the Board on his reappointment. He ultimately was given a contract for a second term with salary increases to $11,000 for three years and $12,000 for the final three. The vote was an ominous 3-2 with Mayor F. X. Schwab entering a letter of protest, seconded by another from the Civic Club.

This was only the backlash of the real storm, which was the protracted controversy over the school system culminating in a persecution of the School Board and the school officials by Councilman Ross Graves that seriously distorted the development of Buffalo's schools. One thing had led to another in the conflict and it ended in the rejection of the Board of Education's plans for an intermediate stage in the schooling process which had been almost universally established in other large cities as junior high schools. It has to be admitted that this was a serious matter and the situation that brought it about should be investigated, particularly when it was the votes of two Councilmen that caused the final mishap.

This regrettable part of the Commission Charter story (see also Chapter XV) begins with its setting up of the separate Board of Education. From the first the consequences of this action were unfortunate, and it is evident that a major source of the trouble lay in the resistance of Buffalo councilmen to any reduction of their traditional authority. For some months the Council waited for the new Board to organize. That it had been appointed by the Mayor and possessed the power to appoint the Superintendent, was about all that anyone knew. The Corporation Counsel said he doubted the wisdom of setting up another semi-independent body, and that was all that was officially said. The group of dissident and very vocal teachers organized as the Teachers Educational League made up for this restraint by attacking the very notion of an independent board, protested its erosion of the legal status of the teachers, and complained that the Board was allowed too much power. Adelbert Moot replied calmly, saying that it had been agreed that such a board is necessary and expressing his dismay that it had proved impossible to consider the matter sensibly because of the riotous behavior of these teachers. Mr. Moot, a lawyer frequently consulted on civic matters, was referring to the fact that it was the Municipal League's drive for civic advance that had led to creation of the Board as well as encouragement of the activities of the Public School League, a group of several hundred who supported a professional staff that was paid largely out of funds donated by Mrs. Ruth Rumsey Donovan and directed by Mrs. Bryant B. Glenny as President.

The Board of Education wisely delayed its own actions in arranging its powers and procedures, in which they were ably seconded by Superintendent Henry Emerson, who postponed his retirement to try to help in this new stage of things. Judge Daniel J. Kenefick, who had undertaken the chairmanship of the Board out of a similar civic loyalty, presented a chart of administration to the Council early in 1916. Appropriately detailed, its chief characteristic was its complete separation under the Board of educational and business functions. Nowhere did it exhibit the Board itself as the center and source of authority. His tact was wasted, for the Council promptly exploded in wrath. In July it took "emergency action" to amend the school ordinances to cut the Board's powers, transferring all business functions to the Commissioner of Public Affairs and the setting of teachers' salaries to the whole Council. Commissioner of Public Affairs Charles M. Heald conferred with the Board to accelerate school construction but was resisted, Kenefick

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finding it necessary to urge that powers first be clarified. By fall, the Board was determined to ask the Legislature to resolve the constitutional problems. Heald thought he could work it out but Councilman-Commissioner Malone stirred things up by declaring that Councilmen should enjoy more consideration from the Board, who were only appointive subordinates in the city government. Kenefick reiterated that the law would have to be amended to settle this question while disclaiming any intention to demand complete fiscal independence for the Board. By late fall the lines were drawn; the Council conceded no power to the Board, the Board was divided but in a majority insistent on acting freely in a prescribed area of authority, and the Public Education Association demanded extensive authority and perhaps complete independence for the Board. Kenefick submitted a bill intended to be moderate but nevertheless leaving little opportunity for the Council to interfere once it had voted appropriations. The Council had its own bill which gave the Board only advisory functions.

Controversy now descended to fury, the *Courier* joining in on the side of Council as passionately as the *News* was supporting the Board, and the depressing story began to cast a very long and deep shadow. The Council held hearings on the bills during which Judge Kenefick swiftly reduced Councilman-Commissioner Heald to frustrated confusion by showing that he understood very little about the proposed bills. The *Courier* replied for the Council by declaring that the Kenefick bill was an affront to the voters and their Council and crusaded mightily for removal of the present Board—which was done in April of 1917—the concurrent outbreak of a major war hardly diverting the rage of these defenders of civic pride. The *News* roared and Councilman Charles B. Hill, who voted against the removal of the Board, told Mayor Louis P. Fuhrmann that he didn't dare publish the real reasons for it. Henry Ware Sprague declared that it was the most disgraceful act of Buffalo history.

The State Department of Education and the Legislature set about the task of restoring order, finally passing a general statute on school boards which nevertheless was carefully adjusted to the Buffalo situation, including a provision prohibiting the removal of boards except with the approval of the Education Department. The *Courier* watched the development of the measure in a frenzy of apprehension and observed its ultimate passage with denunciations of the dictatorial Republican Party organization that insisted on it, calling the Governor "Kaiser Whitman" and adding that Republican Boss Fred Greiner was no better than he should be, either. The Buffalo members who voted for it were blacklisted as traitors to the principles of home rule. The editor claimed that he represented the voters of Buffalo more accurately than did the Republican Party, and mourned that his three-year battle against the Board had ended so dismally in the Legislature's "discreditable orgy."

The new law provided a basis for orderly administration, and after the figurative bloodletting everyone seemed ready to get to business. A new School Board was selected and when the law went into effect at the beginning of 1917, Mayor George S. Buck had the responsibility of choosing anew. He strongly indicated the kind of disinterested and thoughtful administration he was to give the city by simply reappointing the members selected by Fuhrmann and the other Councilmen during the heat of the battle just concluded. For three years there was every appearance that his tact would be rewarded. The Board proved its worth by finding a number of anomalies in the administrative arrangements of the schools, such as extensive perquisites of office enjoyed by one school principal, about which Emerson could only say in surprise that he had never heard of them. Emerson's teacher training arrangements depended too much on old favorites whose private organizations gave their graduates automatic access to teaching positions, and this was rectified. And the Board fought out the matter of a new superintendent, setting an adequate salary against strenuous Council opposition and reappointing Ernest Hartwell, who was to justify their confidence over and over again. When he approached educational problems in a sane and progressive manner with such mass projects as having pupils send out

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their own letters in great quantity to inform the world as to the advantages and accomplishments of Buffalo it would appear that he could not fail to please. Nor did his swift and capable planning for the desperately needed new buildings disappoint those who hoped for the best possible school system.

As with so many of the acute municipal problems of the postwar period, it was financial stringency created by inflation that caused the upheavals. Hartwell's carefully considered plan was offered in 1918, only a few months after he arrived, and was accepted in principle early in 1919. But then there was a sudden intermission. By the end of 1919 another problem had sprung up in the deterioration of existing buildings. Repair problems had been the cause of a furious quarrel between Superintendent Emerson and Colonel Francis G. Ward of Public Works even before the war, Emerson in an unwonted rage protesting the neglect of buildings and demanding control of repair work which he declared to be ineffective and outrageously expensive in Ward's hands—to which Ward made the expected retorts. In 1919 the Board suggested that maintenance and repair be placed in its hands since the law made it responsible, and it asked again, in a repetition already wearisome, for an adequate business manager as well as a building superintendent. The Board pointed out that they were often actually in the dark as to their budgetary condition. All this accomplished was to stir the controversy anew in a hearing wherein Malone told the President of the Board, E. D. Emerson, that the people were against the Board and that the law was likely to be repealed. The Councilmen's memories were as tenacious and unyielding as a Bourbon king's.

What had happened was that the $8 million building program would cost half again as much, the debt limit began to loom, Commissioner Arthur W. Kreinheder warned that necessary public works of at least $20 million were also to be financed, and Commissioner Frank

C. Perkins had arrived with his socialistic insistence that the city should do its own work to save contractors' profits. But his obsession proved harmless compared to another that burst on the Council from an unexpected source. This was another new Councilman, Ross Graves. He had resigned a state senatorship to sit on the Council and his extensive experience and great effectiveness in the Senate had aroused high hopes in the Municipal League, which gave him their only clear endorsement of the 1919 campaign. He took over the Department of Finance and in three weeks had assumed the posture of the watchdog of the treasury, complete with the most fanciful terms to be applied to anyone who proposed to interfere. The Board of Education, concerned with the prospects of delay to the buildings for the 12,000 pupils housed in substandard schools, proposed that it be granted fiscal self-sufficiency, and had a bill to this end prepared for the Legislature. This Graves attacked as bureaucracy and Prussianism. In three months he was characterizing independent boards as a political menace and directly attacking the Buffalo School Board as an extravagance. He also noted that some of its members sent their children to private schools.

Graves ranted against the Board of Education without intermission for years, the *News* finally summarizing his crusade by declaring shortly that it was a shame that a fine public servant had ruined himself by indulging an obsession to lengths that no one could countenance. In this the *Courier* would not concur, for it supported him every step of the way. The Board could do little except to appeal to the courts, where they won their point consistently until the Court of Appeals cast them down by ruling that the Council held the ultimate fiscal authority and could amend the Board's budget at will, the Legislature not intending to put the Council in a position to be coerced by another municipal body. This was early in 1921, when the troubles had raged for a year, and the Council celebrated by cutting positions from the education budget and reducing salaries until even Graves protested that he had, after all, come to an agreement with the Board as to what was to be allowed by the Council in any case. Graves' great political triumph was the issuance of a report after six months of investigation, on the schools which closed with the classic denunciation of the schools for their vicious attempt to remove child-rearing from the hands of the parents. But it was never sent to the Board.

One thing Graves had accomplished: delay of the building program gave time for the economy to return to normal. When prices had

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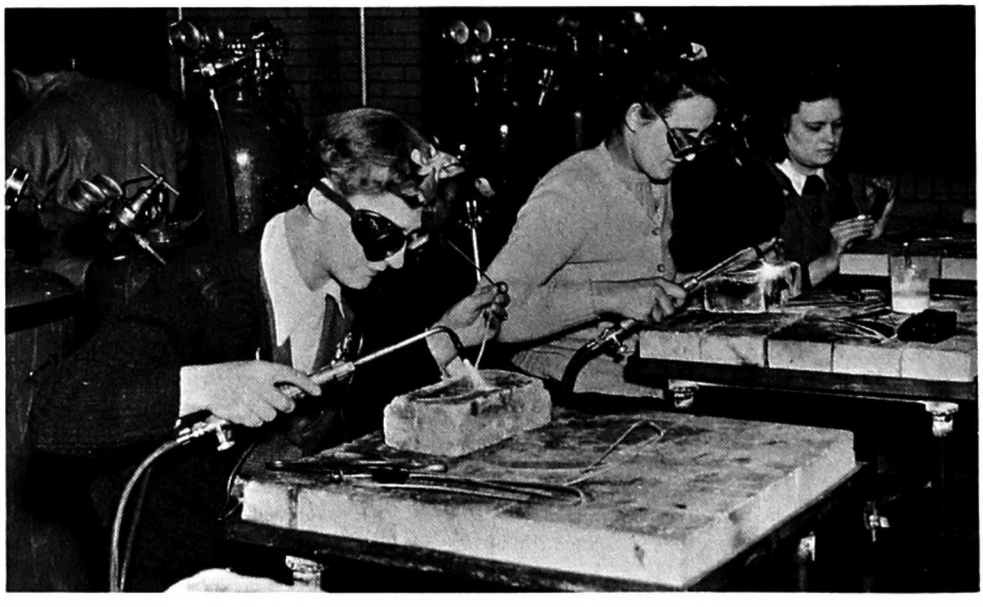
begun to fall in 1921, contractors swiftly revised their estimates downward and offered agreements to reduce prices as costs fell during construction. With the legal question of power out of the way actual construction loomed. At this point the question of the intermediate schools began to be canvassed with the Councilmen's usual perceptivity. Perkins discovered that the intermediate school was a capitalist plot (the entrenched powers were not alone in imagining plots) to force the children of Buffalo into shops and factories by giving them vocational training and denying them normal academic work. After another long and rasping campaign the question of letting contracts for building such schools came before the Council and was lost 3-2, four votes being necessary under the Charter to complete contracts. Graves and Perkins voted against junior high schools, thus denying them to the city over a period of nearly thirty years. This was late September of 1921, the Commission Charter had just been saved through Mayor Buck's resolute defense, and the *News* editorial writer groaned that it had been saved only to spoil school plans.

The School Board, having weathered these storms, now devoted almost all of its time to questions of construction of the many schools being erected during the 1920's. The rate of construction was such as to increase the bonded debt for schools by 226.4% and the cost of debt service by 305% while attendance was increasing 36.9%. Except for a single altercation on a construction contract furtively assumed by a Board member's spouse, there was no particular trouble, although it was soon to appear that many people thought the Board had higher responsibilities than specifying construction details.

This uneasy situation produced serious consequences for the schools before the end of the decade. A tentative reduction in appropriations by the City Council in 1927 aroused the School Board to vigorous protests which they expressed in

proposals to discontinue summer schools and domestic science instruction in elementary schools, and to leave East High School and the Peckham Vocational School unused. The Federation of Educational Associations protested the growing habit of budgetary threats, and the Council appeased them by promising to consider further appropriations. But the following year a comparable blow concentrated at the adult education program was meekly accepted and this distinguished program was all but abandoned. From Superintendent Crooker's $10,000 budget of 1891 adult instruction had grown steadily, with loyal support both from Emerson and Hartwell, until its appropriation reached $346,000 in 1927 for 23,000 participants. Its activities included physical education, realty salesmanship, investments, journalism, and civil service work. The State Department of Education boasted that this was the finest in the country, and a survey funded by the Carnegie Corporation seemed to confirm this flattering opinion. Over three per cent of the total school budget was assigned to this, and there was assistance for it through state aids after 1914.

The 1928 budget for adult education was abruptly curtailed to $166,000, a cut of 54%. The term was shortened, 27 subject areas were abandoned, 182 fewer classes were scheduled, and the enrollment fell to a half of its previous level. Retained were vocational and industrial subjects, but even these



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declined steadily until by 1940 the older program had disappeared. A hostile Board in the meantime rejected classes supported as relief programs during the Depression, even disapproving night school programs that cost nothing on the grounds that equipment would suffer extra wear. War brought about a revival, for the skills rusted by the Great Depression were suddenly essential to industries being revived for defense purposes. During the war the very different circumstances may be discerned from the expenditure of $4 million in four years for adult education, during which time 115,500 adults participated.This was reduced somewhat following the war but 1949 found this department administering a $215,000 budget for 15,000 registrants. A somewhat similar history could be recited about evening high school courses offered for young workers that had begun in 1890 and has continued to the present with its most notable item the shocking retrenchment of 1928.

The recent stages in the history of vocational education for youth afford a pleasing contrast to this destructive whimsicality. Federal aid furnished it something of a cushion, beginning in 1914, increasing sharply under the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 and its supplementary enhancements in 1929, 1934, and 1936, and further support appeared in the Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1920 and the Social Security Act of 1935. State action to assist in offerings to part-time workers in 1921 brought a great increase, and the inception of Industrial High School for Girls in 1927 added more, the latter enrolling over a thousand by 1939.

The chief problem of the vocational schools during this period was adjustment in the time of recruitment of the students. The original scheme had been to start them in the seventh grade at the age of 14 so that they were in effect two years retarded. This had to be changed and there was difficulty because employers had learned that the quality of the students tended to be low. The solution was to advance the vocational work into high school to avoid this stigma. With proper chartering schemes from the state these students not only received acceptable training but were not marked as inferior to the traditional academic graduate. After this adjustment there were only the problems of equipment and buildings, determination of occupational needs, and encouragement of studies to develop content for the courses. Research has been conducted in the land grant colleges for agriculture and engineering with the needs of the lower schools in mind, and the need for text and reference books was soon filled.

Either to estimate the place of a school system in a given society or to assess its success in discharging its functions is a matter of great difficulty. The habit of surveying school systems springs from these problems. Studies were conducted in 1930 by the local Municipal Research Bureau and the United States Office of Education and in 1950 by the State Education Department. The 1930 study was one of the consequences of the deep division among the officials responsible for the schools, whether as Board or Council members. In 1950 fierce and growing dissatisfaction demanded some kind of action, and this was also related to the blunders of decades previous, another survey being the obvious solution to a need for some sort of action.

The crisis of 1930 was an extension of the sudden budget squeeze of 1928. An economy-minded Mayor took office at the beginning of the year under the new "strong mayor" charter and was promptly invited to attend the meetings of the School Board. A deep cut in the Superintendent's budget was immediately voted, special teachers were eliminated, salary differentials were dropped, and Hartwell's new six-year contract at $15,000 per year was rescinded. The ensuing protests did not move the Board, which only suggested a survey. The Municipal Research Bureau undertook this with the aid of four consultants and the State Office of Education offered the same number, with its own staff to consider educational aspects of the system. The Bureau openly stated its aim to be to find ways to maintain unimpaired what it regarded as a fine school system.

The findings of the surveyors as to instruction were on the whole a great compliment to the city. The once querulous teaching force was

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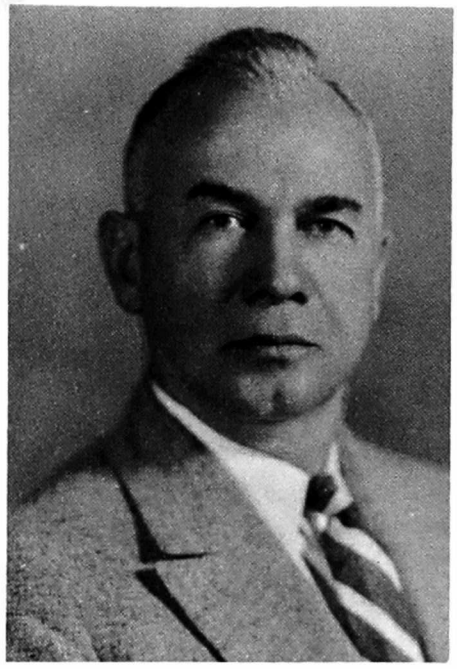
now showing "a splendid spirit of cooperation and friendliness" which presaged increasing attention to the needs of the children, these still, as in 1914, the one neglected aspect of the operation in the opinion of the experts. They thought also that the elementary school staffs were slow in adopting the concept of "core" subject matter about which could be developed freer study procedures, giving teachers and children alike scope for individual interest. Curricular committees laboring at this problem were approved but it was recommended that specialists assist them. Extensive classroom visits were no longer the style in surveys and on the basis of only 60 such occasions it was pointed out that teacher domination and pupil passivity were still the rule—to which the students were apparently reconciled. Testing, supervision, and many other items on which comment might be expected were passed over with no criticism, in itself a favorable conclusion, perhaps more significant than the idealistic assumptions about needed improvements in classroom conditions apparently not shared by Buffalo people.

Intermediate and secondary schools received equally satisfactory assessments, the customary signs as to utilization of space and student acceptance of instruction falling close to national averages. Young Buffalonians in proper numbers attended, studied, and continued to acceptable conclusions. The failure to establish junior high schools, one of the Hartwell proposals that had been blocked in the City Council, was severely condemned on the ground that Buffalo was the only large city without them, and the site of Riverside High School was criticized since its eccentric location outside of population centers resulted in its use to only 50% of capacity. Throughout the high schools the teacher load was very favorable, and it was remarked that the study hall system made utilization ratios look less favorable than they actually were. Lack of courses in certain areas of social studies was noted.

These largely favorable conclusions were echoed with respect to facilities for exceptional children, and exposition devoted to industrial education was a clear plea for its expansion, as was the discussion of the enrollment in commercial courses. It was the same as to teacher training and recruitment. There was no longer almost exclusive hiring of Buffalo educated candidates, and those who had attended higher courses here had the satisfaction of reading of almost complete approval of these institutions, without qualification in the case of the State Teachers College and with only the suggestion that more observation and practice teaching be added in the cases of the University of Buffalo, Canisius College, and D'Youville College. The plan of central schools operated by the school system to provide in-service training was approved with regret, since it had just been discontinued on the ground of its expense.

Severity in both the Office of Education findings and in those of the Municipal Research Bureau was reserved for administrative matters. The School Board was repeatedly attacked for its niggling with details better handled by professional employees, for it had not thought of reasonable labor-saving devices, nor provided personnel officers, nor considered dealing with the varying levels of competence in the teaching force, and had neglected proper publication of information relating to the schools. Ascending from the Board, Buffalo's system of financial control in the hands of the City Council was excoriated, since it had not even resulted in a full and adequate budget with competent accounting and cost analysis. The survey crew itself found difficulty arriving at clear notions of cost. In spite of endless talk within the Board about buildings during the spate of new construction, the report observed drily that responsibility for choosing their sites had been scattered (Hartwell's extraordinary competence in this being held lightly, according to custom), and now plant operation was accomplished without training of the 849 em-



Dr. Ernest C. Hartwell

ployees needed, or much planning, or any precise rules or specified duties. Costs were high, but it was conceded that the city had spent $20 million on schools between 1925 and 1930 with satisfactory results architecturally, structurally, and economically.

The recommendations were for the most part proposals to free the schools fiscally and to develop instruction along the lines suggested by the reports. In the face of the internal administrative and political strains that had been so apparent, the utility of any recommendation was questionable, and so it fell out. Nothing was done that in any way reflected the survey efforts. Open warfare in the school department was soon the rule. Superintendent Hartwell sued for the reinstatement of his contract and won his case, the Board contenting itself with superseding him in fact through the appointment of assistant superintendents, one of whom by native shrewdness soon easily assumed the responsibility and authority of the office. Understanding what was expected of him, and perhaps sympathizing with the Board's intent, he froze the schools into the posture of the least figure that could stand for public education in a large but temporarily depressed city. The thawing-

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out process was to reveal some extraordinary facts about Buffalo, but by no means unique ones.

It took the heat of a strike to accomplish the thaw. The Depression salary levels sat heavily on the teaching force and they were little appeased when at last in June of 1945, the war all but ended and the Depression already a dim memory, 1932 levels were again put in force by a general adjustment of $350. This raised the elementary teachers to $1775-2575 and high school teachers to $2175-2975. Within a year the demands for an adjustment to current price and salary rates had become insistent, strike action being hinted openly by September of 1946. The Western Zone of the State Teachers Association asked for $2400-3600 scales and the conservative Buffalo Federation of Educational Associations took active leadership, their 2200 men under the leadership of President R. J. Ast. They quickly found that they would have no public support from civic associations even to their supposedly natural allies, the labor unions. Governor Dewey had taken note of the situation of the teachers throughout the state and his special committee recommended a minimum of $2000, the State to provide payment of $300 per teacher to those who had had no recent increases—which ruled out the Buffalo teachers. By January of 1947 the officers of the Federation were preparing their strike, Ast and Joseph L. Manch suggesting to the School Board that they join with the teachers. They never quite did this openly, but the actual events of the "strike" make it perfectly evident to experienced laborites that this was by no means a strike in the usual meaning of the term, and the events may safely be ignored by all except those who wish to learn effective methods of public demonstration.

Conventional opposition to strikes by public servants was widely expressed, the State Teachers Association leading the way, but with a proviso that they were still standing by the teachers. Chancellor Capen of the University expressed his opposition but evidently without adequate reservations since the teachers became indignant and muttered about slavery, extending their querulous observation to the hostile officials of the American Federation of Labor as well. The Legislature was outraged at the suggestion of a strike and began to grind the Condon-Wadlin Act through their mill. No one there was willing to declare the possibility of adding to the appropriation recommended by Governor Dewey's special committee, the Governor with great dignity held fast to his high principles which rejected the principle of aid to municipalities, and the Mayor sat dumb, finally observing eighteen days after the strike notice had been issued that he could find no money. So the teachers were faced with the doom of a prison term under anti-strike legislation and the solemn assurance of high officials that nowhere in the State of New York was there the means of providing them reasonable salaries.

It is hard to take this posture of events seriously, and the denouement proved even more comic, the leaders of the teachers operating under potent charms not only to win their point but to make their opponents the butt of the joke. The schools were picketed on February 24, 1947, only 21 opening at all. The Superintendent, the Board's faithful servant of 1930 and after, he had officially succeeded Hartwell in 1936, kept a few schools open by shifting the few available teachers, but the truck drivers brusquely settled the question of the strike's effectiveness by refusing to cross picket lines to deliver coal, and all schools closed. As if on schedule the Mayor on the following Monday agreed to the schedule proposed by the Board of Education and the schools began to open, the Legislature closing this hilarious farce by enacting a sales tax for Erie County to finance this and other essential expenses. Nobody was imprisoned nor even found his recalcitrance in mounting a strike had won serious reprobation. The teachers were not striking in the sense that they were trying to coerce their employer, which was the Board, a body that acted like a covert ally. The only badly hurt feelings were possessed by some girl students who were so conscientious as to try to attend schools in certain areas where the boys had been instructed how to deal with the uncooperative. In this case the girls were deprived of shoes and stockings, which proved an effective deterrent in the normal February weather. Whether the exalted officials, whose dignified silence impelled the teachers' firm demonstration, felt that maintaining their dignity was worth establishing an undesirable precedent has not been discovered.

For the Buffalo schools, however, these events cannot be thought to be comic. Teachers could hardly relish the thought that the officials who had held back normal developments in education for two decades were susceptible of collapsing before a mere gesture, or were too weak to deal with the holders of public purse strings. Nor was the way out of the moral impasse at all clear, and the best solution to occur to the Board was a survey. This was conducted during the school year of 1950-51 and began just as a new superintendent, Benjamin Willis, arrived. These happy auspices encouraged the cloud of planners, coordinators, and specialists (over 100) to agree on a quietly encouraging tone for their report. Assessments were mild, criticism transmuted to gentle encouragements, findings were carefully wrapped in obscure files, and the harsh principles of education were reduced to pleasant exposition of good practices on which, it appeared, all right-thinking educators agreed. The list of recommendations was allowed to stand almost alone as a beacon light to the faithful, and indeed it began with the declaration that a revival of faith was needed. Again the teachers were exhorted to consider their pupils, that they should adjust education to their needs, and arrange classes to make them feel at home and wanted. The old issue of the junior high school was revived as a problem of organization to be quick-

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ly resolved. More adult education was recommended. Personnel policies, including salaries, were to be clarified, and compensation increased. That the world had moved and was asking some recognition emerges from the carefully formulated suggestions that the schools could gain in utility and become more firmly a part of the community by making each school an individual entity responsible for its constituency. The administrative system, it was thought, should do its share by reducing its tendency to control, concentrating instead on coordinating actions as curricular needs should dictate. And the new survey group thought financial control should be transferred to the Board of Education, with the injunction, by way of an inspiring close to its list, that Buffalo should acknowledge that it did possess the resources to build a great system of schools.

The comparatively short but stirring administration of Benjamin Willis (1950-53) gave way to another by Parmer Ewing, who found severe problems and a social drift not to his professional taste. He was succeeded in 1957 by Joseph L. Manch, a Buffalo native quite prepared by experience for all of the rough and tumble of an urban school system in the 1960's. The

Dr. Joseph B. Manch

considerable gains registered during the Willis and Ewing administrations, during which there were financial loosenings and beginnings of necessary physical reconstructions as well as an assertion of professional confidence, now gave way to a startling hubbub of change about which there arose both threatening controversy and idealizing faith. This development was set off by money supplies in unprecedented quantities from State and Federal governments, and the consequent enlargements of teaching programs were complicated by disagreements as to what measures should be directed toward attempts to deal with racial problems. Nor should it be overlooked that the last evidence of the Great Depression was obliterated by the restoration of department heads in 1969, these positions having been abolished in 1931.

The least that can be said at this time, with the phenomenon so recent, is that the people in the Buffalo school system who have been the most thoroughly informed as to its history believe that there has been more innovation during the past five years than for fifty years previously. There has been the sharp stimulation to teachers of being allowed to attempt what they have long believed they were capable of doing. In this all of the special problems have helped because they have been the signals for the grants of money that make the new programs possible. To an operating budget of about $50 million special aids in the amount of $9 million are understandably both helpful and stimulating. Such very commonplace and perennial problems as the equipment of vocational schools, a depressing drag on morale for twenty years as wartime purchases wore out, now were suddenly relieved; the schools could even make the transfer to 60-cycle electrical current. A half-million per year for this work could make many people feel that their activities were vital through furnishing proper tools to them. Immediately much needed basic teaching programs for adults were set up, followed by many programs to compensate for the shortcomings of life for the young in depressed areas. The swiftness of the system's response proved to be startling to many observers. Regional education offices in search of innovation and increased opportunities were astonished to find that it was the city and not the affluent, capable suburban systems that made things happen.

The effect of admitting innovation to the school system was greater than most people would expect. For many years there had been sys-

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tematic opposition to change and experiment quite as a matter of principle. There may be sound reasons to maintain that education is basically a conservative function in that it preserves the essentials of our culture and that it would be catastrophic should it fail to perform so, while experiment and novelty might be left to other agencies without fear that beneficial change would cease. But American society has taken the new for the desirable for so long that it might also be argued that to condemn a single institution such as the school to a glorification of the old and tried, with never an attempt at improvement, would perhaps be equally dangerous. There is no doubt that the sudden current of innovation in the sixties was a great stimulant, bringing the observation from some leaders that experiments seldom fail in American education because new methods, even though ultimately abandoned or modified, serve to stimulate teachers in a most desirable way, which the local private-school followers of the progressive philosophy could plausibly aver had been their experience.

The list of innovations possible through special grants from State and Federal authorities have, at least, a practical and lucid flavor. Among cooperative efforts to improve teaching practices were a University scheduling of instruction to apprentice teachers in the schools themselves, a program to develop internship as a means of preparing teachers, Federal teacher corps team teaching, a State University College program to use experienced and inexperienced teachers together in teams, observation and internship by Fredonia State College students in the early grades, in-service preparation of teachers in several special programs, and a demonstration center for display and instruction in the great variety of new media available for the transmission of learning. A trial of a program of primary education without the formalities of advancing through grades yielded results favorable enough to bring about an extension of the method, and in the teaching of English 34 teachers and a like number of students from the University were trying to improve methods of teaching English Composition. A number of teachers from Erie and Niagara Counties have together developed new materials for teaching concepts of human relations, and a demonstration center has been opened for teachers of the mentally retarded.

The list of innovations in materials and courses may begin with the work of teacher and pupil committees in writing new curriculum guides, expansion of kindergarten instruction to full days, new methods for reading instruction in inner-city schools, a community education center in the inner city where school dropouts have abounded, and state-sponsored programs to make the schools serve to ameliorate conditions in neighborhoods where rapid alteration of social make-up was causing strain, as it invariably does. To aid children growing up in depressed areas a huge program to encourage reading and develop reading skills has been initiated, with enrichment programs for mathematics, art, music, and other subjects as well. "Early push" or "headstart" programs for the very young, to compensate for absence of stimulation in the home, were widespread, teacher aides were provided in many classes, extra materials and audio-visual equipment were provided for many inner-city and parochial schools. Evening school opportunities, vocational, and summer schools have been considerably extended.

The summaries of earlier projects aimed at the areas where conditions were discouraging to the young pupil certainly dispel any notion that there were no people in real need. The academically gifted were selected for remedial programs of instruction and encouragement by counseling. Concerts were offered in many schools by symphony orchestras, plays were presented, libraries were greatly enlarged, many physically handicapped children were given special help, and television was enlisted to extend the educational experience. The achievements of some of these programs were measured in the manner habitually employed in the schools and it was found that under the stimulus of such special aids children retarded in reading and mathematical skills could develop at a normal pace. As a part of these

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efforts many calls were made in homes and many pupils referred to agencies that could offer further assistance. Such efforts were noticed in the schools.

These efforts were in part addressed to the overwhelming problem of race relationships as the crisis in those matters came to a head, although they were equally needed in situations wherein were found rapid shifts of ethnic groups. So far as they had been thought of and could be supplied such services had been provided to immigrant groups that had been at a disadvantage by being ignorant of English and usually suffering from lack of accumulated savings and shortage of employment opportunities. Language helps and evening schools were a very old story in Buffalo. Conscientious continuation of such policies in the new situation involving black citizens in great numbers has frequently been concealed behind the heavy smoke screens of racial controversy and conflict, although Buffalo suffered much less than some cities from open conflict. Nevertheless passions have been aroused to the point that rational consideration of the school's function in social amelioration has been difficult in the extreme. All that professionals can do to measure the results of the active policy that has been adopted has been done, and with somewhat reassuring results.

The solution hit upon by the Board of Education amid the bitterness was to commit the schools to full integration of the races at all times. To evade the consequences of the Blacks' having gathered in segregated groups in certain sectors of the city—which social groups have been doing since Buffalo has been a city—the Board, in conjunction with the New York State Department of Education, scattered black pupils through the city's schools so that they would be in contact with the white pupils and in competition with them. These pupils were from the fifth to seventh grades from six inner city schools and they were taken to 22 other schools. The consequences were immediately generally canvassed with varying conclusions and often in considerable emotional heat. The study of the results was conducted by the Division of Curriculum Evaluation and Development under Dr. Frank J. Dressler. The matter of greatest anxiety was the possible loss of efficiency in the integrated

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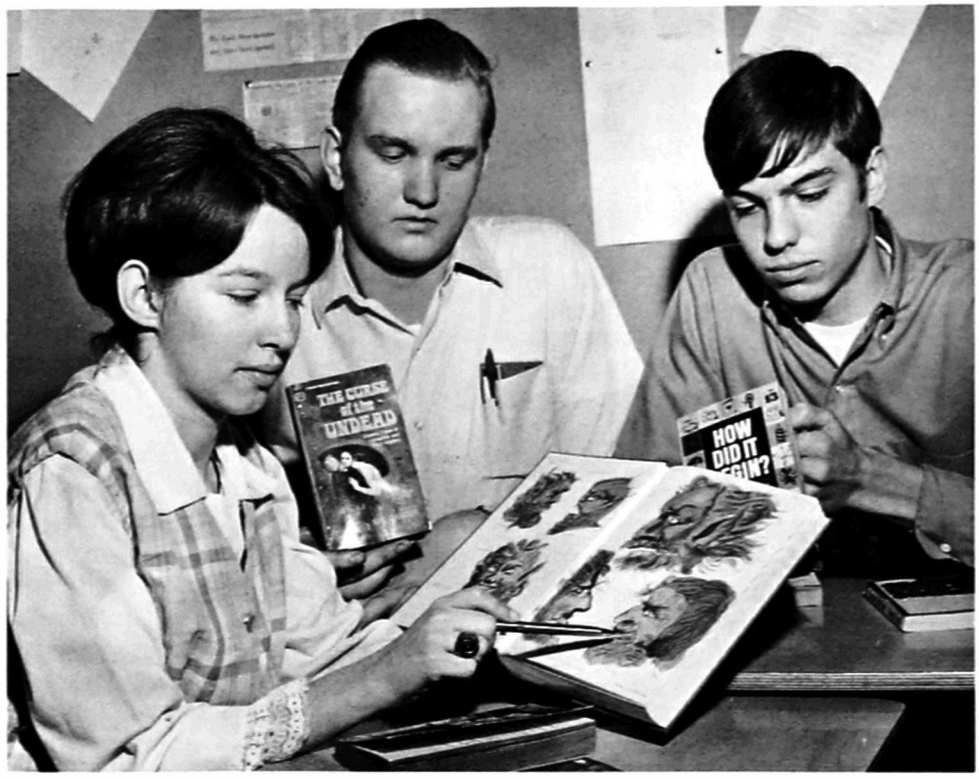
classes to the loss of the white students. There appeared to be no such loss, while the black children were benefited, particularly when the classes had less than 30% of black pupils. Principals and teachers thought that there were positive advantages in gathering the two groups together although there were, of course, dissents to this view, as there were to the prevailing favorable opinions of pupils and parents, although black parents were close to unanimous approval. A single year is little enough for judgment on a matter of such moment, but the conclusion seems to be a harbinger of a climate in this matter of the same beneficence that has reigned in Buffalo in the century and nearly a half since the public schools came into being.

Public education in Buffalo might then truthfully be said to have reached maturity during these 52 years. The period of expansion of the 1920's which was prematurely cut short by the Depression was more than matched by the explosive growth and innovations of the 1960's. Although knotty problems of finance and administration remained throughout the period, the changes which occurred in curriculum and teacher preparation in conjunction with greatly expanded special programs continue to be of benefit to both teachers and pupils. The result is a system of excellent quality.

The development of consolidated central schools to replace and supplement the old common schools (see Chapter VIII) has accelerated in recent decades. Almost the entire County was included in 21 districts under four supervisory districts by 1958, and the few remaining non-centralized schools at that date were listed in the Master Plan for School District Reorganization as appendages to those already so functioning. These few might still be unwilling, but the correct slot was provided as though their assent were only a matter of time, as indeed it was.

The process of creating mastodonic central schools in Erie County truly began in 1931 with Holland District 1, since Amherst Central High School was only a secondary school district, one of a handful in the state. In Holland there was no battle, the vote standing 247-28 for consolidation. But in 1938 the meeting called to consider the matter in Eden ended favorably by the slender margin of 51 votes out of 1,495 cast, thus reflecting the hot debate that existed throughout New York State on this subject. The *Rural New Yorker* in particular urged the desirability of retaining an institution that was one of the few utterly and directly democratic points in a society increasingly dominated by huge bureaucracies. This sentiment was echoed in Erie County but without much success, for in only five of the districts were the margins of votes in favor of consolidation less than two to one. In many they were overwhelming, so it can hardly be said that the creation of big schools was not considered or was not approved by majorities of concerned citizens.



Cheektowaga Central High School

The pace of consolidation, leisurely during the doldrums of the Great Depression and the pressures of World War II, increased after 1945. The four existing consolidated districts were, in the succeeding decade, joined by seventeen more as well as by a few others entirely within village and city limits. The State's Master Plan of 1958 reveals much concerning the pattern of the new system. Localities in the old style ceased to matter in school affairs. Thus, the districts crossed not only town but county lines to include former common school districts in the Counties of Niagara, Genesee, Wyoming, and Cattaraugus. This indication that policy was being determined elsewhere than within Erie County makes abundantly clear that it was the State's financial might that controlled. Subsidies to complying school districts had been raised to a point which local school districts could hardly resist, their Boards having been promised immensely enhanced facilities at lowered costs —a persuasive promise indeed.

Those who advocated the centralizing doctrine had no doubt that better schools were an absolute essential, and they were to be created only by more elaborate facilities and larger teaching staffs. Ultimately it was thought that every dis-

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trict should provide secondary education as well, although it was noted that vocational training could economically be provided only in districts with a minimum pupil enrollment of 1,400.

To declare that the basic concepts of the centralizers were entirely taken up by notions of a mechanical efficiency would certainly be unfair to the many who could see the undoubted advantage that would accrue from proper financial support to schools in increased opportunities for teachers to prepare and develop themselves properly. But it is the implacability of the statistical processing of a school district that is forced on the observer's attention. Consolidation proposals became acceptable exercises to graduate students in Departments of Education, and a Master's thesis of 1947 in the University of Buffalo is a model of such impersonality. The enthusiastic candidate set off to show that the common schools had failed (a large, if bland, assumption) for administrative and financial reasons. This proposition was supported by citations from professional literature that proceeded to the further assumption that large and wealthy schools inevitably would abolish all previous limitations. From there the candidate presented thorough sociological analyses of the inhabitants of the proposed district based upon census and other statistical data. No personal observations or other human contacts were risked, or at least were not cited. Thereafter, details of budgets, salaries, and curriculum were developed, and the proposal ends with a public relations plan to guarantee acceptance and to prevent the people of the district acquiring any idea that they did not wholeheartedly approve. This sounds more than faintly Machiavellian, but any such distorted attitude at least did not prevent the issuing of this candidate's degree. The general confidence in bigness is clearly reflected also in the State's Master Plan, so it is likely enough that this too revealing Erie County academic exercise was an authentic reflection of the thinking of school people generally.

Buffalo Female Academy

The resolution to make schools large enough to be efficient is further reflected in the considerable additions to the earlier districts, which had been found too small. It was in the spirit of scientific rationalism that the centralization was carried out. There has hardly been time to estimate the consequences. Huge central schools of many buildings, elaborate athletic fields, and mammoth garages with their fleets of yellow buses have sprung up but, in so short a time, there is little to be done but to marvel at the great expansion of the school opportunities throughout the County that has been achieved.

A constant in the educational situation during the entire century covered by this chronicle was the persistent and successful private school. Only one of them spanned the period, The Buffalo Seminary, which began as the Buffalo Female Academy in 1851 and carried on to the present with remarkably few crises. Its nearest rival in longevity is The Nichols School which opened in 1892 as a successor to the private tutorial enterprise of Horace Briggs. One of the informal successors to Briggs, Frederic Almy, shaken by the demands of his friends upon his rather unwilling pedagogic proclivity, persisted in his attempts to organize a school until William Nichols was engaged on the recommendation of President Eliot of Harvard.

The early history of the Seminary, as it may as well immediately be called, will show much the same circumstances: the need to prepare the children of the elite for college, the entire indifference of the public to any such need, the filling in with services of willing and leisured learned friends (who cannot have been thick on the ground), the bitter alternative of sending adolescent boys and girls away to preparatory schools, and the ultimate plunge by parents into the complexities of setting up schools on their own. There was satisfaction to such adventurous parents in their ability to control the quality of the schooling given the children, as it still is to the teachers who toil in such schools today under conditions of considerable freedom or at least with the knowledge that decisions can quickly be procured in cases of uncertainty.

It is of course impossible to say what has been the wider consequences of the operation of these and other private schools. They have been free, ostensibly, to experiment, but for the most part each has assumed a character and remained tranquilly within it, so what they may have demonstrated has not been kaleidoscopic in variety but rather, for the observant, an opportunity to see in operation something perhaps quite out of the ordinary. The constant exchange of students between the private and public schools also

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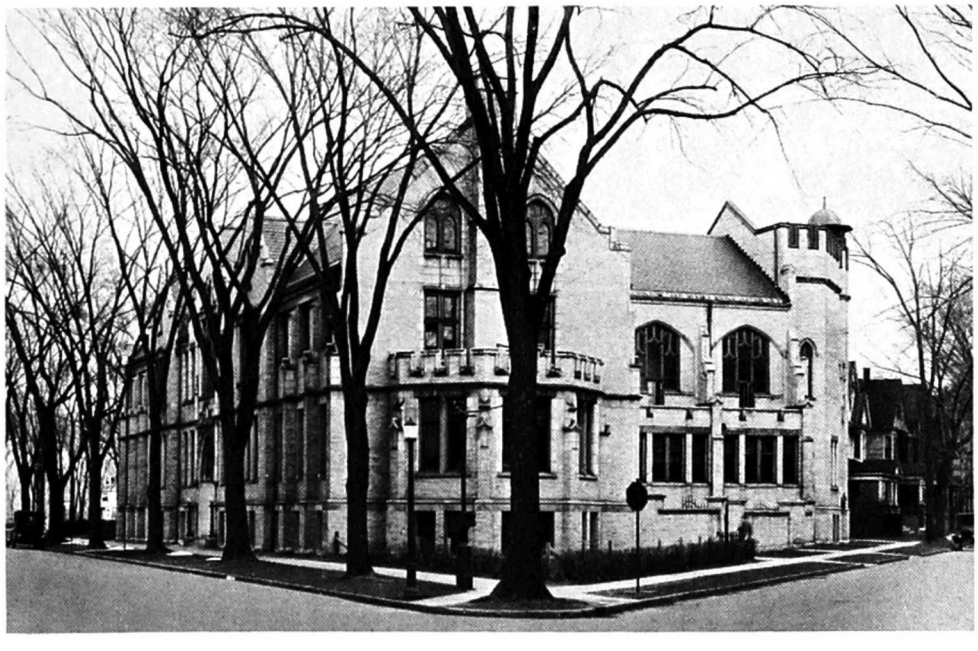
afforded some chance of observing the effect of different methods and attitudes. Little has been said as to consequences, but the ever-present possibility of comparison has doubtless had its effect.

In 1870 The Seminary, still called Female Academy, was a complete school from elementary grades through college, and it accepted boarding pupils as well as the day pupils from the city that were its chief charge. The principal, Rev. A. T. Chester, who gave up the pastorate of the North Presbyterian Church to serve, received some boarders in his home and others were cared for in neighboring houses. His devotion was such that he remained for thirty years. There was every need for devotion and diligence since so large a span of work was attempted, and it may be doubted whether in this case, as in others, the grasp was equal to the reach, which was most ambitious for a small faculty. The original catalog's lists of subjects and texts included on the secondary and collegiate level many standard scholarly works of the period, which even for the students to have read would constitute something of a triumph. The intellectual tone of the school has not varied from this serious start.

The chief changes that are visible in the Seminary are increasing sobriety of range in the curriculum and a general simplification of purpose. After fifty years the boarding arrangements were ended, adequate academies and high schools having become somewhat widespread. With the close of Chester's principalship in 1887 the collegiate work was ended even though Buffalo still had in Canisius only a single complete college, and ten years later the elementary grades were transferred to the Elmwood School, which for two years was united with the Seminary. The change of name had come in 1889. Even the housing of the school was devoid of pioneer hardship or other exiguous circumstance unless the occupation of the third floor of the Twentieth Century Club building (1900-06) could be so considered. The original building in Johnson Park was lighted with gas and furnished with running water upon its opening in 1852, and in 1909 the present building on Bidwell Parkway was occupied, to be expanded in 1930. There was admittedly inadequate housing in a defunct school of 1906-09, but this was promptly remedied as noted.

From the intellectually ambitious beginnings to the present, respect for academic achievement has been evident in all of the Seminary's activities. The contemporary statements of purposes echo the currently fashionable sense of responsibility for the whole person but nevertheless affirm the primacy of intellectual development. Carefully developed extra-curricular programs in the arts and athletics are not intended to supplant any part of the academic program, but to aid in individual development and the creation of satisfaction in all relationships to the school. Commitment of the school to a very up-to-date program of social work related to the Buffalo "inner city" in its current crisis emphasizes the intent to encourage mental development as well as to teach in a most sophisticated way the value of such attainments, for the students use them to tutor students from public schools who need such help and are willing to join a Saturday morning tutorial program to receive it. This was the project chosen by a recent principal, Dr. Richard W. Davis, and it would no doubt receive the approbation of his predecessors, the most famous of whom was Gertrude Angell, who held the principalship for over fifty years. Her statement, in the 1903 Year Book, transmits some of the same firmness of purpose: "In the work of the Seminary the desire is to impress the value of regularity in study and to increase the command of power."

Buffalo Seminary



The Nichols School, whose inception was contemporaneous with Henry Emerson's winning the superintendency in 1892, was like the Seminary in its concentration on college preparation, and when it added a business course in 1919 its purpose was to prepare boys for entrance to such institutions as the Wharton School. Otherwise one took the Latin, the Latin-Scientific, or the Scientific courses, the difference among them being little more than studying both Latin and Greek, only Latin, or a little less Latin. As colleges have moved more toward modern languages and other studies, the changes have been reflected in the Nichols curriculum but innovation in either curriculum or method has interested masters less than the willingness of their

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boys to apply themselves steadily and vigorously to their assigned work, no matter what it might be.

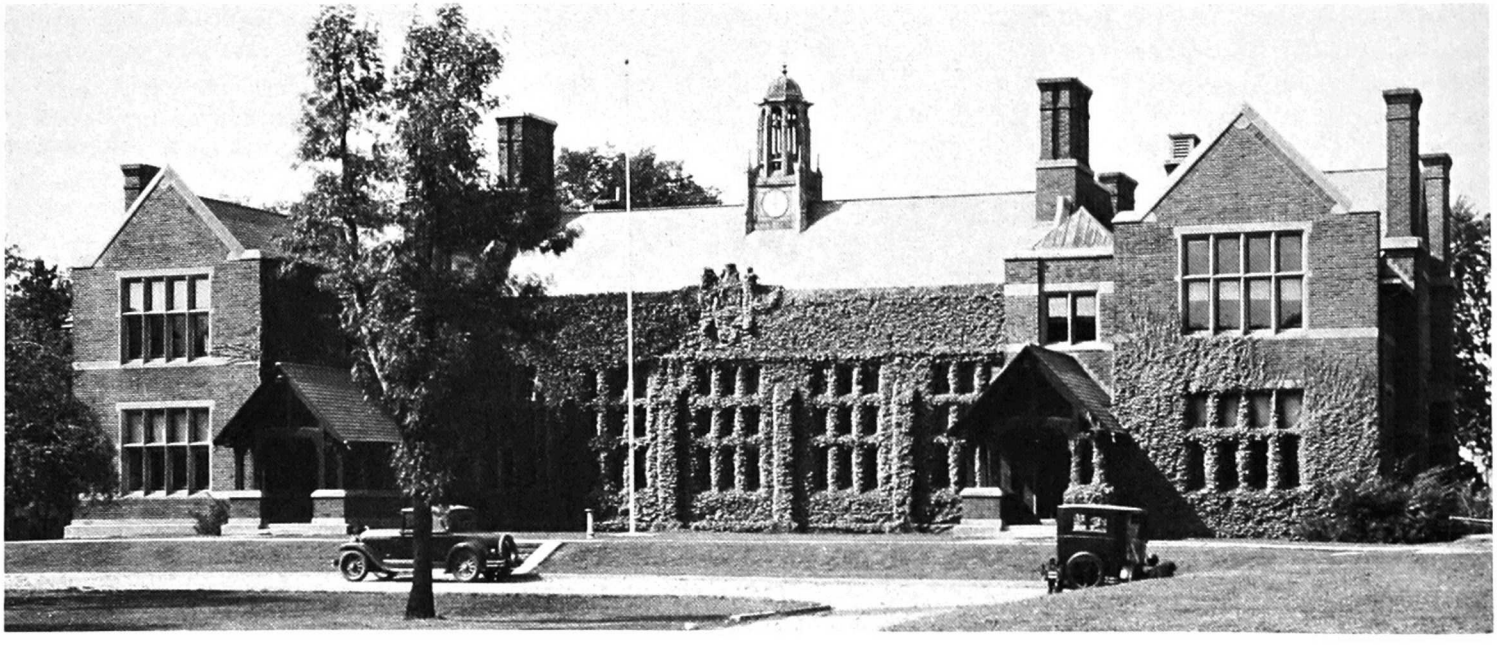
This was undoubtedly the case while Nichols was the headmaster. He opened the school with two assistants and 45 pupils, expanding somewhat but mostly in the direction of adding lower grades, for he found it desirable to start his pupils off from the beginning. This was done promptly, and a building erected on Norwood Avenue (then Howard) within a few months of opening in the Sunday School rooms of Westminster Presbyterian Church. In seventeen years 60 graduated.

How much the enterprise depended on the tradition of the family tutor was discovered when Nichols died after fifteen years of service. The school continued but without a headmaster, and it took the determination of J. J. Albright, joined by Dr. A. V. V. Raymond of the First Presbyterian Church, to set the school firmly back on the rails again. They decided that it should become a country day school, following the original Baltimore model of that sort of institution which dated from 1896. The boys were to be present from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m., supervised study and athletics to follow the conclusion of classes. The present site on Amherst Street was purchased and construction was begun in August 1909. A gymnasium was to be shared with the nearby Franklin School, the two schools then enjoying the same management.

The new headmaster was J. D. Allen, and he set up the traditional courses and organized the classes by forms. A steady and quiet development followed, with some sharper changes appearing when W. D. Head became headmaster in 1917. During his time, and with the encouragement of economic prosperity during and after the war, a new hockey rink was constructed, a campaign to enlarge the library began, a student paper appeared, a considerable building, Mitchell Hall, was constructed, and the Dalton Laboratory Plan of instruction was put into use. The new plan was intended to free pupils to work as they liked, concentrating as they wished and themselves recording their progress. Classes and bells were eliminated. Head was of the opinion that private schools should use their freedom for experimentation of the sort, but the result seems to have been unfavorable. This was 1923, and in 1925 Head himself and six of his masters left. There was nothing ungentlemanly in this move, but one of the departing masters wrote cogent words for the student paper by way of farewell, the burden of his remarks being that students should not be misled by innovators who promised easy accomplishment under a favorite plan of work, but should remember that the hardest task was most often the most beneficial. He argued that nature demands and exacts a toll for everything and to make education easy was to attempt to defeat nature's laws. It may be assumed from this that there had been bitter words over shattering disagreements.

From that time there has been little to record except steady application in the classic tasks of schooling, and the development of a tradition both of hard work and hard play. Athletics have become an important part of the school's activities, competitive sports being required of all pupils. Provision of such facilities has nevertheless not overshadowed academic fittings, the McNutt Library with its 8,000 volumes and elegant equipment deserving mention. While the student paper fully and enthusiastically reports the doings of its athletic teams there are also the regular lists of those who have achieved honors in the classroom. Behind all is the rating of students according to their standing among their classmates, guaranteeing that the intent of the school to be both masculine and stern will be ob-

Nichols School



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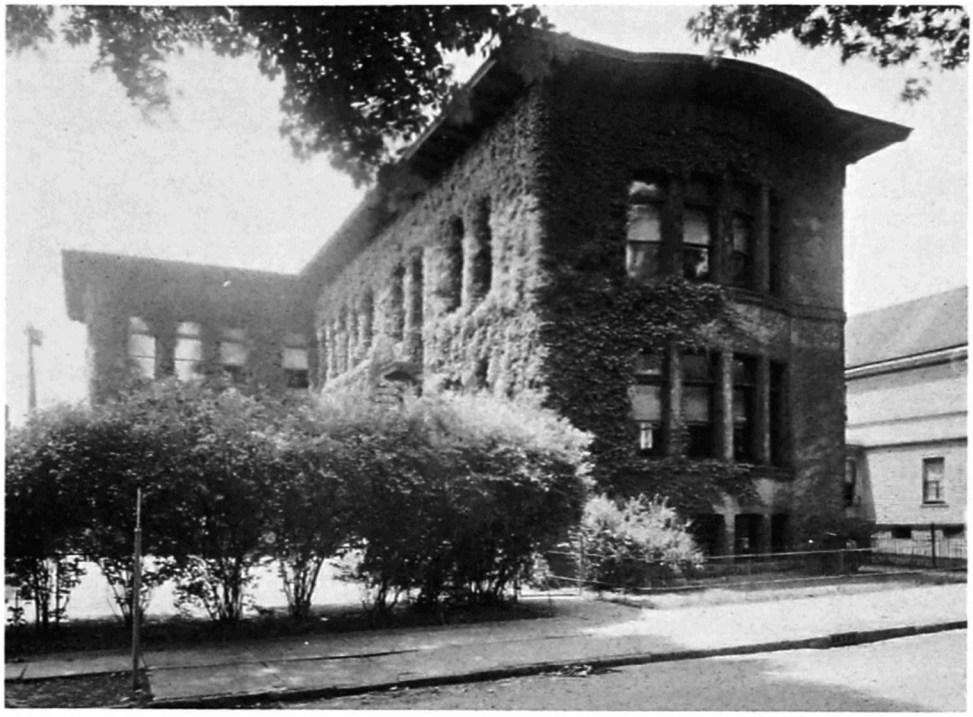

Elmwood-Franklin School

served no matter how little the fare may suit any given enrollee. The tradition is further reinforced by the high standards of scholarship among the masters, who have also encouraged specialization such as the student participation in foreign policy bodies. Judging the standing of Nichols' graduates is more feasible than in the case of most schools since they come in large proportion from established Buffalo families, and return in considerable majority to careers within the city.

Associated with the Seminary and Nichols has been what is now Elmwood-Franklin School, located near the Nichols campus. The Elmwood part of this has been mentioned in connection with the Seminary, and the Franklin part with Nichols. The Elmwood School began as a kindergarten in a residence at 235 West Utica Street with Emma Gibbons as principal. She was a graduate of the normal department of the Ethical Culture School of New York City and she was joined by Jessica Beers in what was a new departure for the year 1889. After two years both thought it best to return to their own studies, but Miss Beers was persuaded to continue at the school which moved to 185 Bryant Street. As the pupils matured and new grades were added the success grew. A building was constructed and, in 1892, Miss Gibbons returned full of plans for Swedish gymnastics and manual training called Sloyd for its Swedish inventor. A committee of men undertook to manage the finances and in 1895 the school was incorporated. A second building allowed the opening of a high school, but the boys were shortly dropped—Nichols was providing for them—and the girls were added to the Seminary rolls.

The Franklin School had a similar origin in the kindergarten movement of the late 1880's and early 1890's, which finally resulted in establishing kindergartens in the public school system. For a time in its early day in Buffalo the duty of every respectable neighborhood seems to have been the maintenance of a kindergarten, this adventure seeming to have imbued some of the responsible committees with a taste for managing educational ventures, the new invention exciting as much enthusiasm in this field as in technology itself. The "Franklin" in the new school's title referred to the Bryant Glenny residence at 432 Franklin Street, where in 1891 six youngsters joined a kindergarten located in one of the Glenny bedrooms. The following year there were eighteen and the Glenny family, concluding that something must be done about the monopolization of its living room by their kindergartners, moved to 499 Delaware Avenue in 1893 where a coach house was remodeled for the school. So fast did this enterprise grow that a new building was constructed at 146 Park Street the following year to be followed by a gymnasium in 1898, for it was now a complete elementary school and a part of an interesting new institution associated with the University of Buffalo. This was the School of Pedagogy, for which Franklin was to be the demonstration school as suggested to the Board by its distinguished adviser, Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University, who also nominated Professor Frank M. McMurry to head both.

The prospectus of the Franklin School for 1896-97 was most interesting, with a clear-sighted statement as to the intent of its program. It declared good character to be the ultimate aim of any school, "the chief elements in character are considered to be right motive and a tendency to think." The tentative suggestion that the school would encourage thinking is unique in our annals, even the bold progressives, now just maturing their views, concealing such radicalism under the rubric of "problem solving." But it was not to be that such perilous enterprises were to take place in Buffalo, for the support of the School of Pedagogy failed, the Franklin School found itself, possibly partly in consequence, very much over-extended economically, and in 1900 J. J. Albright took over the school and its debts and put it under the care of William Nichols to be administered in conjunction with the Nichols School. It remained actually a part of Nichols until 1925, when responsibility was passed to Miss Bertha Keyes, who had been on the staff since 1899. She remained until 1938 as headmistress. By then its character was well settled as a school that proposed to operate with maxi-

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mum opportunity for its pupils to proceed according to their capacity and with an eye for informal types of education such as trips to local institutions, games, and manual training, these supervised activities occupying the afternoons. It is a picture of teaching adjusted to an ideal of thoughtful help but not reflecting the special character of the advanced theorists.

The final stage in creating Elmwood-Franklin was the merger of 1941, from which point capable direction and continued determined support has produced buildings and equipment commensurate with its elevated aims. Miss Holbrook of the Elmwood School presided over the merged organization to be succeeded by Janet Crawford (Potter) who had first come on the scene as headmistress of Franklin in 1938, Mrs. William A. Thorington, and the present head, Russell A. Anderson.

The Park School of Buffalo was a more recent foundation and it brought some very modern ideas of education into use in the city. It was deliberately and thoroughly progressive, following the thought of John Dewey in the direction of free learning under encouraging conditions, the child being assumed to have the necessary motive within his own curious nature. It began with a group of Buffalo citizens visiting such a school being conducted in Teachers College, Columbia University, in 1911. The teacher was Mary Lewis and her classroom was under tents on a rooftop. She was persuaded to undertake a whole school like this in Buffalo, beginning in 1912, outdoors around a house on Bird Avenue. The following year the School moved to the Jewett estate at Jewett Parkway and Main Street, where bungalows open to the weather on two sides were set up to serve the children for work space, winter being faced with the addition of coats and mittens. The enthusiastic parents were content to follow the advice of Professor Frank M. McMurry of the Columbia Teachers College (and formerly associated with Franklin School and the School of Pedagogy) to allow Miss Lewis to work freely.

This simple formula proved to be most complex in practice, since she insisted that the children (they were not often referred to as "pupils") were to have much free time and to suffer no interference with their play. They were shown how to create study problems from real life activities, and they enjoyed neither rewards nor punishments. The consequence was a remarkable involvement of the children in the development of the school itself, even the job of waiting at table during lunch turning into a position of privilege and prestige. It may be significant that Miss Lewis' success was plain, particularly to visitors, so long as the building phase went on toward the goal of a complete elementary and secondary school. That reached, there was an immediate crisis, the resolution of which included her departure to the Park School of Cleveland where she continued her work.

While the children were happily cavorting through their play-work their parents alternately rejoiced in their obvious capacity for attacking and solving problems and shivered with anxiety at the thought that they might not be found fit to compete with the graduates of schools that subjected them to stern discipline. Miss Lewis was to observe at a later time that the fame of the school was abroad, not within the city. She tranquilly sent her pupils out, confident of their ability to find their way into college or otherwise to prove themselves, and claimed that they unquestionably did so. But no doubt the failures were blamed to her methods. Schools employing heavy pressures were relieved of this hazard since their own failures tended to withdraw in favor of less demanding schools. Miss Lewis decided to extend the work of Park School to include college preparation when she found that more and more of the boys objected to the expected transfer to the rigors of Nichols School. This delighted her because she believed that education was far better when both sexes were involved.

From such an adventure the present school has developed, opening its upper form at its Harlem Road site in 1920, and moving the lower schools there in 1921. Miss Lewis was succeeded by Leslie Leland in 1925, who was followed by Dr. Morris R. Mitchell in 1927 and Dr. Karl H. Bigelow in 1933. The long headmasterships of Adolphus Cheek (1936-1951) was followed by the even longer one of E. Barton Chapin (1951-1971). The intense interest, which survived anxiety and disruption, of many highly capable citizens, John Lord O'Brian perhaps leading the list, has continued, and the school flourishes. In philosophy and method there have naturally been modifications of the extreme acceptance of nature and the utter freedom for pupils which Miss Lewis employed. Nevertheless there remain differences from the traditionally motivated schools. It has also achieved an early success in exploiting the advantages of arranging a student body that embodies a normal cross-section of the people of metropolitan Buffalo. In this and in its position as the only complete, coeducational private school in this area it is providing still another facet to our educational system.

From what has been said, it is evident that private schools during this period reached for, and sometimes achieved, the full potential of which they were capable. Though their contribution has never been formally estimated, it cannot be doubted that the new ideas of teaching they introduced and the high standards they held had an effect, however indirectly, on the quality of public education.

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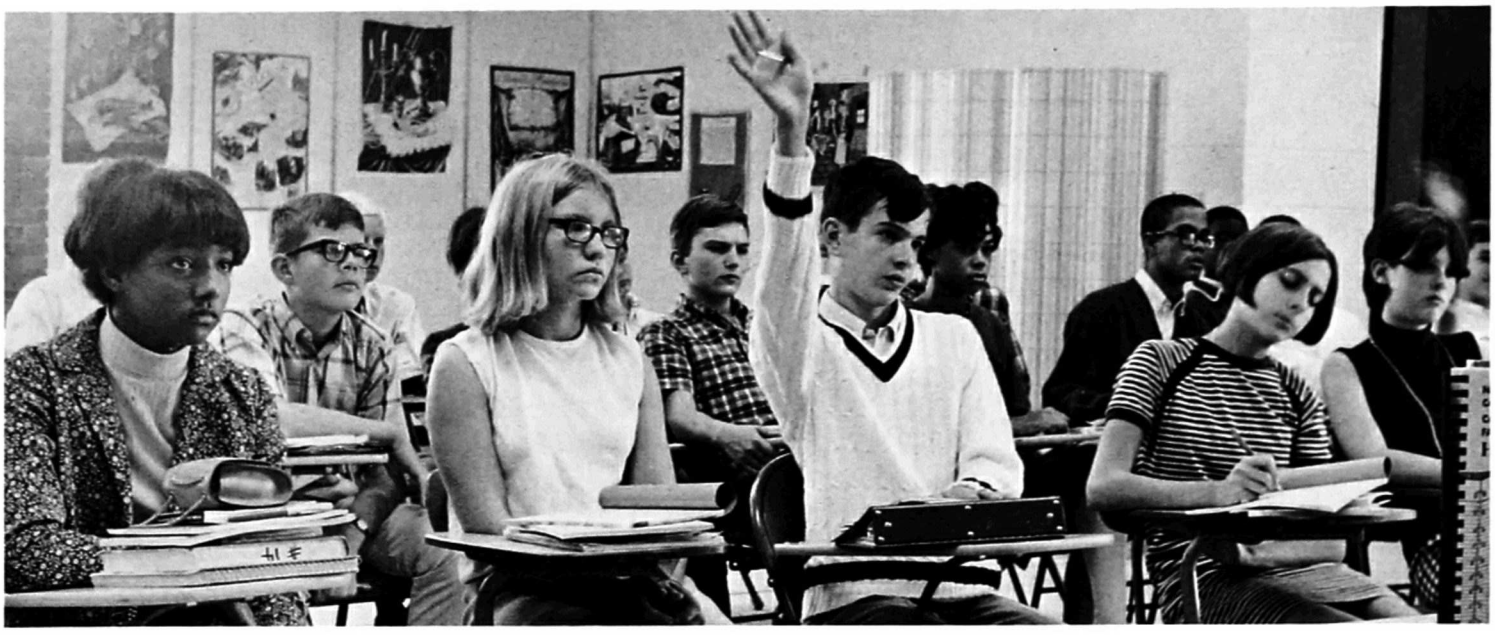


Campus School State Teachers College

CANISIUS COLLEGE

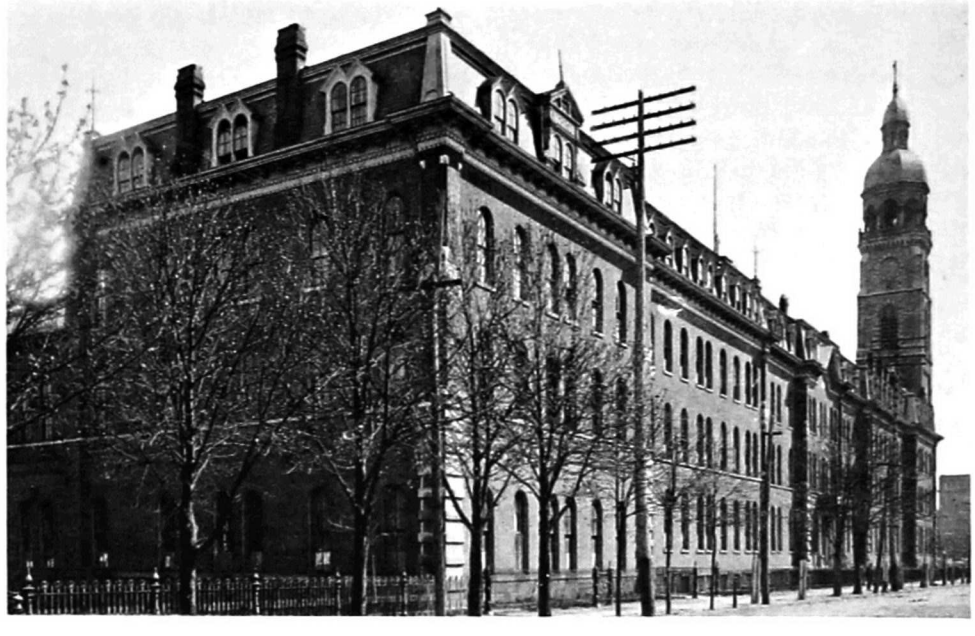
By Charles A. Brady

Not only were there such institutions to provide experimental bases for the schooling process, but also the ancillary services provided in increasingly rich measure by the colleges of this area. These services were far more than mere "training" of teachers—the very phrase is objectionable to those who fully appreciate the extent of collegiate responsibility. Teachers are to be educated in the fullest sense of the word, given the openings to the cultural riches of our civilization, and exposed to the influence of faculties dedicated to preserving and developing the learning that is a part of it. The first of the colleges to offer these to rising educators was Canisius.

On September 5, 1870, Canisius College opened its doors for the first time in a small, two-story brick structure, a former bookstore, situated at 434 Ellicott Street. Except for a preliminary paid announcement, the event went unnoticed in the Buffalo press which was busy listening to the clangor of such more distant happenings as Sedan's falling before the Prussian armies and the capture of Napoleon III. Because of the city's large German and smaller, though still sizable, Alsatian population, there was intense interest in the progress of this first German *Blitzkrieg* against France. The generic interest was at its highest pitch, most probably, within the small faculty of the fledgling college. Bismarck's greatest triumph was at hand; and, oddly enough, the presence of these European founders of Canisius—German, Dutch, and German-speaking Swiss fathers—was in great part a reflex of the anticlerical forces that had converged in the Bismarckian *Kulturkampf* and that were destined to gain even more momentum after the victory of 1870.

As a matter of fact, a certain number of northern European Jesuits had been resident in Western New York as early as 1848, the occasion of their coming to the Buffalo area having been a schism within the Buffalo Catholic diocese resulting from a jurisdictional clash be-

Canisius College



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tween the Buffalo ordinary, Bishop John Timon, and the trustees of St. Louis' Church, the mother church of the Buffalo diocese. They had been sent there originally, at Timon's request, by the French Provincial of the New York-Canada Mission, the Jesuit administrative entity serving as their host in the New World. At the Buffalo Bishop's instigation, after he had placed St. Louis under formal interdict, they built St. Michael's, the Jesuit church on Washington Street between Tupper and Chippewa that, rebuilt very much according to the original plan after the disastrous fire of May 23, 1962, remains to this day one of the city's best loved landmarks.

Once the schism had been healed, Timon, as energetic as he was politic, moved to a second objective he hoped to achieve through Jesuit instrumentality. He wanted Catholic higher education, on both seminary and lay levels, for Buffalo and its environs. Jesuit college education, which derived directly from the University of Paris even as did Oxford and Cambridge and, in America, Harvard and Yale, had an admirable reputation. So Timon brought his considerable powers of diplomatic suasion to bear on the French-born first superior of St. Michael's, Father Joseph Durthaller, who had once taught Gustave Doré, the celebrated illustrator of Cervantes, Dante, and Swift. As a sensitive humanist, Durthaller was well-disposed toward the project. In fact, if circumstances had been just a little different, Durthaller might well have been the first president of a Buffalo-based Jesuit college founded under French auspices rather than German. Even as things turned out, he may be regarded as the spiritual founder of the new school which would bear the name of a famous post-Reformation Dutch Jesuit, St. Peter Canisius, whose name also survives in several European Jesuit institutions of higher learning.

So—as had been true of Harvard, too, in its beginnings—there was a religious intention behind Canisius' foundation, summed up in the Jesuit motto: *Ad maiorem Dei gloriam. To the greater glory of God. (In Christi Gloriam* had appeared on Harvard's seal in 1650.) The new college was part of a Buffalo-sited Mission to the Catholic German-Americans of the United States, and one that, initially, had been accepted with reluctance. To tell the truth, the whole prospect of a Mission itself had daunted these expatriate German Fathers at first. When they balked at the magnitude of the enterprise unfolding before them, Durthaller prodded the then Father General, Peter John Beckx, S.J., into ordering them to accept the assignment. On July 4, 1869, Father Peter Spicher arrived in Buffalo to take possession of the newly created *Missio Germanica Americae Septentrionalis,* i.e., the North American Mission of the German Province. Within two years the Mission's jurisdiction extended over a positively imperial range of territory: the American shores of the Great Lakes excluding the dioceses of Chicago and Milwaukee, but including those of Buffalo, Rochester, Erie, Cleveland, Marquette, Detroit, St. Paul, La Crosse, and Green Bay. Soon after, a vast expanse of Indian mission land—a parallel with Dartmouth's original Indian mission springs to mind—was added: first among the Arapaho of the Wyoming Territory; then, more enduringly, among the Brûlé and Ogallala Sioux of South Dakota.

This latter collateral portion of the Canisius story marked an elegiac close to two American sagas: the last chapter of the long association between Black Robe and Red Man—on the level of hero-tale, that is, since the Jesuits have maintained their Indian apostolate to this day—and the end of the Indian wars against the white usurper, the terrible last chapter of which was written at Wounded Knee on December 29, 1890, very near the Jesuit mission on Pine Ridge. There, a day later, the Seventh Cavalry had to repulse an assault of 1,800 "hostiles" threatening the priests and nuns, these latter Franciscan Sisters, also from Buffalo. This segment of the long Jesuit story in America, which had begun with the French among the Huron and the Iroquois almost 300 years before, here came to an end with the Germans among Red Cloud's Sioux.

In the end, it was the College, the apple of the German Fathers' eye and the unwitting base of this ultimate Indian adventure of theirs, which turned out to be the sole surviving creation of the German Mission's far-flung empire. Their *unicum collegium Germanicum in Civitatibus Foederatis* they fondly called it—the "single German college in the United States." Before the end of Canisius' first year, the student body had swelled from an entering 25 to 34. Except for one manifestly Gallic name, one Irish, and two Welsh, the other 30 names were clearly either German or Alsatian, a circumstance which made the founding year a nightmare for the College's first Dean of Men—he was called Prefect of Discipline in those days. On the street and in the classroom German boy warred against Alsatian all during the Prussian siege of Paris, and after, too. On a comparative scale, Canisius' student unrest was actually greater in 1870 than in 1970.

Until 1912's dedication of Old Main, the building which, in its present extended form, still remains the focal point of the present Main Street campus, Canisius College and Canisius High School had been a single continuum, both spatially and academically, within the old Washington Street campus. In point of fact, the very designation, "college," was a misnomer for the school as constituted in 1870, arising as it did from the special semantic construction the College's first president, William Becker, S.J., 1870-72, placed on the European term, *progymnasium.* By 1872, Canisius could have been technically described, in contemporary parlance, as a junior college—the Roman Father General preferred the term, *collegium inchoatum.* It was not until January 11, 1883, that the requested charter was forthcoming. That same year, at the thirteenth commencement, the first A.B. degrees were conferred,

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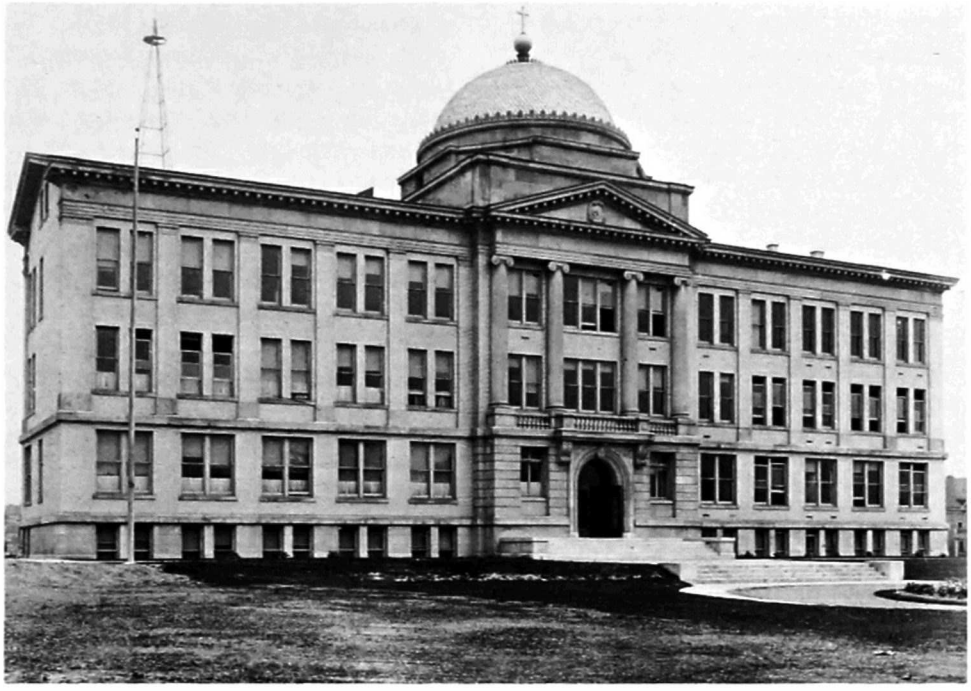

Canisius College

four in number, only one of these going to a Buffalo native. This latter circumstance underlines the fact that Canisius started as a boarding school, a policy abandoned in 1908, not to be formally revived until the presidency of James J. McGinley, S.J., 1959-66. At this time the first of several residence halls for men—and, a little after, for women, too—came into being.

President Theodore Van Rossum, S.J., 1883-88, whose term of office had witnessed the first baccalaureate degrees, also presided over the College's first Master's degree in 1887. A second was granted in 1890; and, after that, from time to time. It was not until the 1930's, however, that this particular postbaccalaureate degree began to play a systematic part in academic planning. If the contrast between the early period's rigorous qualifications for the B.A. and the M.A.'s much looser requirements affronts the contemporary sense of fitness, it is important to remember that this was the nineteenth century when an Oxford Master's hood depended upon a prescribed number of dinners in hall and a specified tally of tankards of beer; and when, as the saying went, all a Harvard man needed to secure his Master's credential was to pay five dollars and keep out of jail.

Although not notably successful as an administrator, Van Rossum made two other imprints on the evolving institution, both of these growing out of a Newmanesque theory of education with an almost exclusive accent on the liberal arts. He established philosophy as a compulsory part of the classical curriculum; and he downgraded the complementary commercial curriculum which had been an original component of the school in its foundations. This relative disparagement of the commercial side continued during the term in office of Van Rossum's successor, J. Ulric Heinzle, S.J., 1888-91. After the academic year of 1893-94, the third year in office of President John I. Zahm, S.J., 1891-96, the commercial curriculum was abandoned, not to be revived until 1926 when an accounting major was offered for the first time, an innovation coinciding with America's burgeoning business ethos after World War I. However explicable as a short-run policy, in the long run the jettisoning of the commercial course proved an unfortunate move, economically speaking. The restoration in 1926 was a long step forward in a journey that, quickening its pace in the 1930's and accelerating still further during the 1950's, reached its current culmination in the inauguration, in February 1969, of a Master in Business Administration program. It must be understood, of course, that, until 1926, the Canisius involvement in business courses had been basically on the high school side of the college-cum-preparatory school continuum.

All told, during the 37 years of German control, there were 11 presidents counting Swiss-born, Dutch-educated Augustine A. Miller, S.J., 1905-12, who bridged the last German and first American administrations. (Technically, it is possible to argue that there had actually been 12, since a newspaper announcement four days before the College's official opening was signed: "E. A. Reiter, S.J., President." However, Father Reiter left the city shortly after the term began and apparently exercised no other administrative function.) Of these 11 presidents the first six were German-born, the eighth English-born, the eleventh a German-speaking Swiss, and the three American-born were all of German extraction. Henry Behrens, S.J., 1872-76, stands out among them for both color and strength of personality. Born six months after Waterloo, Behrens had enjoyed a European career, military as well as pedagogical, that calls for a sagaman to do it justice. The fourth president, Swabian Martin Port, S.J., 1877-83, had been a classmate of Lord Acton's; the eighth, Englishman James A. Rockliff, S.J., 1897-98, a classmate of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's. Though his term as president was a short one, Rockliff continued to exert an effect on the College's destinies after he became head of the Buffalo Mission.

The European provenance of these founding Fathers was at once a strength and a weakness. While their erudition and culture were formidable, the language barrier, as Rockliff often pointed out in letters to the Father General, proved a serious one. Moreover, American youth, in this day of Thomas Bailey Aldrich's *Story of a Bad Boy* and Mark Twain's *Tom Sawyer,* did not exactly take kindly to German concepts of discipline as enforced by a

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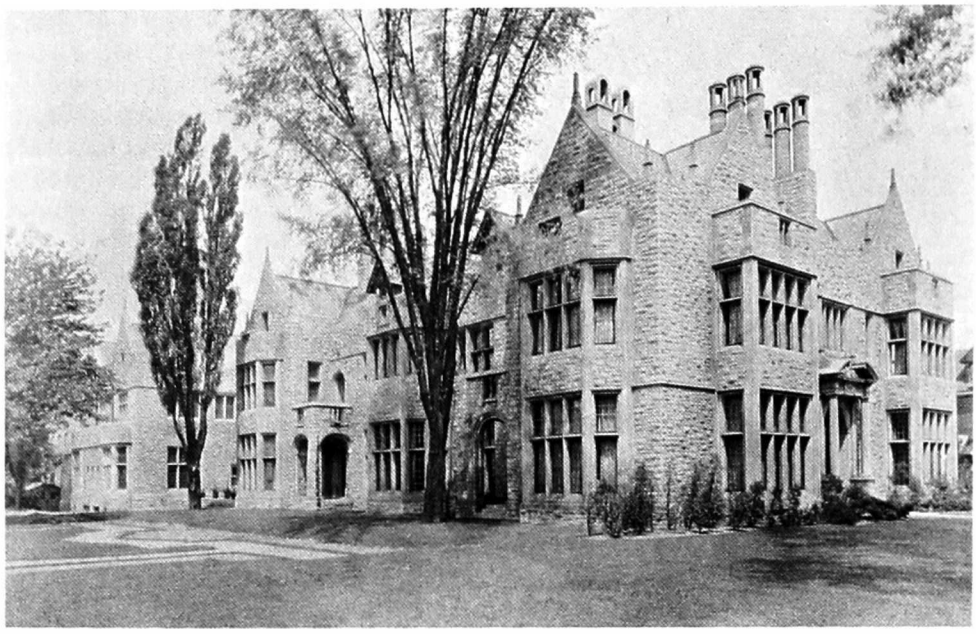

Canisius High School

seemingly limitless pool of Franco-Prussian War veterans who kept turning up to fill the post of Prefect of Discipline. Nor did they think either drill or calisthenics acceptable substitutes for the team games that, increasingly, were played in the Yard, as it came to be called, of the red-brick structure at 651 Washington Street which, built during 1871-72, housed Canisius College until 1912 and Canisius High School until 1948.

Gradually the paramilitary mystique that, for one brief interlude, had even extended to uniforms and képis gave way to the nascent athletic mystique that had begun to sweep American campuses during the eighties and nineties. Each Thursday—Thursday was the day appointed for communal recreation on the part of day students and boarders alike—the entire student body marched down Main Street to the then semirural demesne known as the Villa, at the corner of Jefferson Avenue, which was maintained, among other things, as a kitchen farm for the downtown College. Aside from its triple utilities as provisioner, retiring ground for Jesuit personnel, and grassy playing field, the Villa, bought by Behrens in 1873, at a price his immediate successor, President John B. Lessman, S.J., 1876-77, considered exorbitant, proved a fateful purchase fraught with enormous consequences for Canisius' future. Out of it came the eventual site of the main part of the College today and a geographical determination of the modes any physical expansion was henceforth destined to take. Except for the contiguous areas now occupied by the Physical Education complex, the Delavan Health, Science and Computer Center, several departmental offices on immediately adjoining streets, Alumni Hall, and two supplementary residence halls on Main Street, the place where the College structures proper now stand, enclosing an inner quadrangle, was once the Villa. Buffalo sports lovers, whose memories stretch back to the quarter century from 1920 to the end of World War II, remember it as the site of the College's vanished football stadium.

The scholastic regimen was a Spartan one with each hour of the academic day parceled out between eight a.m. and five p.m., and 21 hours of outside preparation demanded. (The Harvard average, during these German years, was 13.) It was an education weighted heavily on the classical side according to the historic Jesuit theory codified in the *Ratio Studiorum,* a set of methods that by 1920 had already begun to be honored as much in the breach as the observance, and one that eroded rapidly in the decades following. Greek and Latin poetry in the vernacular, plus the rhetoric of Demosthenes and Cicero also in the vernacular, the whole structure crowned by the great Periclean dramatists and leavened by history with a post-Reformation bias, enjoyed the kind of primacy they had known in eighteenth century England. If, judged by contemporary standards, the methods were pedantic, the students worked hard; and they read the right books.

The Canisius Centennial History, a bit brashly perhaps, describes the German period as "Valhalla on Washington Street," situated in cultural time half way between the *Nibelungenlied* and the *Adventures of Hans and Fritz.* It was much more than that. Its musical culture, especially, was extraordinarily rich. Under the Swiss composer-conductor, Professor Ludwig Bonvin, S.J., the music department maintained, in addition to a band, three full orchestras, one of these a symphony orchestra numbering, at its high point, 52 members. Bonvin's predecessor, W. Wallrath, S.J., had actually produced—it would seem in pirated form—Wagner's last opera, *Parsifal,* on April 27, 1887, five years after its Bayreuth premiere and better than 16 before its controversial Metropolitan Opera production. The text, however, described as a "medieval melodrama," was by the Canisius polymath, Anthony Guggenberger, S.J.

The German Province's final connection with its Buffalo offshoot was also Wagnerian, though the closing key was the key of *Götterdämmerung,* not *Parsifal.* After the formal dissolution of their American province, which took place on September 1, 1907, the Fathers of the Buffalo Mission carried back to Germany the original records, in crabbed German script, of their long connection with the College, the High School, St. Michael's, and the Mission generally, leaving meticulous copies in their place. In midsummer of 1944, the bomb attempt on Hitler's life, on the part of the Graf

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von Stauffenberg and his fellow officers, miscarried. Because the Graf had been Jesuit-educated, the headquarters of the South German Province were put to the torch. In the ensuing holocaust, the original Canisius documents for 1870-1907 went roaring to the sky.

For the next decade things stayed much the same at Canisius, even to the faculty personnel. From the beginning the German years had been lightened, here and there, by Jesuits bearing English, Irish, and French names. Now, though most of the Mission membership, totaling some 275 toward the end, elected to return to the Fatherland, the bulk of the Canisius Germans stayed behind.

As elsewhere on American college campuses, it was World War I that proved the catalyst of rapid and far-reaching change, beginning with the overnight conversion of the Main Street campus into a short-lived military establishment for nearly 200 Canisius members of the Student Army Training Corps. Since the Armistice took place less than six weeks after October 1, 1918's induction day, it was the Canisius "old boys" who did the fighting in the War that became, for American participants, their "myth-in-action." Letters, redolent of a curiously touching romanticism and now preserved in the College archives, came from them in trenches, airdromes, and base hospitals. Of the 300 Canisians who saw service, 12 died, four of them in action. To celebrate the demobilization of the Canisius S.A.T.C., on December 30, 1918, the alumni honored the student soldiers at the first major social function involving the student body on what might be described as an adult level. It was a portent of the many changes in collegiate life-style that would now mark the 1920's.

One of the earliest manifestations of World War I's huge displacement of social gravity was an unprecedented expansion of college enrollment destined to be halted only briefly by the Depression and World War II. An early reflex of the trend in question was the initiation, on July 12, 1919, of the Canisius Summer School. That same autumn an Extension School, operating on a regular basis, appeared, the nucleus of what would later become a flourishing Evening Session and a populous Graduate Division. Originally conceived of as a series of service courses for the Catholic teaching religious of the area, the new Schools almost immediately outran this intention. From this point on, Canisius began to supply a surprisingly high percentage of the Niagara Frontier's teachers and administrators on the public school plane, a proportion that kept pace with the College's steady output of lawyers, physicians, dentists, and ecclesiastics. (At one time, in its curve of growth, the College produced so many clerics that it was confused, in the popular mind, with a seminary.) Along with most other American institutions of higher learning, Canisius proved a little tardier in acknowledging its responsibilities for professionalizing business. Nevertheless, 1926 witnessed the initiation of systematic business curricula.

Until February 14, 1928, fraternities, tolerated but never fostered by the administration, had perforce assumed responsibility for the College's social life—an ingrained conservatism, where a mingling of the sexes was concerned, had been carried over intact from the German period. Now, through the first annual Junior Prom held in the Statler ballroom, the College officially entered the Jazz Age in the city where, only two decades before, Scott Fitzgerald had spent his boyhood. Despite this official relaxation of a long-standing taboo, social machinery, over the next decade, remained largely in the hands of the fraternities which maintained clubrooms in such divergent places as the Park Lane and certain Burchfieldian, mansarded mansions on Linwood Avenue. By filling this social vacuum, whatever their other shortcomings, the Greek Letter societies marked an evolutionary stage in the College's progress from an invertebrate to a vertebrate social organization. What doomed them in the end, at Canisius as elsewhere, was their being grounded on a principle destructive of true fraternity: that of caste and ethnic *apartheid.* By the 1960's the social pendulum had swung full circle, and the greater number of social affairs were held in campus facilities. If the College, in that decade, had been reluctantly driven to abandon its old *in loco parentis* stance, by way of compensation it had become the students' social arbiter.

Taken together, the twenties and thirties may be said to have enclosed five symbolic events and one physical thrust into a pattern of future expansion. The events were these: two outdoor Passion Plays on a positively Max Reinhardtian scale; a gathering momentum in the direction of that period's will-o-the-wisp, big-time football, a policy that eventually was to prove abortive; the College's acknowledgement of the canonization of its patron, St. Peter Canisius, whose earlier beatification had played its due part in the establishing of the Canisius ethos; 1930's public commemoration of the two-thousandth anniversary of the birth of Vergil whose *Aeneid* had been, for centuries, the archetypal book of the Jesuit curriculum but would be so no longer; the College's participation, on a major scale, in the 1932 centenary celebration of Buffalo's incorporation as a city. The material advance, heralding the massive building program of the next three decades, was the opening of the Horan-O'Donnell Science Building.

Except for the unsuccessful football policy, each of the happenings in this parabola of events was a memorializing of the past and of the traditional. In sharp contrast to this same discarded rhythm, 1969-70's stocktaking with the Canisius centennial year—and a backward glance was but a part of the Centenary's transactions—represented the only major consideration of the past's impact upon the present which the College had engaged in over the intervening three decades. Moreover, hindsight permits a tracing of a curve of tendency from sacred to secular which was to grow more

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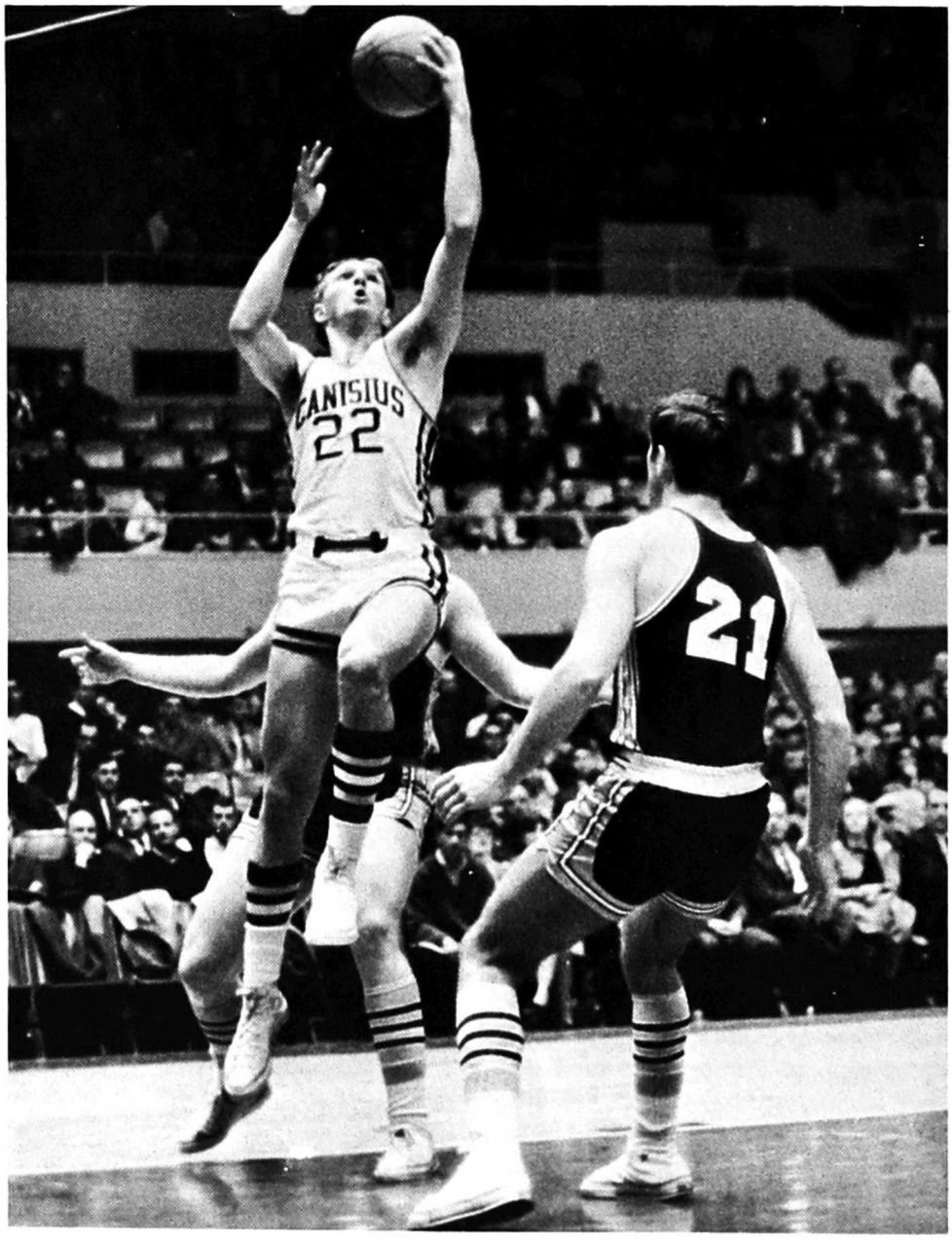
strongly in the years immediately preceding the beginning of the 1970's. When the 1920's began, Canisius was still a religious college in an extremely sectarian sense, its faculty largely, its administration—except for the office of the Registrar—totally, clerical. Over the next half century, gradually at first, then at a rapidly accelerating pace, the faculty became mainly lay with Catholic affiliation no longer a shibboleth for entrance even into the departments of Theology and Philosophy. Laymen achieved key positions within the administration and came to dominate the Board of Trustees. Insofar as Canisius remained a Catholic college, it did so in an ecumenical, Chardinesque sense—a contributor to *The Canisius Papers,* a sheaf of centennial year essays, preferred to style it a Christian college; and even this circumscription was not a restrictive one. The Department of Religious Studies, for example, which superseded the older Department of Theology, and which had announced a Master's program before the beginning of the centenary year, was headed by a Protestant theologian while the staff numbered, among others, the Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Western New York and the Rabbi of Temple Beth Zion.

The two Passion spectacles, given during the summers of 1920 and 1923, marked both the midpoint and, to date, the most ambitious effort within a continuing dramatic tradition. (This is by no means the same as styling them the apex, a title which, even though comparison is always invidious, might well be reserved for the Shakespearean cycle produced by the Canisius Little Theater on the now demolished bandbox stage located within old Canisius-on-Delavan during the years just after the Second World War.) The Passion Plays represented overt attempts to relocate the Oberammergau tradition within the geographical context of Western New York. If the times had been propitious, they might conceivably have made Buffalo what the two Stratfords, of Canada and Connecticut, were to become three decades later. In the upshot, the grand, but very costly, conception on the part of President Michael J. Ahern, S.J., 1919-23, had to be cut back. The sumptuous open-air theater built in the rear of Old Main, with an electrician from New York's Theatre Guild to operate the light panel and Beerbohm-Tree's former stage manager as *regisséur,* seating 4,000 at its capacity and accommodating upward of 100,000 people during each of those two summers, was demolished in the fall of 1923. The camels, imported for the Nativity tableau, which had grazed on the Villa grass from May to September, became permanent residents of the Buffalo Zoo. The great adventure was but a memory.

The attempt to field big-time football involved an even greater financial drain, though the fact was not officially recognized until February 8, 1950, when, after 31 years of intercollegiate competition, President Raymond W. Schouten, S.J., 1947-52, announced the abolition of the sport. There were contributory reasons in addition to the brute fact of the heavy monetary loss. The professional Buffalo Bills had come to command the Frontier's imagination as, during the 1920's, the 1930's, and the latter years of the 1940's, the cleated warriors of the



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Little Three once had. Buffalo's uncertain autumn weather had also played a part. Without a formally organized conference of some six or seven well-matched teams, possessed of a common community of interests, playing under reasonable budgetary limitations and spreading the weather risk by underwriting the meteorological hazards, Generals Rain, Snow and Cold had brought Western New York College football to its knees. Nevertheless, those three decades had been glorious ones in local sports annals.

Though football had been accorded intramural cognizance shortly before America's entry into World War I, its first regular intercollegiate schedule had had to wait until the academic year of 1919-20 when, with "Hymie" Bleich as pioneer coach, eight games were booked: Hobart, Hamilton, Rochester, Alfred, Bonaventure, Thiel, St. Lawrence, Niagara. The decade in which America's sports mystique would be, overall, at its height was just beginning. Never again would the popular imagination feel quite so unsophisticated an admiration for athletic heroes who, professional or amateur, were still thought of as contestants in an Olympian rather than a gladiatorial arena. For a brief span, amateurs gained the popular affection as they never had before and, most likely, never would again. The good genius who presided over Canisius' sports destinies in these years was a professor of Chemistry, Dr. James H. Crowdle, for 33 years Graduate Manager of Athletics. During this long period Crowdle was responsible for two crowning achievements. He was chief architect of the Little Three Conference composed of Canisius, Niagara, and St. Bonaventure, the most exhilarating sports combo the Niagara Frontier ever managed to put together. (Technically, it was not a conference; but the association was, if anything, even more intimate than that of a conference.) It was his shrewd judgment which, by siring the doubleheader basketball program, brought big-time basketball to Buffalo for the 35 years preceding the arrival of 1970's professional team, the Buffalo Braves.

Four years before the twenties began, the coming cult of coaching personality was anticipated when the College retained its first formal basketball and baseball coaches in the persons of Ray J. Macdonald and Eddie Russell. Baseball, Canisius' first recognized sport—this happened in 1903—was to retreat before the advances, first of basketball, and then of "King Football." It enjoyed a recrudescence after World War II, though hardly to the point of regaining its former primacy; and was still being played in 1970.

There were two full-sized and one pocket-sized Titans among the Villa holders of the head coaching post in football. Luke Urban, who also coached basketball and baseball between 1921-30, had been an All-American in his college days. For three of his nine-year Canisius tenure Urban played professional football in the National League. Throughout, with two summers off to catch for the Boston Braves, he functioned as regular catcher for the Buffalo Bisons. It was an age of press-agentry and mumbo-jumbo abetted by the sporting pages, then in the first flush of a popularity that has continued unimpaired. Urban showed himself adept in the day's chosen rituals of secret practice, espionage, and counter-espionage. Equally skilled in the art of ballyhoo was William (Hiker) Joy, head coach from 1933 to 1938, who, among other things, conducted his own sports column for the old Buffalo *Times*. Quite possibly the most underrated coach in area history, and by all odds the canniest, was a small Scot, James B. Wilson, who directed Canisius' football fortunes from 1939 to 1942, and again from 1948 through 1949. Wilson's two incumbencies were marked by stunning upsets of traditional foes and by three consecutive securings of the Little Three crown.

Since there are fashions in flamboyance as in other things, the notable basketball coaches belonged, where personality was concerned, to a lower-keyed "new breed." From the very start of Dr. James Naismith's indoor game, Buffalo had enjoyed a vivid basketball tradition, housing as it did the world champion Buffalo Orioles, better known as the Buffalo Germans. Canisius lost to the Germans three times: in 1907, in 1910, in 1912. The 1910 game, played in Old Convention Hall, should be remembered for having marked the College's first participation in a public doubleheader. It was a Buffalo high school coach of German extraction, Alfred Conrad Seelbach, basketball coach from 1933 to 1944, who bridged the eras, leading Canisius into major status as an Eastern basketball power. Though he stayed only a year, the real golden age of Canisius basketball began with Earl Brown who provided the recruiting dynamics that brought the College into the mainstream of basketball's postwar advance. Brown was succeeded in 1947 by Joseph P. Niland, 1948-53, number one in a triumvirate of young coaches which would number J. Joseph Curran, 1953-59, and Robert A. MacKinnon, 1959 to the present. Under their cool, intelligent tutelage, Canisius teams became familiar staples in Madison Square Garden, reaching the National Invitational Tournament final once and achieving a berth in National Collegiate Athletic Association play for three consecutive years. James Naismith had invented his game in response to the weather exigencies of Springfield, Massachusetts, where, as in Buffalo, falls were brief and springs late. It is one of the factors which has always rendered basketball the most financially viable of collegiate team sports in northeastern cities.

If basketball was to show a longer sequence of triumphs than any other sport played under the insigne of Old Main's Golden Dome, the so-called minor sports displayed their own individual rhythms of rising and falling. Between 1929-35, a period that almost exactly overlapped the French hold on the Davis Cup, Canisius dominated Western New York tennis, turning out, in the process, an impressive number of regional and state individual title-

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holders in doubles as well as singles. This took place toward the end of a three-decade cycle during which Buffalo had some claim to being regarded as one of the nation's "tennis" cities by virtue of the old Park Club, fronting on Park Lake, which used to draw the leading international stars to the lure of its challenge cup. It was in this same period of the early thirties that the College's rowing tradition, which has waxed and waned since, began with the 150-pound shell outrowing Cornell on Lake Cayuga in May of 1933. Canisius golf attained its zenith in 1947-48 with Edwin S. Kaczor and Frank (Effie) O'Connor dominating not only college but district play, rivalled only by St. Bonaventure's formidable Sam Urzetta who would go on to win the U. S. Amateur title. Wrestling, boxing, fencing came in and out. Just before the dawn of the seventies, Canisius fielded a lacrosse team. Track entered upon its modest heritage under Olympic coach Carl Roesch. The harriers, especially, had great success, registering 30 wins to 13 losses, 1950-55. Swimming's high point came in 1947 with the brothers Maloney, Milford and Paul, the latter setting a new national mark in the Potomac that same year for the President's Cup three-mile swim.

One of sport's most potent allies is the sportsman's nostalgia for past feats, a human impulse satisfied by 1963's inauguration of the Canisius Sports Hall of Fame which, up through 1970, had installed 26 members. Sport is also a sovereign cement for alumni relations. But there are tides in student interest; and one of the great unresolved problems of American college life is that of inducing student participation on something more than a purely spectator basis. Counteracting the ominous signs of decreasing student interest during the troubled sixties, there were two favorable portents in Canisius affairs. Student-initiated "club" football, simon-pure amateur and operating at a minimal expense, returned in 1966. In 1969, through the comprehensive facilities of a magnificent new Athletic Complex,

for the first time Canisius found itself in a position to realize the desideratum Harvard's great Percy Haughton once simply phrased as "athletics for all." It would be too much to say that all difficulties had been circumvented. Nevertheless, there was some hope that the delicate equipoise Canisius' ninth president, John B. Theis, S.J., 1898-1901, had enunciated in a Latin letter on January 30, 1900, was finally within reach: *Ludos rationabiliter restringimus.* That is: *We are keeping sports within rational bounds.* On the other hand, a swelling tide of professionalism menaced the old amateur mystique of sport as a liberating experience for body and spirt, one wherein "love and need are one." Only the seventies would tell whether the Griffin, the Canisius totem animal, would succeed in his task of shielding a harmonious evolution of an athletic ideal for both varsity and intramural participants.

Change, gradual but palpable, characterized the academic side of the 1930's and 1940's. Until the closing years of the thirties the most memorable teachers had tended to be clerics. Three Jesuit culture-heroes are cases in point: John La Farge, son of the great American painter, who taught English and classics in 1907, the last year of the German regime; Harold C. Gardiner, later to be literary editor of *America* as well as of the *New Catholic Encyclopedia,* who served in the same capacity, 1929-32; and John Courtney Murray, theologian of freedom and principal author of Vatican II's Declaration on Religious Liberty, who taught Theology in several separate summer sessions at the end of the 1930's. The fact that the now separate New York, Massachusetts, and Maryland provinces constituted a single hyphenated province into the 1920's—the arrangement held for Maryland and New York into the 1930's—meant that, during those decades, the College had been able to draw upon a triply, then doubly, rich pool for its Jesuit personnel. Slowly but surely the balance shifted to the lay side after that until, by the 1960's, the preponderant majority of Canisius teachers were no longer clerical, even though the original Jesuit leaven continued to work gratifyingly in this new dispensation. For example, J. Robert Barth, S.J., who had carried off 1967's Howard Mumford Jones Prize for the best Harvard doctoral dissertation in nineteenth century literature, joined the Canisius English Department in the fall of that same year. All in all, however, the lay professor, once very little more than what Oliver Goldsmith had called a "gentleman usher," was distinctly in the ascendant.

Developments during and after World War I had given the sciences a fillip that, over the succeeding decades, meant a continuous expansion in Canisius Physics and Chemistry, for their own sakes as well as because they provided prerequisite courses for the M.D.. The approach of World War II brought with it an allied curricular innovation that was

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to have far-reaching consequences, both short term and long term. This came about during the presidency of Francis A. O'Malley, S.J., 1937, successor to Buffalo-born James P. Sweeney, S.J., 1934-37—Father O'Malley was seventeenth in line of succession of the Canisius presidents and the only one to die in office. At the request of the then director of the Buffalo City Hospital, Dr. Walter S. Goodale, Canisius agreed to divide with the University of Buffalo responsibility for the academic courses mandated for the City Hospital School of Nursing's R.N. Out of that ad hoc arrangement came an unexpected chain of results. One was an almost immediate connection with the nursing programs of certain other area hospitals. Another was a Nurse Cadet contract toward the end of World War II which salvaged a fiscal crisis at a time when registration had fallen off to virtually the vanishing point with the few available civilian students serviced by a skeleton staff of teachers and administrators. For a short period, during the 1950's, the Canisius program evolved into a full-fledged Nursing School equipped to offer a B.S. in Nursing. Without possibility of outside subsidy, however, the amplified offering proved too costly to continue.

An unforeseen development, of really major significance, may be laid, in part, at the door of the Nursing Program. In retrospect, it appears to have been an evident, if inadvertent, milestone on the road to full coeducation. The expanded Extension Program of the 1930's—and this process had actually begun just after World War I—had brought women onto the campus in the late afternoon, early evening, and Saturday morning hours. Now students, faculty, and administration alike grew used to the presence of young girls at all hours of the academic day. The sixties were to witness the penultimate stage of this circuitous process which took the form of a half-decade of technical evasions of the letter of the admissions law. Transfers from Extension to day school status were sanctioned by the Dean's office, with the business curriculum serving as the underground railway breaching the wall of exclusion in this almost 50 year advance toward the granting of full official academic recognition to the second sex. (Once comfortably matriculated as a business student, it was possible for a girl to transfer to any of the other curricula.) By the fall of 1965, Canisius was finally a full-fledged coed college, somewhat behind Harvard in this respect, but something in advance of Yale, Princeton, Hamilton, Colgate, and Kenyon. Dr. Whateley's too long accepted Oxford principle about a woman's being "a creature that cannot reason" was given the triumphant lie by the Canisius Dean's List 1965-70, a record of feminine intellectual prowess culminating in the Commencement of 1970 where six out of the eight graduates attaining *summa cum laude* rank were girls.

The Nurse Cadets did not constitute the only military establishment maintained by Canisius during the years of the second German war. The College also served as the academic base for a continuously changing contingent of Air Force Cadets. In and out, at the fixed statutory intervals, the waves of blue-clad trainees, 400 at a time, came and went: from Brooklyn, the South, the Midwest, the Far West. They barracked at the hastily converted one-time Masonic Consistory on Delaware Avenue, gained their first flying hours at an airdrome operated by the College, drilled and ran their vigorous obstacle races at the Villa, and studied in the classrooms of Old Main where, otherwise, only a dwindling pool of civilian RFs worked according to an accelerated schedule of trimesters. Continued in the early post-war years and, for one overlapping year, elongated into a tetramester, this produced the odd anomaly of the Centenary Commencement's being the hundred and fourth. Meanwhile, the Canisius gownsmen who would normally have sat beside these fellows of theirs, as well as the graduates of fighting age, marched and flew and lived and died in every theater of the gigantic conflict.

The Alumni War Records Office under its director, Canisius Archivist J. Clayton Murray, S.J., faithfully kept the long and stirring tally of that Canisius Iliad. In all, 1,063 Canisius men served in the armed forces. 62 of these died for their country, among them a faculty member, Captain Miguel Rafael Rodriguez, Chairman of the Department of Mathematics, who at 50 was lost at sea somewhere off Africa. Two Canisius Jesuits served in the Chaplain's Corps: James L. Shanahan, S.J., later Provincial of the Buffalo Province; and John L. Shea, S.J., who returned to head the Department of Economics. Dr. Austin C. McTigue, commissioned during World War I, played an active role in Civil Defense during this Second War of the Nations. Dr. James H. Crowdle received a citation for his scientific contribution to the American war effort—it paralleled one received for World War I.

Hundreds of Canisius warriors were wounded. Many survived prisoner-of-war camps. Five hundred and ninety—virtually a mathematical third—were commissioned as officers. Not counting citations, Good Conduct medals and combat infantrymen's badges, over 300 awards for valor were conferred on 113 Canisius soldiers. After the victory of 1945, with America an empire, albeit a not altogether willing one, there were other wars whose issues were not quite so simple as they had been in 1917 and 1942. Though Canisius men were to fight in Korea, that stalemated conflict did not touch the College closely. The tragic American misadventure in Vietnam, however, which had served as chief catalyst for the chain reaction engulfing American campuses from Berkeley to Cornell, did not pass Canisius by.

Up to 1967, the fairly infrequent Canisius student demonstrations had tended to center about the classic complaints common to the student condition—there was, for example, a cafeteria "crowd-in" protesting the quality of the daily

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cuisine. After 1967, they became increasingly political. Petitions were circulated; and certain members of the faculty joined the various student causes. With *The Griffin,* the student newspaper, as its spearhead, the Student Government, no longer a mimic parliamentary arena, showed itself skilled in the new techniques of encounter—"confrontation" seemed too strong a word to apply to the students' general respect for due process (there were exceptions, naturally)—and to the countervailing humorous resilience displayed by the administration. When the rising curve of angry disillusion against what seemed to the students the ambiguities and sequent frustrations of national policy reached its apogee on the day after the deaths of the four students at Kent State, the ensuing triune rapport among students, faculty, and administration was so close knit and so devoid of excess that the faculty spontaneously found it possible to congratulate the students publicly in a paid advertisement published in the *Buffalo Evening News* on May 15, 1970. While the admissible extent of nascent student power remained an open issue as the fall term began in September 1970, there was a reservoir of good will on all three sides that boded well for the adjustments the future would necessarily have to bring about.

As elsewhere in the eastern academic world, R.O.T.C. membership diminished at the College during 1968-1970. Nonetheless, up to the fall of 1970, student activists had not made it a serious target of complaint. For one thing, membership was no longer compulsory by the time the issue became a fighting one. For another, from its inception in 1951, R.O.T.C. courses had never counted toward academic credit at Canisius. For still another, there was a counter-climate of opinion also operative, expressing itself temperately in favor of an institution that, in more than one way, continued to suit the ethos of a portion of the Canisius constituency. Moreover, under its local sporting sobriquet of the "White Machine," the College's military unit, year by year, went on garnering a respectable number of drill and rifle prizes. In fact, where competition was the criterion, the Drill Team trod close, percentage-wise, on the heels of the Varsity Debate Team which, maintaining a long Canisius tradition of success in this particular forensic department, placed third in 1969's national rankings, and first in 1970.

All these marches and countermarches were a far cry from the way things were when the first returning G.I.s invaded the Ivory Tower in 1946. With registrations booming generally, not only faculty but classroom space, too, were at a premium. (The faculty bull market would show no signs of flagging until January of 1970.) One reflex of this situation was the College's first territorial expansion in almost half a century. Temporary classrooms in the form of rhomboid-shaped wooden huts, painted gunboat gray and stretching from the Science Building almost to the corner of Hughes and Meech, proved inadequate to accommodate the enormous student onrush. To supplement them, the College purchased the buildings and grounds belonging to the old Sisters Hospital fronting on Main Street at Delavan, the present site of the Canisius Athletic Complex—prior to its final abandonment and subsequent demolition, the structure was to serve in a series of other capacities, including housing the Little Theater, the R.O.T.C. offices, and, briefly, the Business School. To renovate the facilities for G.I. classroom purposes, the State Emergency Housing Joint Board allotted a grant to Canisius which was challenged by a Buffalo attorney, Henry Adsit Bull, who had construction halted through an injunction charging a breach of the New York State principle of the separation of Church and State. On June 11, 1948, after almost a year's litigation, the New York State Court of Appeals upheld the decision of the lower courts dismissing the suit.

In a sense, Mr. Bull had won an extra-judicial verdict, though the fact was not apparent at the time. It was to become clear in retrospect that the whole dispute and its aftermath had both underlined and furthered a process of secularization that, within two decades, was to bring Canisius to a point of nonsectarianism which it had taken the great originally Protestant collegiate foundations of America almost two centuries to arrive at. The spring of 1970 was to witness a sequel to Mr. Bull's action, this time with Canisius as the plaintiff. Excluded from the Bundy program which provided state monies for the relief of financial stringencies within the private colleges of the State, Canisius sued for a reversal of the decision of State Education Commissioner Ewald B. Nyquist that the institution did not qualify for assistance, the grounds of the suit, as stated in the court hearings, that the College was not "dominated wholly or in part" by the Catholic Church.

Depression first, and then war, had dictated that Presidents James P. Sweeney, S.J., Francis A. O'Malley, S.J. and Timothy J. Coughlin, S.J., 1941-47, should conduct holding operations in the important areas of academic policy and physical growth. Now the relative affluence of the postwar period provided one of the propulsive forces behind an enormous expansion, both functional and esthetic, of the physical plant, as well as of the flowering of an already fine faculty into a finer one.

Over its first century, Canisius had known three basic architectural styles, with the early Villa's pastoral freshness complementing the first phase and counterpointing the second. These were, in order: the red brick of Washington Street; the creamy—as it aged, near Oz-yellow—of Old Main; the contemporary mode of glass-and-stone. Yet, for all the eclecticism of its later buildings, the College remained recognizably the concept it was when, early in the 1910's, the dome first rose like a white zucchetto crowned by a gold cross. The first of Canisius' modern builders was Buffalo-born Raymond W. Schouten, S.J.—of its 22 presidents up to 1970 three were Buffalo-born and five alumni. President Schouten launched his building pro-

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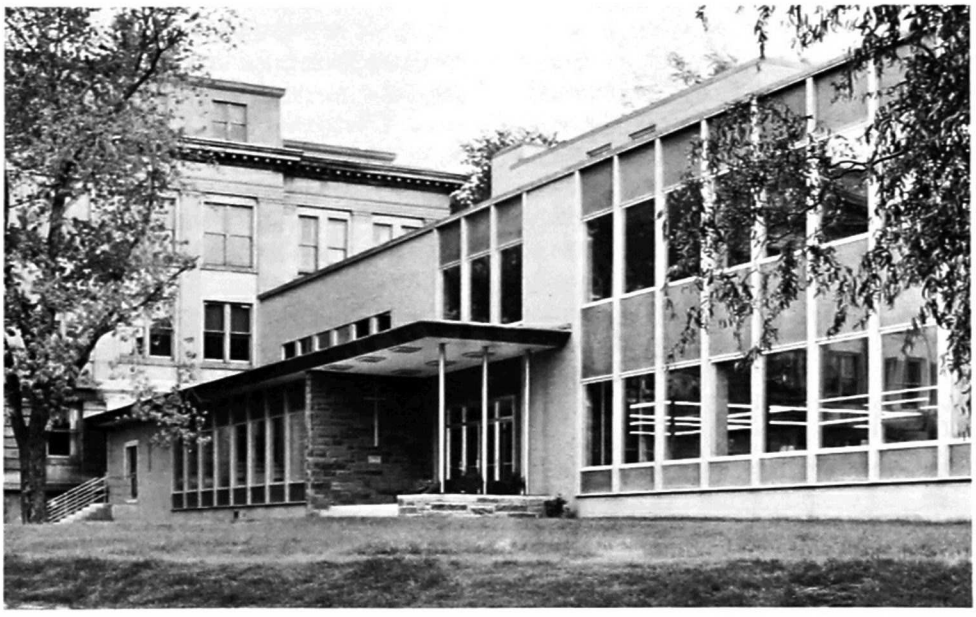
gram with Loyola Hall, the seemly Jesuit faculty residence which closes the side of the inner quadrangle abutting on Eastwood Place. His second project, the Chapel of Christ the King, was formally dedicated on the Feast of St. Ignatius, July 31, 1951. An exquisitely conceived Romanesque building well suited the masculine genius of the military order that founded Canisius; it remains the crown jewel of the campus. Across from it, stone right hand lifted in benediction, as natural a spirit of Canisius place as the Puritan divine John Harvard of Harvard, a heroic statue of St. Isaac Jogues appears to be blessing this "Chapel for Collegians."

Philip E. Dobson, S.J., 1952-59, continued to build Canisius' city of the intellect. His twin achievements in glass and stone were the Andrew L. Bouwhuis Library, named after the Jesuit director of the Library from 1935-55; and, across from it, the Administration Building which commemorates the memory of Registrar Daniel T. Bagen whose connection with the College had spanned the years from 1920 to 1963. The first of two splendid residence facilities, Frisch Hall, memorializing John A. Frisch, S.J., Canisius' and Johns Hopkins' eminent biologist, came into simultaneous being with the handsomely appointed and comfortably flexible Student Center four years after James J. McGinley was installed as president. The second student residence, Bosch Hall whose name keeps in memory the personality of a fiery Catalonian cleric, Raymond G. Bosch, Professor of Modern Languages from 1932-67, was ready for the fall term of 1968 during the presidency of James M. Demske, S. J., 1966—Father Demske's time in office has also witnessed, in September of 1969, the opening of the massive Athletic Complex; and, in 1970, the completion of the College's most controversial structure, the Faculty Tower, which stands between Bagen and the Bouwhuis Library in front of Old Main, altering a Buffalo vista of some 62 years.

Two converted apartment structures on Main Street nearby, Campion Hall and Griffin Hall, were modified to cope with an overflow from the campus residences. Alumni Hall found commodious quarters on the west side of Main at Humboldt Parkway. The large former Telephone Building on Delavan near Jefferson underwent extensive renovation in 1969-70 to equip it for the business office, the Computer Center, the Departments of Biology and Psychology, and the Department of Military Science formerly housed in Silk Hall and Richardson Hall on Hughes Avenue. The Eastwood offices of the English Department were also abandoned some time after the Tower was ready for occupancy. All in all, it was a compact urban campus, and a very lovely one. Location had become destiny in another way than could have been envisioned by the builders of Old Main. As the College's second century dawned, Canisius' geographical situation, no longer semirural as in 1912, but now on the very edge of the Inner City, clearly cast the school for an important role in the emerging epic of Negro America. As President Dobson had established a bridgehead within the downtown community of business and banking and President McGinley had firmed up lines of communication with the alumni, it fell to President Demske's lot to make a collective, Chardinian leap forward into a new-found and, no sooner found than imperiled, human community of black and white.

Canisius College Library



To keep pace with the advances in brick and mortar, President Dobson's regime had found it necessary to effect, for an institution still nineteenth century in organizational outline, a technocratic revolution that proceeded by rigorous blueprint. Among other things, this necessitated a setting up of guidelines for a faculty continuously being both amplified and upgraded. Before the marking-time interim induced by the Depression and World War II, there had been a gradual but definite growth under Presidents Peter F. Cusick, S.J., 1923-29, and Rudolph J. Eichhorn, S.J., 1929-34. To the outer eye, however, things had not altered much from the day of President George J. Krim, S.J., 1913-19. Change now began to occur at what seemed a rate of geometrical progression, not least in the composition of the faculty. It was crystal clear that the balance of power had dipped in the layman's direction; and no longer the Catholic layman necessarily. (Almost from the beginning, of course, there had been non-Catholic members of the faculty; but up to now the faculty had tended to be preponderantly Catholic.) By the beginning of the sixties the staff roster had become multidenominational with Protestants, Jews, Hindus, Buddhists in its ranks. By the

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spring of 1969 at least a quarter of the faculty belonged to other religious traditions than the Catholic. At the same time, following the national trend, the economic situation bettered for the Canisius professoriate at large.

To illustrate this enormous shift in educational gravity: in the Golden Jubilee Year of 1920 there had been 17 faculty members in all, only four of them lay, to accommodate a student body of not quite 200. On the eve of the Centennial Year there were 166 full-time faculty, 131 of these laymen and women, plus 80 part-time teachers of whom 76 were lay; and the all-round enrollment had mounted to the neighborhood of 5,000. A similar parabola had been described within the administration with the Executive Vice President, the Director of Student Personnel, the Dean of Admissions and Records, the Director of the Graduate Division, the Deans of Men and Women, the Director of the Library all lay. In fact, the very term, "lay" had virtually become a historical curosity. The only offices still reserved—and out of tradition, too, not out of statute—for Jesuits were those of the Dean of the Faculty, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, and the President; and, even for these heretofore sacrosanct preserves, there were signs that the situation could easily change in the predictable future. Speaking before the Canisius chapter of the A.A.U.P. on December 6, 1966, President Demske startled his audience with his response to a query about the future direction of the College: "A dramatic difference might well come in the top control of the College .... Will we even have a Jesuit president in ten years?"

The greater diversification of faculty degrees was another index of fundamental change. In addition to those standbys of the immediate past, the greater Catholic graduate schools, doctorates from Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Oxford, the Sorbonne, Chicago, Cornell, Vienna, Louvain, Leipzig, California, Southern California, Toronto, Penn State, the University of Pennsylvania, Syracuse, Wisconsin, Michigan, Northwestern, Nebraska, Rutgers became commonplaces among Canisius faculty credentials. There was a concomitant stabilization of the hitherto fluid ground rules regulating rank and tenure. The past inadequate pension arrangements were corrected; and fringe benefits increased. October 1968, saw the election of a Faculty Senate, a circumstance that proved of immense utility during the student crises of 1969-70. A history of the College might almost be written in terms of the evolution of faculty amenities, with the early forties marking the first great breakthrough when wives were included in the annual Dean's Dinner for the Faculty. It was to President Dobson's day that the instructional staff owed the cozy institution of the Faculty Coffee Room which at once became the center of common room conviviality.

In the nature of things, a Canisius faculty was—and probably always would be—a teaching faculty primarily. It had to its credit, nevertheless, a surprisingly heavy volume of significant publishing with the English staff leading the van and without the school's ever lapsing into the danger a Columbia provost once described as "perishing from publishing." Quite to the contrary, the faculties at large construed it as their two chief tasks to teach first, and then to maintain an intimate rapport with the student body. All the same, it was a welcome increment in every day's academic routine that, within a decade, Canisius professors should have produced such books as J. Robert Barth's *Coleridge and Christian Doctrine* (Harvard Press), William T. Noon's *Joyce and Aquinas* (Yale Press); and, to supplement these two Jesuit productions the first volume of Dr. Laurence A. Michel's Yale edition of the works of Samuel Daniel came out under the Canisius aegis.

There is a temptation, when writing college history, to confine one's chronicle to bricks and mortar first, after that to presidents, and finally to faculty, without touching, except as a pure abstraction, a college's *raison d'etre,* students, and that student-extension in time who are the alumni and alumnae. Since the University of Buffalo's College of Arts and Sciences did not get under way significantly until toward the end of the 1910's, Canisius, as the only male liberal arts college within the city limits for the preceding half century, carried extra responsibility for those studies which traditionally have been prerequisites for the professions of law, medicine, dentistry, teaching, and the sacred ministry. The successful discharge of this obligation was reflected in what might almost be thought of as a disproportionate percentage of Canisius-trained attorneys, jurists, physicians, dentists, teachers, and priests, to say nothing of an occasional minister here and there. From the beginning it also served as a breeding ground for political leaders on federal, state, and municipal levels. Many graduates elected business careers in addition as executives and experts—in 1968, out of the College's living 7,500 alumni, some 500 were accountants. By the second half of the 1930's, with Canisius chemists and physicists already making their mark in industry and secondary teaching, a sizable number of Canisius men had begun to opt for careers in university and college teaching. After the middle 1950's, this particular rate of advance notably accelerated.

Even though colleges had always been organized for the sake of the students for whom they acted *in loco parentis,* it was during the 1960's and 1970's that college students came into their own in a special sense as a kind of Fifth Estate. At Canisius, as elsewhere, courses proliferated and, with this burgeoning of outlet, opportunities for later graduate advancement also increased. Woodrow Wilson, Danforth, National Science Foundation Fellowships, Regents Medical Scholarships, Fellowships in general were won in increasing numbers. For the first time, black students exerted a perceptible impact as fully funded Martin Luther King Scholarships made their appearance in 1967. One

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sign that the macrocosm of the outer world was more and more visibly affecting the microcosms that were the colleges was the fact that, in the Canisius language laboratories, Russian had joined the old, once exclusively preferred Western European tongues.

Curriculum reform produced a positive explosion within the once inveterately conservative departments of Theology and Philosophy where the post-Johannine strains within Catholicism were naturally felt most acutely. Aquinas retreated, the Existentialists gained ground. To paraphrase the English statesman on Socialism, they were all Existentialists at Canisius in those decades. Or almost all, since Thomism still marshalled its defenders. After the post-1914 retreat of classic studies in the Latin and Greek vernaculars, English and American literature had been the chosen conduits through which the stream of imaginative culture had flowed most freely. Between 1950 and 1970 the English Department took an admirably broadened view of its commitments to the literary stream of the present as well as to an age in which criticism had become a major activity. It was, at the same time, hospitable to the new trends in cinema and multi-media. An immediate result of all this ferment was the installation of two honors degrees: on a general level; on the level of the various major concentrations. No longer was college mainly a combination of social credential and anthropological *rite de passage,* though it would have to be admitted that the new tribalism of 1967-70 was adding a few anthropological innovations of its own. At the same time as the relationship between instructor and instructed—and this was especially true of the younger staff members—became a more organic one, the campus turned into a literal Chautauqua of outside lecture possibilities under the aegis of such entities as the Fitzpatrick Chair in Political Science, the Polish Chair, and the Academic Lectures Committee, supplemented by the independent offerings of the various departments of the College.

All this change in no way involved a repudiation of past values. When the Centennial year of 1970 came to its end, the supremacy of the liberal arts, though shaken, still remained. Another thing that had stayed intact, though hardly unchanged in expression, was the fact that, amid all the hubbub, Canisius humanism had never surrendered God for the sake of an illusory self-sufficiency. It taught Kafka in its literature classes with great sympathy; but its philosophy went far beyond Kafka's world of masks. Above all, perhaps, it maintained a philosophy of death as well as life. At Canisius, however new the garb in which it went forth, the old liberal mystique continued to strike a necessary delicate balance between an institution of higher learning as a generator of new knowledge and as a transmitter of old wisdom, while never ignoring the student-generated demand for engagement in the vital issues of the day. If it accepted—as it did—the cult of the absurd within bounds as a corrective of yesterday's false heroics, it insisted, at the same time, on remembering that man's life also needed overtones of myth, magic, compassion, and heroism. With the *Zeitgeist* effectively secularizing the sacred on every side, Canisius had attempted a subtler thing: to sacralize the secular. Only the future would tell whether the effort had proved successful.

Within the students, too, during these two seminal decades, one might register a similar systolic-diastolic rhythm of continuity and change. If the Press was finding its claim to being the Fourth Estate challenged by the new electronic media, there could be no manner of doubt, that, by the mid-1960's, the students had become a powerful Fifth Estate, an antiestablishment-establishment powerful enough to force the abdication of one American college president and to embarrass the future of his successor. Leading up to this student entry into the corridors of power, Canisius had undergone the same postwar syndrome as other colleges. With prewar hedonism first yielding to postwar quietism, then turning into a pragmatic cult of success wherein good marks were paramount, the College's fourth change of course into hypercritical activism paralleled what was happening elsewhere. The watershed for Canisius was a participation in the Selma March on the part of a number of students, faculty, and administration. On that day the student body strode into history instead of merely reading about it. The ivory tower in the Canisius academic litany became, first, an ebony tower, and then, to the outer eye at any rate, underwent a transformation into a modified Tower of Babel. Although Canisius students set up a tutoring service for the underprivileged black children of the contiguous area while, on his side, President Demske crusaded for a City Open Housing Bill, it was not nearly enough for *The Griffin* which imputed a spirit of racism to the campus generally. Again, as almost everywhere else, the issue was joined. That four-year controversy, though endemic, remained good-tempered in the main and was carried on according to parliamentary due process, was a tribute both to the students' basic common sense and to the good-humored resilience of administration and faculty.

It was the student newspaper which continued to supply the principal forum for serious debate, a fact which highlighted another radical shift in interparietal ecology. Student organizations, which now offered a bewildering array of possibilities, were no longer just mimic representations of adult activities. Whether or not this would prove a gain in the long run, they became more and more politicized with invariable polemic overtones. Up to this point, the various Canisius publications—newspaper, literary journal, yearbook—had been proving grounds for future journalists, at least two novelists, a writer of children's books, and several poets, including a 1917 member of the *Canisius Monthly* staff who went on to become a pioneer Hebrew poet in the new state of Israel. The trend

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now was toward rhetoric *engagé* on the part of incipient publicists. While certain traditional organizations remained basically unaltered, even in the instances of the Debating Clubs, time-honored havens of relative conservatism, the already existent political edge was visibly sharper. To take but one instance, on the night of March 13, 1968, a black coed member of the Debating Team engaged pugilist Cassius Clay in debate over the Black Muslim issue of separatism for the American Negro, her *leitmotiv* simply and effectively enunciated: "It is my America."

Underneath, except in the inevitable matters of costume and hairstyles, student mores were not nearly so far removed from what they had been as a superficial survey would suggest. Though "pot" was not unknown in the residence halls, it had not become a real problem up through 1970. Canisius stayed what it had been for a hundred years: a "beer" college. In 1969 an experimental Campus Rathskeller was opened in the west wing of the Student Center cafeteria. Domestically, it was no longer necessary to smuggle liquor into the residence halls since a new regulation permitted consumption thereof in "the residents' rooms" and in the "Campus Club." (One suspects the founding German Fathers would have approved the first ordinance, but not the second.) By the fall of 1968 student dress regulations had been formally relaxed. The time-spirit wafted the fads of the day across the Canisius quadrangle. The latest poets read fast and furiously on set occasions. When *The Quadrangle,* the student literary journal, turned lyric almost totally, an anti-establishment poetry broadsheet began to publish in opposition—actually, upon analysis, many of the same students used both outlets for their verse. Fortunately, all this maelstrom of activity served to abet rather than inhibit the academic process, as became clear when the area's Woodrow Wilson Fellowships for 1970 were made public. Of a total of eight designates and 10 honorable mentions assigned the 10 Western New York four-year colleges, Canisius had carried off three designates and six honorable mentions, an exact 50 percent of the 18 awards. Quite evidently the College's contribution to the cultural ecology of the Niagara Frontier, always considerable, was increasing.

A backward glance over the first Canisius century revealed, in retrospect, the College as a triple paradigm: of Jesuit education on the college level; of liberal arts education at large; of Catholic education in search of its identity, a search that was by no means over. Looking forward, there was reason both for hope and fear. With nihilism growing in Academe all over the world, with student bodies becoming progressively more like nineteenth century *Narodniki* by the month, there was no reason to assume that Canisius would be bypassed by these growing pressures. There was, however, some reason to think that the College entered the 1970's in a good position to weather a storm that was still bursting overhead. The era of the Jesuit professor was closing, the era of a lay professoriate, not unmindful of the institution's long Jesuit continuity, already far advanced. Throughout their better than four centuries of educational experience, the Jesuits had always displayed resourceful adaptation to change in the implementation of their conviction that the secret of civilization is meaningful continuity: the past advancing with dignity into a present it has molded; the present, moving with loveliness clothing significance into a future that might or might not be achieved but, in any event, could never be predicted with certainty. There was no reason to think that the inheritors of this tradition, multi-national, multi-ethnic, representing many creeds and cultures, conservators of a Judaeo-Christian tradition that was no longer either sectarian or monolithic, would shirk the necessary task of persuading students to place organic evolution before rootless revolution. There was no reason to suppose, either, that, in one way or another, the Canisius of the future would forget its historic mission of offering a philosophy to help assuage man's radical anguish and sense of uncertainty about ultimate things. Whatever else might change in the years ahead, this very heart of the human condition would not.

It would be the most culpable of follies, nevertheless, to minimize either the difficulties or the dangers that would confront a comparatively small—but not too small at that—liberal arts college without a heavy endowment and lacking state support in the years to come. The heavy task of financing all private institutions bulked heavier than ever. With revolution in the air on and off the campus, it was important to remember that revolution had a way of liquidating good things as well as evil; that revolutions were always made by minorities; that, taken collectively, the college and university population of the nation was a ponderably larger minority than usual; that, finally, the students' sense of alienation was proceeding as the 1970's began. Moreover, the new student revolution of cultural ecology that had its origins in Academe could so easily end by devouring its own progenitor. As, possibly, the finest flower of human freedom, academic institutions had about them a structural fragility that rendered them dangerously vulnerable to strategically directed assault. But there was one counterbalancing consolation. The very extremity of the danger, inasmuch as it pointed the way to a circumventing of the peril, constituted an almost exhilarating opportunity.

Building on convictions bred both of observation and inheritance from the classic past, there were those at Canisius who argued, over the years 1965-70, that the basic crisis within Academe—and within the human psyche itself—was a crisis of the imagination. They thought that if the crisis were to be successfully resolved, it would be done so only through a "reclaimed"—the word came from Samuel Johnson's *Journal*—imagination; and that the liberal arts college, provided it made

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the requisite adjustments to render itself relevant within a changed situation, was peculiarly well advantaged to be one of the chief instruments of this necessary reclamation. The argument suggested further, that in the short as well as the long run, such successful reclamation was ultimately the only way in which a college like Canisius could solve its own specific problems of identity and survival at the same time as it helped heal the wound within the contemporary human personality.

Academe itself had to shoulder part of the blame for that wound. It used to be a truism that universities existed to pursue truth and colleges to transmit it. The age preceding the immediate present had deflected both pursuit and transmission into a grasp after power. Instinctively, two generations of college students had tried to arm themselves against the effects of this fundamental usurpation by flocking into the humanities only to find that the humanities themselves were becoming, all too often, mere antechambers of vocationalism; and that a plethora of mind and ratiocination did not allow for the deeper, older satisfactions of rational delight. The poets had always been the first and best ecologists; but no one took them seriously outside the classroom. The result was a reaction into mindlessness. From having been expected to read too much, the students suddenly took to reading nothing at all. Or, if they read, they read only themselves in their own solipsistic salons of selfevaluation without a background of corrective value. Meanwhile, imagination itself became, successively an imagination of despair, of disaster, of the fantasies of the brothel. Simultaneously, man's sense of history waned; and the sciences, detached from imagination's enlivening, coordinating power, lost their savor all at once.

In the last analysis, education is an unending spiritual Odyssey of culture-bearing. Into the 1930's, when the final classic bastions gave way, that subtler cousin of the *Odyssey,* the *Aeneid,* had been the archetypal book, the coping-stone of the Jesuit liberal curriculum. When the French Fathers, who began the Jesuit epic along Niagara's forested frontier three centuries and a half ago, baptized their woodland catechumens, they used to give them French names to complement the Iroquois ones they already owned. In Indian mouths, Ignace, the French form of Ignatius, underwent a sea change, "rich and strange," into Aeneas. A wandering Iroquois warrior carried the name to the plains and mountain ridges of the Sioux where the Canisius Germans were to set up their own mission. It was the most felicitous of errors, that curious transmogrification of Ignatius the Saint into Aeneas the Hero. For it had been the Jesuit destiny in education to serve as one of the world's Aeneases, carrying civilization's household gods out of an ever burning past to renew an ever-changing contemporary culture that, in order to remain traditional, had to be continually altered.

There were certain indications, as the 1970's approached, that this particular Jesuit Aeneid—for Ignatius' Company had other Aeneids in hand besides the Aeneid of collegiate education—might be approaching its ultimate harbor. If so, it continued to offer essential education, at once an image and a historic destiny. There was reason to feel confident, where Canisius College was concerned, that, in any case, the Jesuits' collaborators and possible future successors had taken this imaged destiny from their hands to fulfill if, in new ways and for new generations of collegians, in the years to come.

D'YOUVILLE COLLEGE

The time-honored administrative offices and orders of the Roman Catholic Church functioned decisively in the matter of the collegiate education of women as well. In 1907, Bishop Charles H. Colton announced to the astonished Order, then operating Holy Angels Academy, that he had applied to the authorities of the State of New York for a charter to establish D'Youville College. This took the local chapter of the Grey Nuns of the Cross quite by surprise but they quickly recovered. They had, in 1872, purchased the land on which the College now stands, exhausting their treasury thereby, after which Bishop Ryan ordered them to begin building. This was done, and with additions of 1887, 1899, and 1907, space was already provided for the beginnings of the

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proposed new college for women.

The Grey Nuns were certainly less dismayed than State authority for one of the Regents of the University of the State of New York was suddenly aroused to what he imagined to be a threat to public education. It may have been fortunate that the chartering had already been referred to the Legislature after the diocesan legal counsel had noted that under a Regents charter the property of the Diocese would be subject to seizure should the school become insolvent. This hazard had been created by a recent law no doubt intended to do no more than make it possible for the Board of Regents to liquidate bankrupt school enterprises in extreme cases. Final disposition of the distressed Regent's declarations in opposition to Church sponsorship of education fell to Governor Charles Evans Hughes. He held a hearing, recommended repeal of the law on school liquidation, and signed the bill granting the charter.

The Grey Nuns had been invited to Buffalo in 1857 by Bishop John Timon. They were a Canadian Order with the Motherhouse in Ottawa, and the connection remained until 1921, when the Buffalo group became autonomous as Grey Nuns of the Sacred Heart. They came to carry on a part of Bishop Timon's ambitious program of education and social welfare. Their duties included care for the poor of the Holy Angels Parish, which, since it included all of the Black Rock district, gave them adequate scope. They were faced with poverty, a large population needing elementary schooling, and, by 1861, an affluent group in the Prospect Park area demanding a separate school to include the arts and boarding arrangements. Some people may later have been astonished at the readiness of the Grey Nuns to undertake advanced education in welfare and medical fields; if the Sisters noticed, they were surely amused that anyone should have imagined them to have been enjoying sheltered lives. They had, in their first decade, been visiting the miserable shacks along the Erie Canal, opening an elementary school in the old Erie County Poor House, and setting up a "select school" in their six-room convent on York Street. This school was quickly moved to a larger house on Niagara Street, and a charter from the Legislature was acquired in 1864. They were named, perhaps in some ponderous Legislative humor, "The Holy Angels Infirmary, Academy, and Industrial School for benevolent, charitable, and scientific purposes."

D'Youville College therefore opened in September 1908, with much experience of teaching in Buffalo already gained. Its first degree, an honorary doctorate in music, was conferred on a graduate of Holy Angels Academy at an inaugural ceremony which also celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the Grey Nuns in Buffalo. D'Youville's first class was graduated in 1912, and it became thereby not only Western New York's first Catholic college for women but also the first college in Buffalo to confer the baccalaureate degree on women, and Buffalo's third degree-granting institution. It was the fifth Catholic college for women in the state.

First graduates D'Youville College, 1912

In 1908, professional opportunities for women were not extensive. The Grey Nuns took up the program that seemed most appropriate: the developing of secondary school teachers. The State Normal School was taking care of the task of providing elementary teachers, leaving the high school field, which was still not a large one, to Canisius, the University of Buffalo, and D'Youville. This remained the chief professional preoccupation of D'Youville into the 1930's. At that time, opportunities perversely broadened as the economy's shakiness threatened to narrow everyone's effective choices. The triumphant feminist movement, having won political recognition in the matter of voting and shared a taste of equal employment in World War I, was strongly proposing that women's abilities be better used, and in this D'Youville College joined the general tendency, adding a course in business administration leading to a degree.

This has remained a part of the curriculum, but it has been surpassed by another interest in numbers of graduates. This is social service, particularly the education of caseworkers. The Depression called attention to the great need for rational treatment of social ills, and D'Youville was making a direct effort to respond. This was repeated in another great addition to its curriculum, the establishment of the School of Nursing. The need for the school was pointed out by hospital administrators, and New York State authorized it in 1942. Its success equaled that of the social services, and it grew to be equal in numbers of students to the basic arts school. The D'Youville policy in the nursing course was to insist on an adequate background in the liberal arts to match the professional opportunities provided in Our Lady of Victory Hospital—the basic training ground —and in the Meyer Memorial, Children's, and State hospitals. By 1960, a course in medical technology was added to this already strong professional list.

Arts work is now being directly strengthened by the development of

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a major in drama. The interest in this art has been steadily maintained, a major play being produced annually and an instructor in speech regularly employed. One of the handsome assembly halls is being fitted for drama, and it will join the present chapel as a room of considerable architectural interest.

A further noticeable change is being produced by the admission of men students. Constant building since 1955 to care for the rapidly rising enrollments has produced a campus that, almost for the first time, calls for more students, and the change to coeducational status is in part a consequence of that capacity. The gradual early growth of the college (over 1,000 in 1965, with more than that in evening classes) was accommodated by removal of Holy Angels Academy Grade School in 1923, and of the High School in 1930. A generous plan in the 1950's brought a library and the Madonna Hall dormitory in 1959, two other dormitories and a Student Center in 1964 and 1969, and a Health Science Building in 1967. The success in creating a complete campus poses the further problem of keeping it in full use, and men students are welcomed on that score.

This should not obscure the fact that men have never been unwelcome on the D'Youville College campus. The Grey Nuns intended their students to have opportunities to meet their peers, which meant students in other colleges, and to take advantage of acquaintance with the opposite sex. Their student mixers, much in the hands of student government, maintained a habit of regular exchange with the "Little Three"—St. Bonaventure, Canisius, and Niagara—as well as Rosary Hill and the University of Buffalo. It was never thought advisable that women students should feel any sense of loss in having no opportunity to associate with the new male students, and when it was proposed to admit them to D'Youville, the faculty was interested to note that some women students were opposed.

The strong student governing body was a source of pride and it now proceeds with the faculty, attempting to limit itself to an absolute minimum of interference. This has not prevented an upsurge of rebelliousness in recent years, and there has been considerable erosion of the formality preferred traditionally by the Grey Nuns. But this is recognized as a consequence of great growth in size—there is no close acquaintance of faculty and student body and there are no longer regular assemblies, due to the lack of a large enough hall. Gone, too, were the initiation procedures for new students. But there remained a very practical system for organizing extracurricular activities in various areas: athletics, entertainment, and departmental. In addition, the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine sponsored professional efforts to serve in the teaching of the retarded, in visiting at the Father Baker institutions, and in serving parishes of the black ghettoes.

Rosary Hill College folk mass

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ROSARY HILL COLLEGE

The recent past of D'Youville is quite surprisingly duplicated by the development of Rosary Hill College. It was opened in 1948, by the Sisters of St. Francis of Penance and Christian Charity. This order had established Sacred Heart Academy—also on East Main Street—in 1874, and staffs a number of other schools. Its collegiate adventure was suggested by Bishop O'Hara's estimate that places were needed for at least 1,000 women students. The mansion designed by George Cary for Herbert E. Crouch in 1912 was purchased, and 44 students enrolled under a faculty of 10. Its curriculum was organized on the Princeton model—the first two years prescribed, followed by departmental concentrations, with English and language examinations to complete the set of academic hurdles.

Enrollments quickly rose and then shot up with the recent pressures for collegiate training. These increases, reaching a total of 1,000 by 1965, demanded much expanded facilities, and a 32-acre campus dominated by Duns Scotus and Daemen Halls was the fulfillment. The concentration on degrees in music and fine art gave the school its special purpose, with medical records training a further addition. Its staff of 91 in 1965 offered a wide variety of study concentrations. It, too, introduced men into its student body.

VILLA MARIA COLLEGE

These sketches of educational achievement in the Catholic women's colleges would be incomplete without mention of the fact that another school has begun its career. This is Villa Maria College, opened in 1960 as an affiliate of Catholic University of America by the Felician Sisters who have had a long history in teaching in the Diocesan schools. The Order was established in Buffalo in 1881, and formed a girls high school in 1918.

In 1960, the Order opened Villa Maria on Doat Street as an institution for the education of the members of their own community.

Beginning with 200 students and 20 professors, by 1964 it had moved to Pine Ridge Road in Cheektowaga, acquired a fine new building, and boasted a complete music institute.

In 1965 the College was opened to lay as well as religious students and an accredited adult education program was begun. The College offers 2 and 3 year programs, granting Associate degrees in Arts, Humanities, Social Sciences, Natural Sciences, Mathematics, Education, Home Economics, Secretarial Sciences, and Nursing.

Mt. St. Joseph College, now Medaille College

MEDAILLE COLLEGE

Both younger and older than any of these is Medaille College, successor to Mt. St. Joseph College. Its absolute charter, which removed all limitations on its student body, was granted in 1968. The Sisters of St. Joseph date their origin to 1650 in France, and they began their teaching in Buffalo with their School for the Deaf in 1854. The history of that famous institution is a subject all its own, but the remarkable contributions of the Sisters therein left them time to set up the Institute of the Sisters of St. Joseph in 1892. Its purpose was to educate women to teach in elementary schools.

The Institute became a three-year Normal School in 1925, and a four-year degree-granting College in 1938. But the 1938 charter also narrowed its scope to the preparation of the women of religious communities solely, the reasons for this were not recorded. In the next three decades various charter amendments permitted the degrees of Mas-

Villa Maria College

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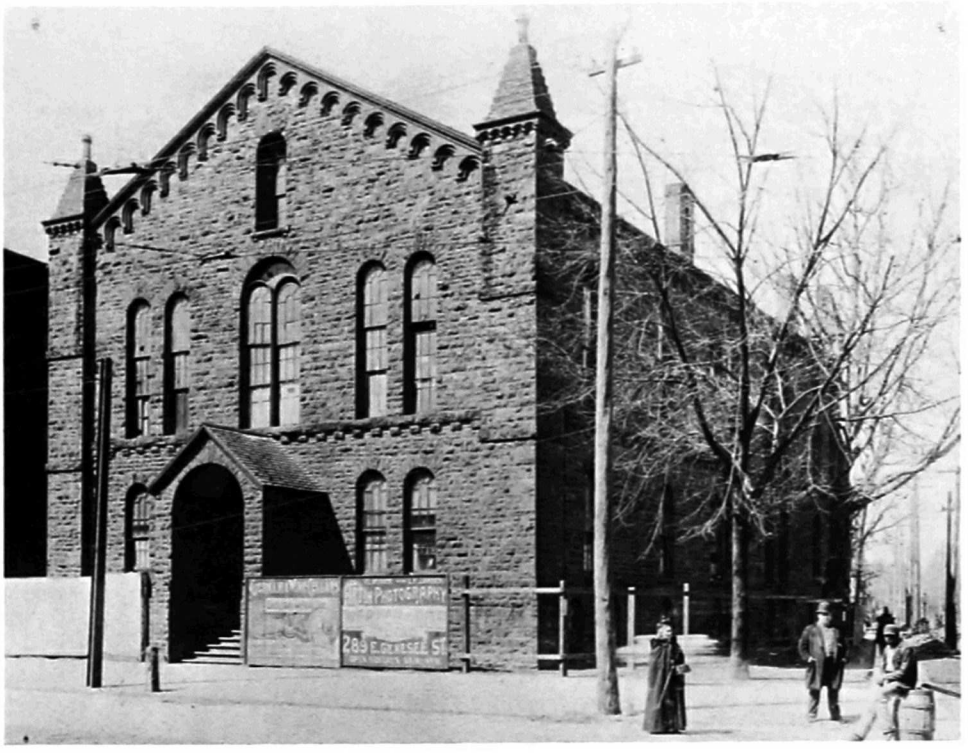
ter of Science in Education, Master of Arts, and Bachelor of Arts, but all the experiments culminated in a return to original educational objectives under the Medaille College charter of 1968. This opened attendance to men and women, ending the restriction to women of religious communities, and reestablished the purpose of preparing elementary teachers, discontinuing the graduate study program.

The intent of the change of name was to focus efforts upon a chosen few essentials in community life. These were imaginatively selected, centering around the essential problems of communication in the learning process. This not only outlined special interests in the teaching process but placed the school so motivated firmly in contact with the community. Language and reading emphasis created courses and laboratories devoted to the problem of reading, and this led to further efforts to aid the underprivileged who suffered limitations of this kind. The connection with the long experience of the Sisters of St. Joseph with the deaf and dumb is apparent. The Sisters are searching for support of their generous scholarships in their demonstration school, but are still carrying on with their own donated services and the normally heavy tuition of the private school. The effort gives them the distinction of having one of the three American private colleges devoted to educating elementary school teachers.

UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO

Beginning earlier than any of these was the University of Buffalo, now one of the major units of the State University. It was, however, a graduate school of medicine when Canisius essayed its mission in the liberal arts, and its direct efforts during our first half-century in the field of education was the school of education whose too-brief story has been related. Inevitably this omission was to be filled by characteristic local energy and initiative.

In the mid-1830's, Buffalo had just been incorporated as a city, and its residents were eager that it have the appropriate institutions, particularly a university. Thus, in 1836, prominent men of the area, U.S. Congressman Millard Fillmore among them, procured from the State a charter incorporating the "Western University." Subscriptions were made to endow six or seven professorships and establish a general fund, and a building site was conditionally presented. But these plans collapsed with the national financial crisis of 1836-37, and visions of a great civic educational institution temporarily faded.



University of Buffalo Medical School

The Young Men's Association renewed the University idea under a revived economy in 1842, but as the debts of the original venture forced them to seek a new instrument of incorporation, the "Western University" was never to be. In its stead, "The University of Buffalo" was incorporated by an act of the New York State Legislature on May 11, 1846. This second attempt to establish a university was to be successful.

Although the 1846 charter contemplated and authorized "academical, theological, legal and medical departments" for the new institution, the leading forces in the drive for establishment were chiefly concerned with founding a medical college to meet the public health needs of the expanding community. As a result, that school was the first to be organized.

By August of that year, $20,000 of the $100,000 capital authorized for the institution had been promised, and the establishing commissioners met to elect a governing Council. Millard Fillmore was named as Chancellor, an honorary and ceremonial chief executive position, a title he held until his death, even during his years as President of the United States.

The University began operation in a leased building at the corner of Washington and Seneca Streets in the downtown area. The first annual course of lectures opened on February 25, 1847, with 72 students receiving instruction from seven physicians. Eighteen of the students were awarded medical degrees at the first commencement in June of the same year. For clinical resources the faculty turned first to the Hospital of the Sisters of Charity and later to the Buffalo General Hospital, thus beginning a tradition of affiliation and

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close cooperation which still exists between the University's School of Medicine and the City's hospitals.

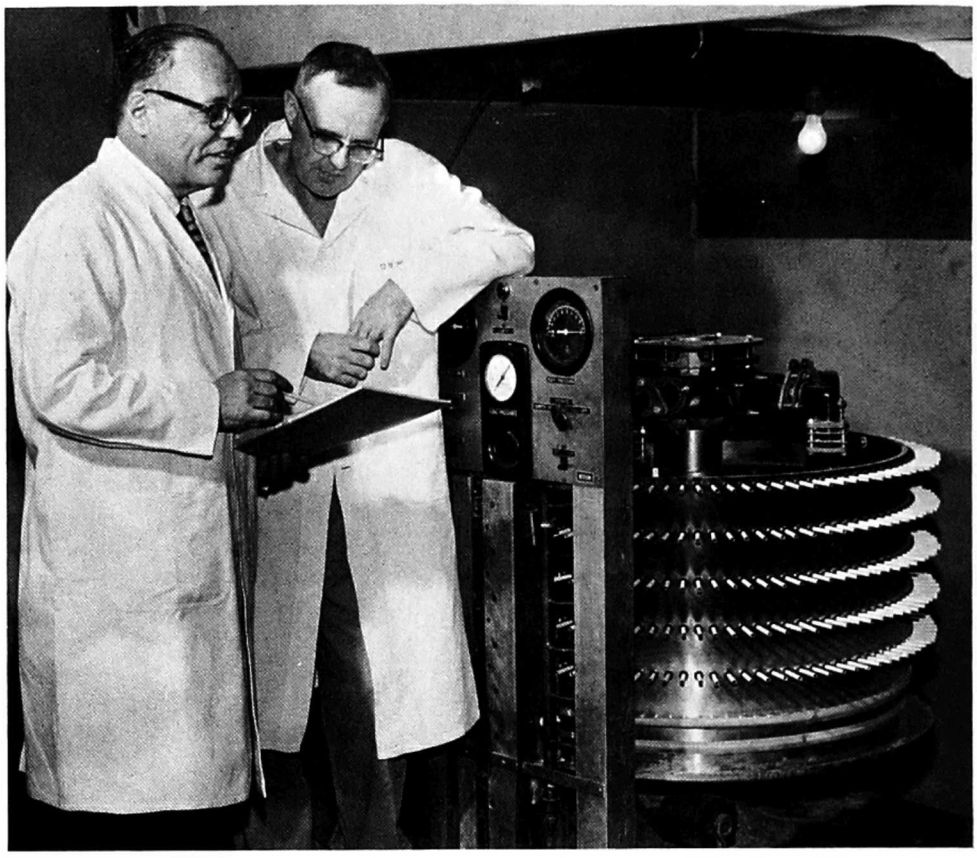
The first building constructed by the University was a 2½-story brownstone building at the corner of Main and Virginia Streets, slightly north of the downtown area. Several of the founders may have thought their original intentions successfully fulfilled on the occasion of its dedication in 1849, but Chancellor Fillmore was not among them.

"Our citizens called for and obtained a *university* charter," he said at the dedication. "Where is your faculty for the department of law? . . . Where are your academic branches? All wanting. The medical faculty, by a noble and persevering effort have filled up theirs, and are now prepared to go on with their school in an edifice which their own hands have built.

"All else is vacant. Reflect, and see if it will not be a reproach upon us, if we longer permit our university to exist with but a single branch in operation."

When Millard Fillmore's further national political ambitions were dashed in the election of 1856, he devoted his time and effort to the city's cultural, economic, and educational advancement. He returned time and again to his theme of a greater university "eminently useful" to the community and introduced the concept of broad public support for its development. Despite his efforts, however, the University still remained solely a medical school at the time of his death in 1874, and it was not until 1886 that expansion came in any direction. The academic departments he called for did not come until the twentieth century.

Although the early University did not develop rapidly in terms of curriculum, its growth in stature was significant. During the 40 years that the medical school existed alone, its faculty inaugurated a tradition of distinction and experimentation. Dr. James P. White introduced clinical obstetrics as early as 1850. Experimentation on living animals was first practiced in America by Dr. John C. Dalton. One of the founders of the school, Dr. Austin Flint, became internationally-known for his writings on medicine, and he established and edited the *Buffalo Medical Journal.* His *Practice of Medicine* sold more than 40,000 copies. The University's first professor of surgery, Dr. Frank H. Hamilton, was appointed by the American Medical Association to investigate the frequency of deformities in fractures; the papers issuing from his research became the first book in the English language exclusively devoted to that subappropriation ever made from public funds for the purposes of combating cancer. Out of this activity grew today's Roswell Park Memorial Institute, a Buffalo agency world renowned for its advances in cancer research. While the Institute is today a separate institution, it retains a University affiliation through a Graduate School and through programs in medicine and dentistry.



Dr. George E. Moore, right, Roswell Park Memorial Institute Director, demonstrating cigarette smoking machine, 1964

In the late 1880's and early 1890's, Fillmore's ideas on expansion began to come to fruition under the chancellorship of Eben Carlton Sprague. The School of Pharmacy was organized as the second division of the University in 1886, in response to the growing demands on the city's pharmacists. The new School shared quarters with Medicine until 1893 when a building designed for both was completed on High Street. The School granted only the degree of Graduate in Pharmacy until it was empowered to confer the Master of Pharmacy in 1897. In 1891, an independently established Law School that had begun in 1887 was incorporated into the University, and in 1892, the School of Dentistry was opened. Both these additions showed vigorous development from the beginning. The School of Dentistry had an enrollment of 222 four years after its establishment and was moved into its own building. Not so fortunate was a School of Pedagogy that opened in 1895, and closed three years later for lack of funds. The Medical Department of Niagara University was merged with that of the University of Buffalo, and many of its professors joined the latter faculty.

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The twentieth century was to transform the University. In 1905, Charles P. Norton became acting Chancellor. A native Buffalonian, he had been active in the founding of the University's Law School, was its first registrar, and served on the faculty for 21 years. Although his appointment as Chancellor was in the ceremonial tradition of his predecessors, he breathed new life into the idea of a greater University in the fullest meaning of the term and supplied a driving force that would not admit defeat. His contributions were to be lasting. In addition to 15 years of tireless leadership, he bequeathed his entire estate to the University, providing funds for a Student Union building and for endowment of the Chancellor's Medal, the University's highest award, presented annually since 1925 to "an outstanding citizen of Buffalo."

Norton, in his first year of office, proposed a million dollar expansion program to develop a College of Arts and Sciences on a ten acre tract between the Albright Art Gallery and the Buffalo Historical Society Building. The result would have been a complete cultural center, blending the facilities of all three. The site would have also afforded room for limited future development. The idea was rejected as being too ambitious and too far-reaching for a university without endowment or general community support, and those who felt that a liberal arts college was necessary favored two or three blocks in the immediate vicinity of the Medical-Dental Buildings as the more appropriate site. Norton agreed that his initial plan was not suitable because it was not extensive enough!

When he learned from Council member Edward R. Michael that Erie County was to vacate the 150 acre site of its county almshouse and hospital on North Main Street, Norton proposed, in 1909, that the University acquire at least 106 acres of the land for an arts college and other future needs. On the property were several buildings which were later converted and are still used today, but one of the most prominent features was a truck garden, mostly of cabbages and corn, which stretched along Main Street. In later years, an eloquent educator was to toast the University by saying, "You looked at a cabbage patch and saw a beautiful campus; looked at an almshouse and saw a liberal arts college." Norton and a few Council members were the only ones who saw the promise. Nonetheless, the Council voted to acquire the property for $54,300 and marshaled the University's first fund campaign to raise the purchase price; but there were no funds for the arts college, and Norton turned to the City for support. In February 1911, he proposed to the Mayor that the City appropriate $75,000 annually to the University for payment of instructors for the arts college. In turn, the University would ultimately bestow scholarships each year upon 300 young men and women of the City who would compete for the honor by examination. In addition, the Mayor, Comptroller, and Corporation Counsel of the City would be ex officio members on the University Council.

When the Mayor presented the plan to the Board of Aldermen, however, they wanted greater representation on the University's governing body, and proposed that the Mayor should be authorized to nominate nine others to the Council. Since the City would be providing only a portion of the support for the University, the Council felt that the additional nine members would constitute a disproportionate municipal voice in the management of its affairs, and they urged approval of the initial proposition.

Mistrust of the University's religious views now flared among the Aldermen, and the Council made this final plea for its proposal:

> Our only desire has been to place this city where it belongs in matters of education; to give every young man and woman, Catholic or Protestent, Jew or Gentile, an opportunity to obtain in Buffalo an education that will fit them for life as well as any which may today be obtained elsewhere by those who have the wealth to procure it. We have inherited this trust from our predecessors who were inspired by the same ambition and we will not cease our efforts until we have created such a college....

Nonetheless, the Aldermen voted

Dental Clinic, University of Buffalo, 1918

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down the measure. The cause of the arts college survived, however, and was soon to find an ally in the American Medical Association.

In 1910, Dr. Abraham Flexner published a report to the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching that aroused the medical profession, the faculties of the medical schools, and State boards of examiners to raise the standards of the education for the profession. As a result, some medical schools closed and many others were consolidated. The report was the basis for new and more stringent entrance and degree requirements for "Grade A" accreditation laid down by the American Medical Association in 1913. Among the new guidelines was a provision that medical schools must require entering students to have at least one preliminary year of liberal arts work. Unless that year were provided by the University itself, the medical school at Buffalo would have to depend upon outside institutions. Those who had worked unsuccessfully for a decade to establish such a liberal arts program within the University now had impressive moral support, but the necessary financial resources to develop a new academic division were still lacking, and the Council of the University authorized only "courses in the arts and sciences" in the High Street location. Despite their inauspicious beginnings, the courses prospered and were awarded departmental status in 1915.

This start was nourished by the Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Buffalo which offered its building on Niagara Square as the home for a full-scale arts college provided that $100,000 for its endowment be raised within a year. The condition was met when Mrs. Seymour H. Knox, Sr., mother of the present Chairman of the University Council, and her family gave $250,000 in memory of Mr. Knox. In 1919, the State Department of Education authorized the College of Arts and Sciences to confer degrees and in the next year, 31 full and part time faculty members were instructing 600 students.

Prior to 1920, the University had been sustained entirely by student fees and occasional contributions to enable the erection of a new building or to meet an emergency, as in the case of the purchase of the new campus. The situation was to change markedly.

Under the leadership of Walter P. Cooke, Chairman of the Council and

University of Buffalo campus, 1950

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Acting Chancellor after Norton's retirement, the organization that had conducted the Liberty Loan Drives of World War I was brought together in behalf of the University. Calling the University the community's potentially most important institution, Cooke initiated a city-wide financial campaign. The drive enlisted 24,000 subscribers and produced $5 million in 10 days in the fall of 1920. A repeat performance in 1929, obtained pledges for a somewhat larger sum from 33,000 subscribers, but much of the amount was never received, as the stock market crash occurred on the last day of the drive. The University was thus one of the first in America to receive voluntary contributions from large numbers of individuals outside of its alumni body.

The 1920 campaign enabled the University to begin development of the Main Street property. Under the initial agreement, the land was to revert to the County if not put to educational use within 10 years. In 1919, a one-year extension was granted. Several months before the fund-raising venture, Chancellor Norton sealed the bargain by presiding over groundbreaking ceremonies for the first building, but it was the successful drive that made the gesture meaningful. The following year, 44 adjacent acres were purchased from the County and another 28 from private individuals, making the total 178 acres of the present Main Street campus.

Because of the bold activities of Norton and Cooke, the University celebrated its 75th anniversary in 1921 from a considerably impressive position. The Arts College had graduated its first class; the first endowment had been raised; the necessary property for expansion had been secured.

These successes showed clearly that the even greater accomplishments which loomed ahead would require the leadership of an experienced educator rather than that of a layman, however public spirited he might be. In 1922, after a two-year search, Dr. Samuel Paul Capen became the University's first full-time Chancellor, a position he was to hold for 28 years. A highly respected scholar, he had served as Woodrow Wilson's adviser on higher education and was instrumental in founding the American Council. Once asked why he had accepted the challenges of a University with so many uncertainties, he replied it was inevitable that in a metropolitan area of nearly one million people a strong institution of higher education would blossom with all potentialities of true distinction; he proposed to take part.

Dr. Capen's administration was a time of change, growth, and innovation. The loose amalgamation of independent schools existent at his inauguration was skillfully wielded into a coordinated institution. Additional full-time faculty were added to the handful who greeted his arrival. Physical and curriculum development were undertaken at a steady pace, and graduate work was introduced in the arts college as early as 1922. Foster Hall, the first new building on the Main Street campus was dedicated on October 27, 1922. It was named in recognition of the major gift of Mr. Orin Foster in the 1920 campaign. In 1923, what is now Millard Fillmore College was founded to make available evening educational opportunities for the adults of the community. In the mid-1920's the County's adult hospital building was reconstructed, greatly enlarged, and dedicated as Hayes Hall in honor of Brigadier General Edmund Hayes. An internationally-known designer of bridges, Hayes was a former member of the University Council and a generous friend of the institution. Other County buildings were put to use and new buildings rose: Crosby Hall, the first Norton Union, and the Lockwood Memorial Library were constructed.

In his inaugural address, Dr. Capen had called for the regeneration of the College of Arts and Sciences by affording it a place within the University structure at least equal to the professional schools which it had been founded to serve and by establishing independent study and an honors program for upperclassmen. The scope of honors work thus introduced increased steadily until 1932 when, in the spirit of experimentation the Chancellor championed, tutorial work replaced the honors scheme and was made compulsory for all upperclassmen. This was accompanied by a liberalization of the curriculum, abolition of required courses, and a total free-elective system under faculty guidance. This pattern was to continue for 25 years, although it underwent modification with the rapidly increased enrollments of the post-World War II period. The College continued to experiment, particularly in the "anticipatory examinations" for superior students.

As the arts college grew, it fostered establishment of other divisions of the University by inaugurating programs which eventually became independent. In this manner, the School of Business Administration, begun as a unit of the College in 1923, became the University's seventh division in 1927. In 1931, education courses were brought together in a school, and the School of Social Work became independent in 1936. The Graduate School of Arts and Sciences (now simply the Graduate School) offered its first program as an individual division in 1939. Dr. Capen also encouraged experimentation and innovation in the professions. In 1923, dental education became broader and more intensive with dental students receiving the same preprofessional and basic medical science education as medical students. This pattern, established in Buffalo, became the standard of dental education throughout the nation. In 1930, a program in nursing was added to the offerings of the School of Medicine, becoming a separate unit of the University in 1940. In the field of scientific achievement, cortin, a hormone which proved to be a remedy for Addison's disease, was discovered in 1930 by Dr. Frank A. Hartman, and important work for blood factors was carried out by Dr. Ernest Witebsky. Each new program added was in response to the needs of the community, for the goal of this relatively small but comprehensive institution was to enrich and best serve the

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interests of the community.

These days of educational development were not easy ones financially. The $5 million raised in the 1920 campaign, represented the entire amount of funds available until the end of the second World War. It was in this area, perhaps that Dr. Capen's best abilities were called to the fore. A former Dean said of him:

> He came to a university with almost no resources, and throughout his administration the available resources continued to be, in respect of the need, almost negligible. Now, if he had been a little man with little ideas this condition of poverty would not have been a test of courage. . . .But he was of course, a man whose ideal was the best in education and he set out to build a university and to run it over the years on first class principles with almost no money. . .I never cease to marvel at how a university which was thus being run on pin money could be so good.

In 1946, the University celebrated its centennial with an abrupt transformation in character and responsibilities. Before World War II, it had become accustomed to a relatively stable full-time student body of 1,525 enrolled in small classes. No large scale expansion had been chartered to increase educational opportunity. The end of the war and the educational benefits of the GI Bill, however, brought a deluge of students which increased enrollment on the main campus four-fold and doubled its total population. It was decided that no qualified veteran from the area was to be denied admission despite shortages of space and instructional personnel. "Tutorial sessions" grew larger and larger.

It was clear that this was not a temporary influx; a continual burgeoning in educational demand could also be expected throughout the 1950's, culminating in the college entrance of a dramatically increased population in the 1960's and 1970's. If the University was not to turn away students, unprecedented expansion had to be forthcoming. Modifications were made in the tutorial program to allow for more flexibility and other methods of instruction; a new campaign for endowment funds resulted in a subscription of nearly $2 million; and a School of Engineering was established to fulfill a newly-emerging professional need that was to mushroom in importance.

Samuel Capen ended his years as Chancellor in 1950, but not before the Council voted to erect on the main campus a Medical-Dental Building—dedicated as Capen Hall in 1953—and to raise an additional $3 million. The evening division and the last of the administrative offices were to move to the central campus within the next two years, bringing about the consolidation of all facilities, except the School of Law, and the final unity of the University which Dr. Capen sought to achieve throughout his administration.

Dr. Capen's term had seen the small groups of schools grow into a true University of 14 divisions on a central campus; a small full-time faculty had become a much larger and more distinguished one; enrollment was beginning to spiral. He had been correct in his original assessment that the institution would blossom. He had played the part he had said he would.

He is remembered for still another major contribution to the University's development, the championing of academic freedom. As he said at the one-hundredth anniversary celebration, "...We hold that a university is something over and above a group of professional schools. It is an instrument of inquiry. It is a forum of criticism and interpretation. It is an incubator of ideas. It is a nursery of free men, and as such it is democracy's strongest bulwark. Free men are not reared in leaden strings. Only by exercising the prerogatives and the responsibilities of freedom do men learn to be free and to be strong."

Dr. T. Raymond McConnell, successor to Dr. Capen, brought to Buffalo an international reputation as a student of the problems in higher education. During his Chancellorship, 1950-54, the University opened its first residence halls, moving from the status of a "street-car college" into an institution combining the best features of a residential school and an urban university. He also inspired

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further evaluation of the tutorial concept and urged serious consideration of future planning and financing to meet changing demands.

In 1954, Clifford C. Furnas, nationally known educator and scientist, became the ninth Chancellor of the University of Buffalo. He was to become the first President of the State University of New York at Buffalo.

In his inaugural address Dr. Furnas gave voice to the first expression of the new role of the institution at mid-century:

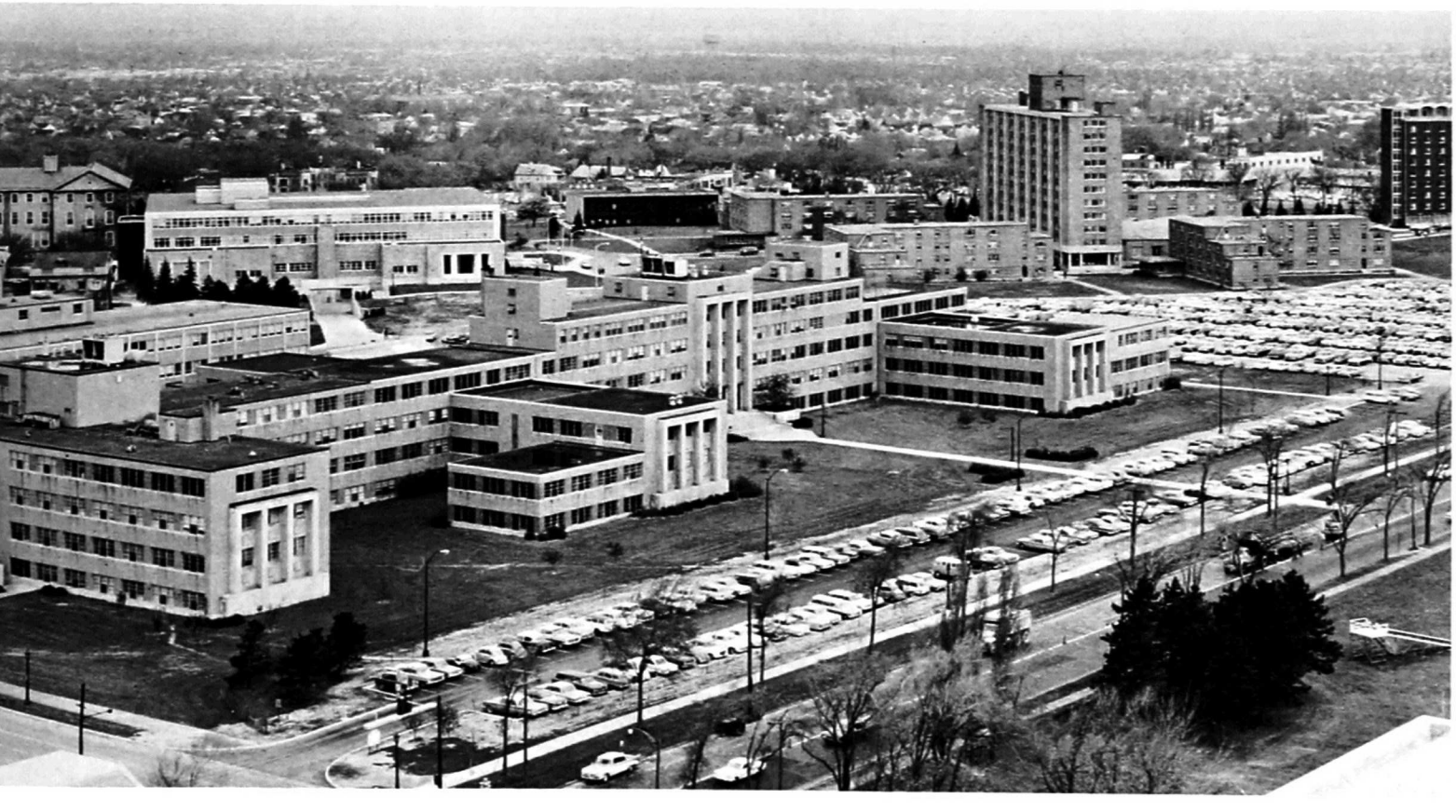
> If this age of ours will be remembered not for automobiles, nor atomic energy, nor wars, but for the spreading of benefits once enjoyed by the few to all mankind, the application for universities is obvious. The watchword must be: *Grow in stature and in quality.* We must do for many what once was done for a few. We must learn to educate millions as well as we once educated hundreds. The University of Buffalo must do its share. Expand and grow without loss of quality.

Dr. Clifford C. Furnas

From 1954 to 1962, Dr. Furnas led the University in an extensive program of enrichment and building to meet the demands placed upon it as the largest institution of higher education in the western half of New York State. Major construction projects included an $8 million Health Sciences complex to provide integrated facilities for the Schools of Medicine, Dentistry, Pharmacy, Nursing, Research, and the Department of Biology; dormitories, including an 11-story residence hall for men, and a 10-story, $3.3 million hall for women; the $2 million Acheson Hall of Chemistry; the $3.5 million Norton Student Union Building; and the $1.2 million Charles H. Diefendorf Classroom Building.

By 1962, the University could accommodate 1,500 students on campus and an additional 500 in leased apartment units one mile away. In that year, the total area of all University buildings grew to over two million square feet in 43 buildings; total assets increased to $71,514,533; enrollment rose to 10,881 day students, more than 7,000 of whom were full-time, and evening students increased to 5,003, despite the more stringent admission requirements; and the faculty increased to 1,938 full and part-time.

In 1957, the Albright Art School



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merged with and enriched the University's Department of Art. University College, a new basic division for freshman and sophomore students entering all programs, was established in 1958. In 1962, the College of Arts and Sciences officially discarded the tutorial plan in favor of more flexible honors work.

Important scholarly resources were further developed, among them the Lockwood Memorial Library poetry and manuscripts collection, and the Visiting Slee Professorship in Music was established, bringing to the campus such composers as Aaron Copland, David Diamond, Alexei Haieff, and George Rochberg.

President Furnas, recognizing the role that a major university must play in fostering economic growth in a modern urban complex, urged expanded University involvement in the mainstream of civic life and devoted continuing effort toward increasing the scientific and research activities which serve both as educational pursuits and as spurs to community industrial growth and economic health in the age of technology and space. As a result, sponsored research expenditures grew ten-fold during the 1950's. In 1960-61, the volume of research expended was $3.2 million; in 1961-62, $3.75 million; and in 1962-63, $4.2 million.

Deeply concerned with the needs of national security, Dr. Furnas encouraged both research and service in areas of interest to the Federal Government. Significant in this program and in the effort toward coupling University research with community economic growth was the establishment in 1960 of the Western New York Nuclear Research Center, Inc., a cooperative venture of Federal and State governments, private enterprise, and the University, dedicated to the peaceful applications of atomic energy on and off campus. The activities of this Research Center led, directly and indirectly, through the New York State Atomic Development Authority, to the establishment of a $30 million nuclear fuels reprocessing plant in nearby Cattaraugus County. Recent improvements in the facility have made it the third largest university reactor in the nation and the most powerful "pulse-type" reactor on any campus.

In the same vein of public service which he urged for the University, Dr. Furnas took a leave of absence from November 1955 to February 1957 to act as Assistant Secretary of Defense for Research and Development in the Eisenhower administration.

Despite the steady growth of this period, Dr. Furnas and his associates knew that even more dramatic progress must be forthcoming if the University were to live up to its responsibilities of the 1970's. As early as 1956, the University had anticipated this obligation and outlined a long-range minimum plan seeking resources to: 1) support good instruction and adequate facilities for 20,000 full-time students by 1970; 2) consolidate, improve, and enrich existing divisions and programs; and 3) develop programs and facilities appropriate to modern life and knowledge.

A campaign to raise $9 million was now successfully undertaken, but it was evident that much greater resources would be necessary if the University were to become, as Chancellor Furnas now proposed, a great institution in the national sense, contributing to the most important aspects of human endeavor.

In 1960, the State of New York took a new look at its higher educational facilities. The Committee on Higher Education appointed by Governor Rockefeller found that while private universities had borne the major burden of higher education in New York State in the past, private resources were not likely to be sufficient to meet the demands and challenges of the future. Its report was issued in November 1960, recommending broad State action, specifically in terms of developing two major public-supported multi-purpose universities emphasizing graduate and professional education. One month later, the Master Plan of the State University was issued, concurring with the spirit and major recommendations of the Committee, although favoring four major university centers; Buffalo was named as the logical site for one such center.

It was now evident that, if the State were to expand educational facilities in Western New York and build a great university in the spirit proposed, the University of Buffalo must necessarily figure in these plans for reasons of benefit to both the State and to the University.

Since the replacement value of its existing buildings and its endowment funds available for educational support totaled upwards of $100 million, it was obvious that a merger with the University of Buffalo would save the taxpayers of the State many millions of dollars, and perhaps even more important would save the State a great deal of valuable time. The development of the faculty, student body, traditions, and reputation necessary for a university takes many years—at least 15 to 20 even under favorable circumstances. The proposed merger would effectively give a very substantial head start to the development of a major State University at Buffalo.

On the University of Buffalo side, the advantage of a merger was an unparalleled opportunity to develop into one of the finest state universities in the nation. After careful consideration, The University of Buffalo Council on November 28, 1960, appointed a negotiating committee, "indicating a favorable attitude to continue the investigation," into how Buffalo might fit into the State expansion. Months of complex negotiation produced agreement that The University of Buffalo should become affiliated with the State University, but the "how" still posed challenges.

In March of 1962, the pieces slowly began to fall into place. On the eighth of that month, the Board of Trustees of the State University gave official approval, in principle, to the broad outline of the affiliation. On March 9, The University of Buffalo Council unanimously approved this agreement with the thought that its action would be "overshadowed in significance only by the future contributions of the dynamic institu-

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tion which has been started on its way toward development. . . ." On April 30, the legislation necessary to the final merger agreement was signed into law by Governor Rockefeller. The Agreement of Merger was signed on August 27, 1962, and filed with the Board of Regents on August 31. The following day, The University of Buffalo officially became the State University of New York at Buffalo. The old name was to live on with the chartering of the University of Buffalo Foundation, Inc., to receive and administer private funds in support of the new State institution. Its establishment was a symbol of the continuity of the traditions with which the institution had long been identified.

President Furnas said of events immediately following the changeover, "...As the University assumed its new role...it was clear that there were to be no real shifts in the basic tenets of freedom, integrity and public service....What was emerging was a new confidence, a new hope for a future of even greater fulfillment of the needs of New York in higher education." This sentiment was echoed in a telegram sent to Albany by the administration of The University of Buffalo on the day the final agreement was signed:

> ...We know that the State University of New York and The University at Buffalo will rise to ever greater heights of service to the people of Western New York, of the State of New York, of the Nation, and of the world....We know that together we have the opportunity to develop a University, as men can know a university, of almost limitless scope, a university dedicated to scholarship and research rooted in the fundamental traditions of academic freedom and teaching which will lead each young man and woman who enrolls to become all that he is capable of being.

But this was not to come overnight or without patient and persistent effort.

With the effective date of the affiliation, tuition and fees were significantly reduced from the necessarily higher levels assessed by the University as a private institution, and applications for admissions from qualified students outside of Buffalo began to mushroom. By 1964, nearly 12,000 applications were filed for 2,300 available freshman openings. Full-time enrollment increased to 10,265 in 1964 and the total enrollment to 19,157. The number of full-time faculty rose to 945. The latter became especially important as the groundwork for an instructional staff of a size and caliber appropriate to the mission of the University as a major graduate center. That portion of research represented by sponsored programs increased by nearly $1 million over the previous year.

University at Buffalo dormitory facilities

By 1963-64, the University operating budget was approximately $33 million, including academic operating expenses of nearly $20 million, research and training support of $7 million, and auxiliary enterprises of $7.5 million. Endowment funds from the former University of Buffalo, in the hands of State University of New York, totaled $32.1 million. The interest from this endowment is assigned exclusively to State University at Buffalo.

Additions to the physical plant, however, were slowed by the merger. A women's residence hall, Carolyn Tripp Clement Hall, with a capacity of 500 students was added. Renovations were made on some existing buildings and temporary trailer and pre-fabricated facilities were introduced for instructional use. Because of space shortages, a growing disparity developed between the desire to serve and the capacity for doing so. For example, by 1964, only one in five applicants could be admitted to the freshman class and only one in 15 to the School of Medicine; the pace of faculty recruitment slowed; and plans for instructional and research development remained unfulfilled on the drawing boards. This hiatus in growth was nonetheless a necessary one. A university should not be allowed to develop haphazardly. Long-range academic and physical planning were necessary for the direction and for the successful realization of the ambitious goals proposed. No stranger to these difficulties, the University strained and "made do" while the planners planned. Where continued rapid progress was possible, a number of special programs encompassing a spectrum of intellectual and aesthetic effort were introduced that led the University steadily toward national recognition. These, along with enrichment in faculty and student

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quality in all areas, increased emphasis on graduate education, and improvement of other on-going special programs and facilities such as the cooperative program in health education with the University of Asuncion in Paraguay, were indicative of the full scale growth and development that careful future planning could bring. Planning came more clearly into focus with the announcement in the summer of 1964 that a new $130 million campus would be developed three miles north of the present location. Studies of space estimates, equipment needs, long-range academic goals, and plans for converting the Main Street campus into a health sciences center began immediately. Controversies, delays, restudies, and changes, however, were to force repeated delays in development to become one of the major issues facing the University throughout the remainder of the decade, and the new phenomenon of student activism, first noted in 1964 was destined to play an important part in the University's future concerns for an extended period.

A new and greatly-enlarged mandate for the University was presented by the State. Revised enrollment estimates for 1974 indicated that the University at Buffalo was to be responsible for enrolling one-thirteenth of the entire State University's projected full-time enrollment of 260,000; this would mean a total Buffalo enrollment for that future year of 37,000. More significantly, the numbers of full-time graduate students projected for Buffalo were revised upward to 6,900 plus 1,200 professional students in the health sciences.

To meet these challenges of quantitative and qualitative growth, a comprehensive ten year academic plan that surveyed present strengths and weaknesses, current and coming needs, and future potential was compiled. The survey proposed a significant increase in the size of the faculty, including a lengthened roster of truly distinguished scholars; and the development of new programs, schools, and administrative mechanisms as well as the improvement of existing ones. In addition, much thought was urged toward providing all the advantages of a major university while excluding such disadvantages as depersonalization. Basic strengths identified included the high quality of many schools and departments within the framework of their size and available resources; the sincere willingness of the faculty to plan and develop new programs which cast aside rigid academic dividing lines; and the naming of Martin Meyerson, to succeed President Furnas.

President Furnas, before his retirement in 1966, had presided over a "doubling" of the University in square feet for educational space, undergraduate enrollment, research, full-time faculty, and graduate and professional students. Since the merger with the State, two additional academic divisions had been added, a School of Health Related Professions and a Graduate School of Library Science (today's School of Information and Library Studies). But as Dr. Furnas insisted in a ceremony marking his retirement, what was yet to come was more important: "As I prepare to close the few pages of academic history which I have helped to write, I would like to come full circle and repeat the closing sentence of my Inaugural address almost 12 years ago: 'Expand and grow without loss of quality. That is the task—now let's get on with it forthwith!'"

President Martin Meyerson in his 1967 Inaugural address promised, not only to oversee its development into one of "the most intellectually stimulating anywhere," but to transform it and adapt it to the modern spirit." To achieve a "new synthesis of learning" he hoped to transform professional education by making it more humane, intellectual, and research-minded, to add to the traditional academic disciplines devotion to social purpose and to provide a new path to liberal education through the methods, insights and research of professional education. A prospectus had been presented by a faculty committee, under the chairmanship of Dr. Robert L. Ketter, then Dean of the Graduate School, that suggested a series of plans for developing a multiple number of separate colleges within the University, warding off depersonalization and improving the academic climate on a large multipurpose campus.

The University was reorganized into seven faculties which structured the disciplines into clusters

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combining the theoretical and the applied. The new faculties of arts and letters, social sciences and administration, and natural sciences and mathematics were carved largely out of the former College of Arts and Sciences. The social sciences embraced also the former Schools of Social Welfare and Business Administration, and arts and letters received administrative responsibility for a new School of Architecture and Design. The law and jurisprudence faculty incorporated both the professional School of Law and undergraduate jurisprudence studies. Engineering and applied sciences combined the School of Engineering and the School of Information and Library Studies. Educational studies incorporated the undergraduate and graduate programs of the former School of Education. And the health sciences faculty received the Schools of Medicine, Dentistry, Health Related Professions, Nursing, and Pharmacy as well as the academic and research-oriented programs of the basic science departments.

Further study concerning the utilization of the new and existing campuses had resulted in a recommendation that the health sciences be incorporated along with the rest of the University on the new site leaving the Main Street campus to be devoted to the growing program of continuing education and research.

Distinguished scholars were attracted from such schools as Harvard, Yale, M. I. T., Berkeley, and Northwestern by high salaries and the excitement of the new plans.

American higher education in the mid-1960's and beyond, however, was far from tranquil. The issues at Buffalo in the spring of 1967 revolved around student behavior in regard to drugs, social criticism, the student press, and the new morality in the arts—commonplace by the standards of the next decade but new and somehow disproportionately disturbing at that time.

Student activism continued to develop, particularly in terms of demands for greater self-determination and an increasing role in University decision-making.

Meanwhile, University development continued: Buffalo became one of eight universities in the nation selected to participate in a major research program in the medical and para medical sciences funded by the Department of Defense and known as Project Themis; a training program to upgrade the employment capabilities of economically-disadvantaged inner city residents was initiated; a full-scale Select Committee on Equal Opportunity and an Office of Equal Opportunity were created to foster minority involvement in the University; a major State-financed Alcoholism Research Institute was proposed for incorporation into the educational program as was a $17 million, 500-bed mental hospital; a Center for Higher Education became the 16th specialized interdisciplinary center, joining others ranging from theoretical biology to international conflict and security studies; and a new program offering the doctorate in policy sciences announced that its intention was to provide a new breed of "therapists" for social systems.

On June 28, 1968, a site plan for development of a new campus "seven times the size of the present Main Street complex" was unveiled. The proposed project would "provide facilities for 40,000 students and thousands of faculty and staff by the middle 1970's." Cost was now estimated at $650 million. The Library passed one million volumes and $14,600,000 in sponsored research funds were expended during the year. The total operating budget from all sources was $62,169,739, and the full-time faculty totaled 1,308, but figures of this kind were no longer as startling as they would once have been. The Experimental Program in Independent Study (EPIS), created by the Select Committee on Equal Opportunity, gained admittance to the University for 151 non-white, needy, and academically ill-prepared — even non-prepared — young men and women. Two per cent of the University's students and five per cent of its faculty and other employees were non-white, in metropolitan Buffalo the percentage was close to eight. Partly as a result of the stimulus of EPIS's establishment, eight blacks entered the Law School under private resources not previously available. Medicine, Dentistry, Nursing, and Health Sciences faculty members generally shaped proposals to be reviewed with minority groups, the professional community, and sources of funds. The School of Social Welfare committed itself to a ratio of at least one black to every three whites.

Meanwhile, the University, already spread from its established campus on Main Street to temporary quarters at Ridge Lea and to other quarters, mostly rented or leased, was still occupied with the new campus. Emphatic objections arose among the black community over their being excluded by the construction companies and building trades unions of the area. All work and work negotiations ceased late in the spring under what was considered a temporary suspension. Resolution of the dispute dragged on, however, for more than a year. An agreement was reached, rejected, and finally left hanging as construction began in 1970.

After the 123rd Commencement in June, Dr. Peter F. Regan was named Acting University President as Dr. Meyerson left on a year's leave of absence. During his leave he was named president of the University of Pennsylvania.

Student activism in 1969 gained increasing support among the young in Buffalo as nationwide, over explosive issues which sometimes erupted into violent confrontation. Some of the disputes were military research, student participation in campus governance and decision-making, ROTC on campus, the war in Vietnam, and the black struggle. As at other universities, students were dismissed before the official close of the University. Much of the Buffalo (and national) public was outraged by student action. Debate raged over what methods should be used against student activists, if any.

The University in 1971 enters its 125th year under a new president.

Robert L. Ketter, a faculty member for more than a decade, a former dean of the Graduate School, and vice president for facilities planning, assumed leadership on July 1, 1970. As his predecessors, he, too, is restless to confront immediate challenges and prepare for the University's future.

In his Inaugural speech, Dr. Ketter addressed himself to the upheavals at Buffalo and elsewhere during the 1970-71 academic year and the resultant mass public reaction. He said:

> We are still faced ultimately with the realization that the atmosphere of freedom on campus has been invaded. It has been invaded by those whose impatience and ill-conceived goals demand the destruction of the University as the only solution to the problems of an institution which reflects many of society's deficiencies and injustices. It has been invaded, too, by those who wish to suppress expression of unpopular views, who do not distinguish between violent revolt and peaceful dissent. The University has been peculiarly vulnerable to these invasions because its commitment to freedom and the complexities of truth has often paralyzed its ability to act.

He offered this philosophy of the basic purposes of the University: "I believe first we must recognize that teaching is primary, and that research and service are valuable to the University in the degree to which they facilitate the former. It is through teaching that the University and the individual will make their broadest contribution to the welfare of society." In terms of public service, he cautioned that it is obvious by now that the University cannot be honed into a cutting edge for social change. "We must make sure that our programs of service have a broad educational value and that an advocacy of special interests does not usurp the critical stance that the University at all times must maintain."

Despite its difficulties, the University's progress continues. In a survey of the quality of graduate faculties, released early in 1971 that covered the period 1964-69, the University advanced from 65th among American institutions of higher learning in 1964 to 41st in 1969. This degree of improvement was exceeded by only one university in the nation. Worldwide scientific acclaim came this year also to the Center for Theoretical Biology as Dr. James F. Danielli and his associates confirmed the artificial synthesis of a living and reproducing one-cell organism, an accomplishment hailed as a breakthrough of extreme significance in scientific development. The collegiate system, still somewhat controversial in the aftermath of disruptions and readjustment in terms of such issues as self-grading and course content, has been granted authorization to begin operation of experimental living-learning centers. Construction has begun on the new campus, although restudies are underway concerning utilization of both campuses for at least the next decade and, perhaps, beyond. A series of university-wide task forces have examined and reported on the most crucial issues facing the institution today: academic excellence, community relations, university governance, university community and university organization.

The precise directions of the University in the next decades is unclear, but some things are certain. The State University of New York at Buffalo will remain eager to serve individual and community educational needs, to be a guiding and influencing force in education, research, and public service. Its leadership and its community of scholars and students will always be restless, looking to the future, fully confident that it can improve its service. The University will never have an easy existence; it has never had one. But it will continue to serve as it has in the past—thoughtfully, with leadership, with concern, with increasing excellence. An old institution to be sure, but one which is alive, vibrant, and ever young.

STATE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE AT BUFFALO

The State University College at Buffalo, or State Normal School as it was then named, opened its doors on September 13, 1871, offering its 86 students a curriculum that consisted of ancient languages, mathematics, chemistry, natural science, education, rhetoric, elementary methods of instruction, singing, drawing, and penmanship. The original faculty was made up of 16 members, five of whom were teachers in a practice school and one who was the principal.

The original idea for a normal school in Buffalo was, ironically, advanced by opponents of the free high school who proposed a normal school as a substitute for a high school that was badly needed at the time. They failed in their attempt to prevent the building of a high school, but they planted in the minds of some of the leading citizens of the community the desirability of establishing in the city a state normal school to train teachers. One citizen, in particular, Mr. Jesse Ketchum, was later given the title of Father Ketchum, for without his aid, it was said, the Buffalo Normal School would have never come into existence.

In 1866, the State Legislature authorized the establishment of four additional normal schools to be located in different parts of the State. At the annual festival of the teachers of the City of Buffalo, Mr. Oliver G. Steele made the principal address, urging the adoption of suitable measures to secure the location of one of the normal schools in Buffalo. Judge George W. Clinton presented a formal petition asking the Common Council to act on the matter, and on May 21, 1866, Superintendent of Schools John S. Fosdick, urging the Common Council to act promptly, noted that Jesse Ketchum had proposed to donate the block bounded by York, Jersey, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth Streets, for educational purposes. All Mr. Ketchum asked was the erection by the City of suitable buildings for the Normal School and the payment of $300 annually

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State Normal School, 1892

for the purchase of books or prizes to be distributed among the scholars of the public schools as rewards for good conduct. (These Jesse Ketchum awards are still being presented each year.)

On November 1, 1866, the County of Erie adopted a resolution offering to contribute a sum not to exceed $45,000 for the erection of a building to house the Normal School. Thus the City of Buffalo and the County of Erie both indicated their genuine interest in, and their intention to support, the establishment of a normal school in Buffalo.

In April 1867, the State Legislature passed a bill authorizing the establishment of a normal school in Buffalo, and on May 4, 1867, the Common Council of the City appointed commissioners of the Normal School. In August, a Building Committee received $45,000 from the Erie County Board of Supervisors, and on April 6, 1868, the Common Council of the City ordered the issuance of bonds to the amount of $45,000 to match the Erie County contribution. In June 1868, the architect, J. H. Selkirk, submitted plans for the building, and on July 16, 1868, the contract was awarded to Henry Rumrill for $70,000. The cornerstone of the building was laid with appropriate ceremony on April 15, 1869. On September 16, 1870, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, appointed the first local Board of Managers (now called the College Council.) One of the members of this first local board was Grover Cleveland.

The purpose of the Normal School was to train elementary teachers for the public schools of the County and the City. This remained the sole purpose of the institution for 92 of its first 100 years, during which period it seemed to go through many metamorphoses, changing its title from Normal School to Teachers College, then to College for Teachers, then to College of Education, and finally to New York State University College at Buffalo.

Some idea of the character of the Normal School at its opening may be derived from the requirements for admission and graduation. Candidates for admission had to be not less than 16 years of age and to take an entrance examination covering the same ground as that for admission to the Central High School. The time required for graduation was not less than one full year and could be two years or more, according to the attainment of the pupil on entering. Many of the students who entered the Normal School required instruction on a very elementary level in the very subjects they were planning to teach, such as arithmetic.

The first Principal of the Normal School was Professor Henry B. Buckham. He was a graduate of the University of Vermont and was constantly employed as a teacher after graduation. For seven years he served as Associate Principal of the Connecticut Normal School and for five years as Superintendent of Schools in the City of Waterbury, Connecticut. He earned an M.A. in theology at Yale College and was a minister of the Congregational Church, although he never served as a regular preacher. As the Principal of the Normal School he also taught classes in the English language, philosophy, and didactics (later called pedagogy and then methods of teaching). Mr. Buckham served as Principal of the Normal School for 15 years, resigning in June 1886, to go to Monmouth, Oregon, as Principal of the Normal School there. By the time Professor Buckham left Buffalo, the enrollment at the Normal School had risen to almost 700 students, including the students in the Participation School.

Two months after Mr. Buckham resigned as principal, Mr. James M. Cassety was selected as principal. Before he came to Buffalo, he had taught in and been principal of Fredonia Normal and Cortland Normal Schools. He was graduated from Harvard in 1856, and had been principal of the Derby Academy in Hingham, Massachusetts. He then went to Dunkirk, New York, where he was successively Principal of the Dunkirk Union School and Superintendent of Schools. After seven years in Dunkirk he became a banker and remained in business until 1871, when he resumed his position as Superintendent of Schools in Dunkirk. From Dunkirk he went to Fre-

Rockwell Hall

donia and then Cortland, but he was Principal of the Boys Academy in Albany when he was selected as Principal of the Buffalo Normal School.

Mr. Cassety, whose career seemed remarkable for its many moves, remained in his Buffalo position for 23 years. He resigned in August 1909, at the age of 75.

The year 1909 also saw the Normal School with a low enrollment because of a ruling of the State Department of Education that made the completion of a four-year academic course a prerequisite for admission. Apparently many of those admitted from 1871 to 1909 did not have four years of high school. And the Normal School course was only a two-year course. Thus, many of the elementary school teachers were young and, in modern terms, rather poorly prepared for their positions. The raising of requirements for admission and the professionalizing of the normal school curriculum were attempts to improve the situation. However, many who had little formal education made good teachers.

The third principal of the Normal School was Dr. Daniel Upton. He was a graduate of Olivet College, Michigan, and had a masters degree from Cornell University. He began his teaching career at the New York State Reformatory School in Elmira and came to Buffalo as Supervisor of Drawing in the Buffalo public schools. He later became Supervisor of Manual Training and then Principal of the Technical School on Elm Street. In 1908, Mr. Upton was sent abroad to study plans for technical high schools. As a result the new Technical High School was patterned after one in Dublin, Ireland, and Mr. Upton became its first principal.

Shortly after he succeeded Mr. Cassety as Principal of the Normal School, Dr. Upton received the Ph.D. degree from Albany. As Principal, he urged the need for a new building to meet the growing needs of the school. Thus there are two buildings that are monuments to his energy and foresight, the Technical High School and the second Normal School (now the Grover Cleveland High School).

In 1915, student preparation for teaching became more specialized. Students took the elementary, kindergarten, or kindergarten-primary courses. The curriculum included psychology, principles and history of education, school economy, logic, observation and practice, and the methods of teaching language, grammar and composition; vocal music; arithmetic and algebra; American history; drawing and elementary handwork; geography; primary reading, spelling, and phonics; nature study; elementary science; manual training or household arts; penmanship; physical training; literature; and Latin.

When Dr. Upton died in 1918, an editorial in a Buffalo newspaper called attention to the growth of the school, citing its 500 students, 400 Practice School children, and its faculty of 40. His greatest influence was on the curriculum, since it was he who, because of his education, experience, and interest, initiated the vocational education program and developed it.

Upon Dr. Upton's death the principalship passed to Dr. Harry W. Rockwell, who served as the head of the Normal School and the College until 1951. In 1927, he became the first President of the newly-named State Teachers College as the course was lengthened to four years leading to the degree of B.S. in Education. Dr. Rockwell was a graduate of Brown University with an A.B. degree and of Columbia University with an M.A. He was given an honorary degree of Doctor of Pedagogy by the New York State College for Teachers at Albany in 1922. (There was always in the history of Albany and Buffalo Normal Schools some competition in the form of titles and in due time the Buffalo State Teachers College also became a College for Teachers.)

During Dr. Rockwell's administration, the College moved from the site of the Normal School to its present location on Elmwood Avenue. Governor Alfred E. Smith proposed to give the old Normal School

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to the City of Buffalo to be used as a high school, provided the City agreed to build the new college on state property adjoining the State Hospital. The City agreed and ground for the new college was broken on November 7, 1928, the cornerstone laid on October 9, 1929, and the move from the old to the new site accomplished with the cooperation of students on January 12, 1931. The new college plant consisted of five buildings: now Rockwell Hall, Ketchum Hall (named after Jesse Ketchum), Bacon Hall (named after a Professor of Pedagogy and Supervisor of Teacher Training, Gertrude Bacon), the Old Gym, and the Alumni House (which was the home of the President of the College during the administrations of Presidents Rockwell, Rice, and Bulger).

Harry Rockwell retired as President in July, 1951. He served as head of the school longer than any other President or Principal, for 32 years. His administration was not marked by strife between administration and faculty nor by strife between administration and students, partly because such strife was not common on college campuses in those days, and partly because Dr. Rockwell, who ruled with an iron hand in a velvet glove, was both a strong personality capable of making a hard decision and a warm and loving man who prided himself on his interest, which was genuine, in the welfare of his students and faculty. Many a time he scolded a student or faculty member for what he considered an error or indiscretion only to apologize later and try to do something to make up for his severity. He was an excellent speaker with a fine command of the English language and was genuinely interested in scholarship. He played his role with dignity and was respected in his community and throughout the state and the country. During his administration the student body and faculty more than doubled, and more than 10,000 students were graduated, most of them with bachelors' degrees.

Upon his retirement, administration of the College became the responsibility of the Dean of the College, Dr. Ralph Horn, who served as Acting President until December 1951, when Dr. Harvey M. Rice became the second President. Dr. Rice came to Buffalo from the Presidency of the College at Oswego, which, like the College at Buffalo, was a unit of the new State University of New York, formed in 1948. Before his selection as President of the College at Oswego, Dr. Rice was Professor of History at the College at Albany, which was also a unit in the State University.

The administration of Dr. Rice was notable chiefly for the growth and improvement of faculty participation in the government of the College. Dr. Rice, who had himself been a member of the American Association of University Professors, accepted without qualification the principles of academic freedom adopted by that organization and encouraged faculty to join the organization and participate in its deliberations. During the 1950's there was considerable pressure on college administrations to accept vague suspicion of nonconformity or radicalism as proof of incompetence, Dr. Rice protected the State College faculty from unwarranted attacks.

He went further than that in organizing faculty government, in establishing faculty by-laws, and in giving faculty some share in the determination of such things as appointment, promotion, and tenure for their colleagues. He organized a promotions committee made up of elected faculty members, and although he insisted that the power of this committee had, according to law, to be limited to making recommendations which he did not have to follow, he invariably followed the recommendations of the committee. Only once did he decline to do so, and even then he later changed his mind and went along with the recommendation of the committee. He often sat with the committee, conferring with it and voting with it, long after midnight, Sundays and holidays included, in order to make determinations in time for the opening of the school year.

Dr. Rice resigned as President in 1958 in order to accept the presidency of Macalester College in Minnesota. On his resignation, Dr. Ralph Horn was once more asked to serve as Acting President, which he did until a successor was appointed in September 1959. Dr. Horn, who

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served as Dean of the College during the administrations of Dr. Rockwell and Dr. Rice, can in a sense be said to have served as the second and fourth President of the College, although both times he was given the title of "Acting President" and knew that his function was to hold the position until the arrival of the duly appointed new President. He served the College faithfully until his retirement in 1959.

It was characteristic of the period during which Dr. Horn served, a period when the College was still rather moderate in size, that he used to do all the scheduling of classes, including the assignment of hours of teaching, almost without any assistance. He often described with zest how he would spread the cards representing teachers' schedules on his bed and on a bridge table in order to have them all before him while he worked. Since he always took into consideration the personal problems of individual faculty members, his task was a considerable one, but it had its humane side. Of course, it would be impossible for one man to undertake such a task today.

Dr. Paul G. Bulger came to Buffalo State as President in 1959. He was a graduate of Albany State College and Columbia Teachers College. He served for a while as Principal of the Practice School at Albany and as Professor of Education and Provost at Columbia before coming to Buffalo. During his administration at Buffalo State there was enormous growth both in the construction of new buildings and in the admission of larger and larger numbers of students. He also encouraged the development of foreign study programs in Siena, Costa Rica, and Mysore. He had a special interest in the development of educational programs in Chile.

One major reason for the increased student enrollment during Dr. Bulger's presidency was the expansion of the College's program. Several years earlier, Teachers College had become State College of Education. In 1963 the name was

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again changed, this time to State University College at Buffalo. This name change came about when a liberal arts degree granting program was instituted.

Dr. Bulger had an intense interest in the arts, and it was during his administration that Charles Burchfield was invited to the Campus, and the Burchfield Center was developed as a gallery and an educational tool.

Dr. Bulger resigned in February 1967, to accept a position in Albany as Associate Commissioner of Education. When Dr. Bulger resigned, Dr. Houston T. Robison, then Vice President for Academic Affairs, was asked to serve as Acting President until a successor to Dr. Bulger could be found. Dr. E. K. Fretwell, Jr. was subsequently appointed and assumed his duties on September 1, 1967. Dr. Fretwell almost immediately announced his intention to concentrate on the role of the College within the City of Buffalo and to encourage the development of programs designed to assist in the solution of urban problems. He has since pursued this goal conscientiously, especially in the SEEK program designed to help disadvantaged students qualify as college students.

Today, Buffalo State University College has an enrollment of approximately 10,000 students and 750 faculty. The College continues to graduate vast numbers of certified teachers; the art education division is a major source of teachers of art and the exceptional children education division is the largest in the United States. As a truly multipurpose institution, nearly half of its students are involved in programs leading to degrees not related to teaching.

Student government on the campus is wholly independent of the faculty; students tax themselves and allocate their funds. They publish their own newspaper, *The Record,* which has been in continuous publication as a newspaper for more than 40 years. The newspaper now appears twice weekly and is entirely under student control.

One of Buffalo State's most ambitious undertakings is its study-abroad programs in Costa Rica, India, and Italy. The program in Siena, Italy, begun in 1961 under the direction of Dr. Clement T. Tetkowski, has involved 700 students and 15 faculty members.

Because of its continuing expansion, students at Buffalo State can now choose programs from a wide variety of degree-granting areas. The Liberal Arts College offers over 21 study concentrations leading to the B.A. degree; B.S. degrees are available in three areas of Home Economics as well as Industrial Technology; the College grants B.S. degrees in education in Elementary Education, nine areas of Secondary Education, Home Economics, Industrial Arts, Exceptional Children Education, and Vocational Technical Education. The school's graduate program now grants M.A. degrees in six different areas of concentration, and the M.S. in Education is available in eight fields of education.

As the College celebrates its 100th anniversary, it is proud of its past, confident of its present, and optimistic of its future.

ERIE COMMUNITY COLLEGE

With World War II drawing to a close and American GI's returning home, the New York State Legislature saw the need for more and better colleges and technical institutes to satisfy anticipated needs. In 1944, the Board of Regents published its "Post War Plan" calling for the creation of 22 two-year post-high school institutions. Putting this plan into action, five schools were established.

Buffalo and Erie County businessmen and educators realized the value of the two-year programs and lobbied to have one of the five institutions located in Buffalo. The lobbying paid off. The New York State Institute of Applied Arts and Sciences at Buffalo, better known as the Buffalo State Technical Institute, was opened in 1946, and formally dedicated in January 1949. The aim of the institutes, including Buffalo's, was to fill the gap between the journeyman and the holder of a professional engineering degree; to train students for technical positions in industry and the community.

After a lengthy search for suitable quarters, the old Pierce-Arrow office building on Elmwood Avenue was selected and converted for scholastic use. With the appointment of Richard R. Day as the school's first Director (President), B.S.T.I. was well on its way.

The doors were opened to the first class of students in the fall of 1947. Eight technology-related curriculums were offered: Construction,

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Chemical, Dental Hygiene, Electrical, Food Service Administration, Mechanical, Metallurgical, and Ophthalmic Dispensing. About 450 students entered in the first class, and the number rose to 750 (the limit set for the pilot-institution by the State Legislature) in the following year.

In 1953, the County of Erie assumed sponsorship of the school and its name was changed to Erie County Technical Institute. To offset the County's financial burden for the Institute (costs were to be shared equally by County and State funds), a tuition and fee system were begun. Under County control, the college continued to focus mainly upon technology-related courses of study, and all courses were offered in both day and evening classes to provide for the needs of more and more students.

In 1955, President Day retired as head of the school and Laurence E. Spring assumed the position. During the beginning years of Mr. Spring's presidency, the Institute's scope was again expanded to include more students and a broader program.

The year 1960 marked completion of the Institute's new $8 million campus in Amherst. With these new facilities, the college added to its faculty and yearly added more full and part-time students. Dean James Shenton was appointed acting president of the college in November 1963 upon the death of Mr. Spring. Shenton was elevated to the presidency in the fall of 1966.

Under Mr. Shenton, a $7 million dollar expansion program was begun in June 1967, thus enabling the college to become much more comprehensive in its offerings. A liberal arts program was adopted to prepare students for later transfer to a four-year college. To match this new direction toward liberal education, Erie County Tech became Erie Community College.

The administration of the college consists of a Board of Trustees appointed for staggered terms of nine years. Five of these members are appointed by the Erie County Executive, while four are chosen by the Governor. The Board serves as the policy-making body of the College. The President of the College is appointed by the Board of Trustees of the State University.

Today, Erie Community College consists of seven buildings and 3,600 day and 6,500 continuing education students. Evening Extension Divisions for adults offer campus courses requested by companies and other organizations. Business has always worked closely with the college in a work-study program in which students alternate school attendance with work periods in their respective field of interest. The College recently began a police-science course, one of five in New York State. Other new programs include Nursing, Inhalation Therapy, and Engineering Science. An Urban Center financed by the State University and administered by Erie Community College offers educational and vocational training to inner city residents.

The master development plan for the College calls for a tremendous increase in student enrollment (8,000 day students by 1974) which is to be split among three campuses. Additional campus facilities are planned on the waterfront and South Town. It is expected that all three units will offer comprehensive courses of study in liberal arts, technology, vocational studies, and general pre-collegiate studies. Although separated by distance, each unit would be under the administration of the Erie Community College President.

In the words of the College's 1969 Annual Report: "Much has been accomplished, but only the groundwork has been laid. To become truly a community college, we must move our services to the centers of population within the County and become even more responsive to the needs of the people. To accomplish this, we need the continued support of our sponsors and the community."

This summary includes eight of the collegiate institutions located in Erie County. Other institutions of higher learning include Houghton, Hilbert, and Trocaire.

The role of Bryant and Stratton as a post high school educational facility should also be noted. Needless to say, all have contributed much to the quality of life in Western New York.

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XIX. Cultural Institutions in Flower

At the beginning of the twentieth century the most spectacular event was the opening of the Pan-American Exposition on May 20, 1901. Its basic purpose was to present to the world the progress of the Western Hemisphere and to give evidence of Buffalo's own might and development. It is, therefore, not surprising that it had little permanent influence upon art in Buffalo. The dominant style of its architecture was Spanish Renaissance and its buildings were grandiose and baroque. Nevertheless it was a gorgeous spectacle, a brilliant new twentieth century creation with its buildings, fountains, and canals outlined by thousands of electric lights. "The visitor has seen but half its beauty until he has seen it at night . . . . By a novel apparatus the electric current is turned on by degrees. The Tower, the buildings, the long lines of lamp-pillars, seem to pulse with a thrill of life before the eye becomes sensible to what is taking place. Then a faint flush comes, like the flush which church spires catch from the dawn. This deepens for an instant to pink, then grows red, and mellows into a luminous yellow, and as if by magic the exposition of beams and staff has become the glorified spirit of the thing. It is the most marvelous effect of artificial light the world has ever seen."

Pan American Exposition, 1901

The omnipresent sculpture both baroque and realistic, topped the pinnacles of the buildings and ornamented the walks, arches, gardens and pools. The individual pieces as a whole allegorized the subjects of the Exposition such as "Nature, Man and His Institutions," and the "Genius of Man." Inside the buildings nearly 1,000 paintings and over 300 prints and drawings were on view.

In addition to the visual arts, organ recitals were given daily in the Temple of Music as well as many other concerts. One of the conductors of these concerts, Victor Herbert, was so pleased with his reception that he returned the following summer for a series of pop concerts in the Elmwood Music Hall, where the patrons sat at tables beautified with steins of Buffalo beer.

The Buffalo theaters—the Star, the New Academy, the Lafayette, Shea's Garden Theatre, the Court Street Theater and the Lyceum—each put on a special play, musical, or extravaganza for the Pan-American visitors. The Teck Theatre (the Music Hall) presented an extravaganza entitled *Constantinople*. Michael Shea broke his vaudeville sequence with the pro-

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duction of a musical, *Fiddle Dee Dee,* starring the famous German comedians, Weber and Fields. Dr. Peter C. Cornell had *A Trip to Buffalo* at the Academy and the Lafayette Theatre presented *The Devil's Auction.* In this same year there were superior plays put on with no relation to the Exposition such as *Za Za* featuring Mrs. Leslie Carter and *Arizona* by the American playwright, Augustus Thomas.

Among the outstanding productions of the first quarter of the twentieth century were *Camille* and *La Tosca* featuring Sarah Bernhardt, "matchless, baffling, wonderful Bernhardt" who arrived on her special train; *The Music Master* with David Warfield; Shakespeare with E. H. Sothern and Julia Marlowe; the Winter Garden musicals with such stars as Al Jolson; *The Jest* with John and Lionel Barrymore; *Tillie's Nightmare* featuring the irrepressible comedienne, Marie Dressler; and finally Schiller's *Mary Stuart* and Shakespeare's *King John* and *Macbeth* as vehicles for Modjeska. The summer gaps were filled by stock companies such as the Jessie Bonstelle Company, the McGarry Players, and the Liddle Players.

Early in the century Michael Shea succeeded in establishing himself as the major producer of vaudeville in the city. In March 1898, he bought a skating rink on Pearl Street named the Casino and remodelled it into the Garden Theatre. In 1905 he took over the Park Theatre at Court and Pearl Streets and renamed it Shea's Court Street Theatre. Here he produced vaudeville year after year until it succumbed to the competition of movies. It was on "Mike's" stage that Eddie Cantor, who had been a juggler's helper, spoke his first lines; Marie Dressler did comedy monologues; Mae West and her sister put on an act of acrobatics and dancing; and W. C. Fields performed his comedy act, juggling cigar boxes and "whatever else he could put his hands on." After Mr. Shea left the Garden Theatre it continued as a vaudeville and burlesque house until it was torn down.

An evening of vaudeville usually began with acrobats, because their acts, being without dialogue, would not be interrupted by late arrivals. A dance team followed, and monologuists and mimes were included as a rule. Toward the end, or as a grand climax, there was a one-act play, at times light, at times serious. The seven acts were always closed with the kinetograph, the early flickering movie.

Several new theatres opened and closed during the period such as the Bijou at Washington and Mohawk which put on plays and Fenton's Music Hall (1901) at 473 Main Street which presented "first class vaudeville."

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The Buffalo Academy, Inc., successors to the Buffalo Amateurs, included on its roster Dr. Cornell, the son of S. Douglas and the father of Katharine. Dr. Cornell got a taste for the theatre working with this local group, and chose it as his career a few years after his graduation from medical school. His first professional venture was the previously mentioned production of a musical show for the Pan-American clientele at the Academy. Together with E. D. Stair of Detroit he formed a partnership known as Cornell and Stair, and operated the Star, Academy, Lyceum, and Teck Theatres here. At the Majestic he also developed the Jessie Bonstelle Stock Company which gained a nationwide reputation.

The theatre flourished because Buffalonians loved plays, vaudeville, and musicals, and the local producers gave them acceptable fare. Buffalo also had the advantage of being, through Montreal, the gateway to the United States for the popular London extravaganzas. Under Dr. Cornell's management the Star from August 1907 to May 1908 put on 60 productions for which the citizens of Buffalo (population 376,000) and their guests bought 3,000,000 tickets.

Costs were low enough to permit huge casts so that it was common to see over 100 people on the stage in one performance. *The Prince of India*, one of the current spectacles, had a cast of 500. The most magnificent of all attractions under his management, said Cornell, was *Parsifal*, produced by Henry W. Savage. Mr. Savage raised his curtain at four o'clock, broke off at six, resumed at seven-thirty and continued until midnight.

Dr. Cornell himself summed it all up: "The words *incredible, fabulous* and *fantastic* come to me as inevitable . . . These theatre programs are colorful records of another world—florid, luxurious, fashionable, naive and funny—of the white-flowered weskit and voracious after-theatre eating, of the cello figures of women, and champagne tippling of men accustomed to the choicest pleasures of a gala era."

Exact dates are not available for amateur theatrical groups between the demise of the Buffalo Amateurs and the birth of the Buffalo Players in 1922. During the period the Buffalo Amateurs, Inc., the Studio Club (previously described), the War Time Players, and a civic group of unknown title all appeared. Since certain names carried over from one group to its successor, it is likely that one or two of the groups were in effect reactivations of previous ones which had been depleted by financial stress or time. The War Time Players, which had no theatre of their own, produced plays to promote the war effort during World War I. After the war they tried to continue as a civic group but apparently met problems too difficult to solve.

Beginning in the 1920's, the road show—and with it the commercial theatre in all inland cities—went into a long and gradual decline, brought on by rising costs and competition from the movies. Great hits like *Abies's Irish Rose* and *Tobacco Road* could still keep the Erlanger Theatre open for several weeks or return year after year; but the average New York production was dismantled after its Broadway run or after one disastrous appearance on the road. The standards and techniques of the movies improved until they were a competitive art form of unlimited possibilities. They added dialogue; they added color; they added size; they added a third dimension.

In 1931-32 the Theatre Guild of New York made one final attempt to establish a series of road shows on a solid basis, and included Buffalo in several series which were offered on a subscription basis. However, the cost, the frequent violation of schedules, and the grow-

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ing apathy of the public combined to make the venture unprofitable. In the days of the airplane Buffalo theatre-goers were now close to New York and saw many of the more interesting plays in New York.

There was still an occasional flame among the embers. Despite the rising cost, Buffalo could provide an audience for Charles Gilpin in O'Neill's *Emperor Jones*; for Helen Hayes in *Golden Days* (1920); for Maude Adams and Otis Skinner in *The Merchant of Venice* (1931); for Alfred Lunt and Lynn Fontaine in their annual appearances; for Katharine Hepburn in *As You Like It* (1951); and a few others. In 1953 Charles Laughton gave a successful reading and in 1956 the Azuma Kabuki dance-drama group from Japan enchanted the connoisseurs.

A few Buffalo actors, including Irene Rich, Russell Hardie, and James Whitmore, attained stardom. And there was, of course, Katharine Cornell, who brought most of her vehicles home after their New York run.

Miss Cornell was born in Berlin in 1898 where her father, already mentioned, was taking a post-graduate course in medicine. At the age of six months she was brought back to Buffalo and lived here long enough to graduate from St. Margaret's School and to acquire a lasting love for the theatre through almost daily association with the Star, then under her father's management. As a young girl she wrote, produced, and acted in a number of plays and became the protegeè of Jessie Bonstelle. The latter had faith in her ability despite her awkwardness and lack of beauty, two qualities that greatly disturbed Katharine herself in her early days.

Miss Cornell's first important success was the role of Jo in the London production of *Little Women*. This play was an adaptation of the Louisa Alcott novel by Marian de Forest, also of Buffalo. Miss de Forest was for many years the dramatic critic of the *Buffalo Express* and the author of a second successful play, *Erstwhile Susan*,

Katharine Cornell

which starred Mrs. Fiske. Miss Cornell's first big hit after returning to the United States was in Clemence Dane's *Bill of Divorcement* (1921). *Candida* (1924), *The Green Hat* (1925), *The Barretts of Wimpole Street* (1931), *Romeo and Juliet* (1934), *Antigone* (1946), and others established her as one of the great actresses of her day.

Even during this period of decline, three new theatres were opened: the Lafayette at Lafayette Square (1922), the Erlanger at Delaware Avenue and Mohawk Street (1927), and the Gayety Burlesque Theatre at Pearl and Huron Streets. However, neither the Erlanger, the Lafayette, nor the established theatres survived. The Star (1924) and the Erlanger (1957) were replaced by office buildings; the Majestic (1927) by a store; the Court Street (1926) by a parking lot; and the Teck (1939) was converted into a movie house. The Lafayette was an abandoned building in 1970.

With one exception burlesque succumbed along with the legitimate theatre. The Garden was converted into a garage in 1928 and the Gayety was torn down in 1955. On the other hand, the Palace, which was open through years of tolerant censorship, proved that the appeal of sex was eternal when improperly displayed and vulgarized.

Despite its internal problems, despite competition from the movies and television, theatre in Buffalo did not die. It managed to adapt itself to rising costs and lessened demand by operating on a greatly reduced scale. As in the rest of the country, local amateur and semiprofessional groups enlarged their audiences by upgrading the quality of their productions, by gradually drawing New York stars into leading roles; and finally by importing entire Broadway and off-Broadway casts.

One of the more stable amateur theatre groups in Erie County was the Buffalo Players, Inc., formed in 1922. Started in the home of Mrs. John Lord O'Brian, it kept its organization going for five years. Miss Marian de Forest was President; Father Joseph Ahearn, Vice-President; Charles Pascal Franchot, Secretary; and Charles Ramsdell, Treasurer. The plays were given at the Allendale Theatre before a membership, at its height, of 3,200.

A number of other groups succumbed after a season or two; but the most talented and best organized, the Studio Theatre School, survived for over 30 years. This combination of theatre and school was founded by Jane Keeler, the dramatic teacher at State Normal School, and Lars Potter, former President of the Buffalo Players. Its purpose was to produce the best plays available and to teach a broad curriculum associated with the theatre. Miss Keeler served as Director of the Theatre and School and Potter as President of the Board of Directors and as one of the leading actors. Sheldon Viele designed and constructed the scenery and Kathryn Kingdon, a graduate of the American Laboratory Theatre School of New York, was general factotum, her work centering eventually upon scene designing and directing.

The Studio Theatre opened in the fall of 1927 in a second floor hall at the corner of Elmwood Avenue and Anderson Place. Under Miss Keeler's guidance it followed a middle-of-the-road policy that would not alienate its natural audience and, as a consequence, survived longer than any similar, unendowed school in the country.

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The program of the first season was a representative one. It comprised *You and I* by Philip Barry; *Twelfth Night; How He Lied to Her Husband* by Bernard Shaw; *The Man Who Married A Dumb Wife* by Anatole France; and *The White Headed Boy* by Lennox Robinson. The subsequent fare included a careful assortment of the work of contemporary Irish, English, and American playwrights such as Shaw, Barrie, and Galsworthy, a regular sampling of Shakespeare, and a few Europeans such as Molnar, Pirandello, Ibsen, and Molière. For the less critical members there was usually a whodunit and a popular Broadway comedy, but there was little fare for the avant-garde.

The Theatre moved, with the blessings of the Fire Department, from its cramped Elmwood Avenue quarters to the Gayety Theatre, which, at the time, was dark and empty; then to the concert hall on the second floor of the Teck Theatre; and finally, in 1936-37, to its own building, the converted Universalist Church at the corner of Hoyt Street and Lafayette Avenue. To buy and convert the last building, its friends subscribed to the fund of $31,000 by buying a brick apiece.

Miss Keeler not only directed plays and taught at the School but produced and directed plays for outside groups and gave many lectures on the theatre. During her 32 years as active Director, she gained recognition for the Theatre as one of the country's finest. In 1961 she was presented the Red Jacket Award by the Historical Society as an outstanding Buffalo citizen. Upon her retirement she was followed for a season by Michael Sinclair of New York; and then by Miss Kingdon, her assistant for a number of years.

The Theatre too received honors. In 1930 it was awarded the Belasco Cup at the National Little Theatre Conference with the production of Anatole France's comedy, *The Man Who Married A Dumb Wife*. This success was the more remarkable in that it was the only year in which the Theatre participated in the contest. The Theatre also branched out locally and for seven years conducted a summer theatre at Green Lake Gardens in Orchard Park. Its actors appeared as well in the spate of summer theatres which appeared in the late 1940's and early 1950's.

The Grand Island Players established themselves in a large barn near the middle of the Island in 1949. The following year the Lakeshore Players at Derby, the Hollaway Bay Playhouse across the Lake in Ontario, and the Amherst Players were all active. The Quaker Players of Orchard Park appeared in the next year. The Town'n Country Players of Clarence, pursued by fire laws, changed their name and location several times. All these groups eventually lost their audiences or encountered problems of management and closed their doors.

During the 1960's every progressive theatre was faced with a new problem: the creative contemporary playwrights such as Brecht, Becket, Genet, and Ionesco were writing unpalatable, obscure, or disorganized plays of protest. No longer did comfortable middle class playgoers find the theatre a place for comfortable middle class entertainment. A more tolerant audience had to be brought into the theatre. Under Miss Kingdon's direction of the program, the Studio Theatre became more venturesome. In 1961-1962 such avant-garde works as Becket's *Krapp's Last Tape,* Albee's *Zoo Story* (with New York actors), and Ionesco's *Chairs* were included. She also produced *Julius Caesar* in modern dress with a New York director. However, growing deficits demanded a more drastic solution. Finally Neal du Brock was brought in as Executive Director with the aim of converting the Theatre from an amateur group to a professional one. Miss Kingdon continued as Assistant Director.

Mr. du Brock, who had been associated with the film industry as a writer and had served an apprenticeship under Jose Quintero at the Circle in the Square Theatre in New York, had already impressed the local public with his direction of several productions at the Statler-Hilton Hotel and the Albright-Knox Art Gallery. To support him, the friends of the Theatre put on a financial campaign which raised sufficient money to make a down payment on the Town Casino, an abandoned night club on Main Street between Tupper and Chippewa Streets, and to convert it into a beautiful arena style theatre with a capacity of 500 seats. There was even a small sum left for maintenance.

On October 7, 1965, the Theatre opened under a new name—the Studio Arena Theatre—in a production of Eugene O'Neill's *A Moon for the Misbegotten*, starring Colleen Dewhurst and James Daly. The conversion was a success. The programming from the beginning was bold and contemporary, made up of a judicious selection of comedies and tragedies with intervals of musicals or classics for a change of pace. Charlie Brown offset the Marquis de Sade; *Barefoot in the Park* balanced *Antigone*. The acting and directing were sound. Professional equity theatre had returned to Buffalo.

Among the professional alumni of the Studio Theatre were the dancer, Michael Bennett; Amanda Blake, of movies and television; Michael Dominico, also a dancer; Reed Hadley, of radio, television, and movies; and Nancy Marchand, a distinguished actress whose talents have been displayed in the theatre, television, and movies.

The educational department of the Studio Theatre School maintained itself both through times of prosperity and depression. Such subjects as acting, play production, voice development, public speaking, phonetics, body movement, and children's dramatics were taught. In 1938 it received a grant of $25,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation in recognition of its outstanding work. A little later it was incorporated under the State Board of Regents as a non profit educational institution.

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Among the amateur theatres still active in 1971 are the Jewish Center Little Theatre, organized in 1950, and well-established community groups in Hamburg, East Aurora, Clarence, Amherst, Kenmore, and Williamsville. All colleges and high schools and many churches have dramatic circles. The most venerable of such groups is the St. Louis Church Dramatic Circle which celebrated its sixty-fifth anniversary in 1950.

In the late 1960's the University, various individual producers, and several colleges sponsored productions of an advanced type, and perhaps of equal value, which were too limited in appeal to be risked by the Studio Arena. In November 1969, under the direction of Christyn Lawson and Graham Smith, the University-sponsored Company of Man gave its first production at the Domus Arts Center in the old Pierce-Arrow plant at 1695 Elmwood Avenue. Working closely with aspiring playwrights, directors, choreographers, musicians, and others, the basic purpose of the group was to "cross-pollinate the arts in order to provide new theater." By 1971 the Company had produced 15 original works including a dance film, *Echoi*. Miss Lawson has an international reputation as a dancer and choreographer, having been a partner of Alvin Ailey and a member of the Martha Graham Company. Mr. Smith, an Australian, is a well known ballet dancer and choreographer, having toured with Margot Fonteyn.

The University Music and Drama Departments also collaborated in the production of several operas, including *The Magic Flute*, *The Marriage of Figaro*, and Benjamin Britten's *Turn of the Screw*. Throughout the Niagara Frontier, festivals featuring Asiatic, African and European art became relatively common.

In the twentieth century the outstanding man of the theatre from the local area was George Abbott, born in Forestville (1889) and brought up in Hamburg. For many years after he made his debut as an actor, in 1913, he was one of the most popular and financially successful play doctors, directors, and producers on Broadway. Among the plays and musicals which he coauthored and directed were *Love 'Em and Leave 'Em, Broadway, Three Men on a Horse, Where's Charley?, A Tree Grows in Brooklyn, Pajama Game*, and *Damn Yankees*. Among the plays he directed were *Chicago, Boy Meets Girl*, and *Pal Joey*.

The most popular Buffalo-born playwright of his day undoubtedly was Fran Striker. Working in the fields of radio and television, he created two folk heroes, the Lone Ranger and Sergeant Preston of the Yukon as well as many lesser characters. A younger playwright, A. R. Gurney, Jr. is drawing increased attention to his satiric pictures of Buffalo life.

A special niche should be reserved for the courageous attempts currently being made by independent producers, both white and black, to establish art centers. The Ashford Hollow Foundation, one of the best known, was incorporated in 1967 by Larry Griffis, a painter-sculptor, and Roderick Guylynn Griffis, an actor-director. A 400-acre recreation area at Ashford Hollow, about 40 miles south of Buffalo, it comprises a park for the exhibition of sculpture and accomodations for folk singing, dramatics, ballet, etc. The Foundation also controls an art studio at 30 Essex Street and a theatrical wing known as the Courtyard Theatre, both in Buffalo. The latter, which proposes to develop a community theatre with professional standards of acting, began operations in the fall of 1968 with performances in the Unitarian-Universalist Church. The next summer it moved to the outdoor courtyard of the art studio, and is now well established in the abandoned Studio Theatre at Lafayette and Hoyt Street.

There was never a period in the twentieth century when Buffalo was without music, although both world wars temporarily reduced the number of concerts. There were no regular chamber music concerts until 1921 when a small group of interested people organized the Buffalo Symphony Society to promote the performance of chamber music by local professional musicians. The Society soon branched out and began to introduce outstanding chamber music ensembles to the Buffalo public. Incorporated in 1924, it was renamed the Buffalo Chamber Music Society in 1940. From that point it presented the world's finest ensembles in annual series of six concerts, including a special concert financed by the Slee Bequest. These concerts were enjoyed each year by an ever-increasing audience.

Cameron Baird was an outstanding patron of chamber music, along with Chauncey Hamlin and Frederick Slee. His influence was largely responsible for the establishment of the famous Budapest Quartet as a resident group at the University in 1962. As the choirmaster of St. Paul's Cathedral, he was also the conductor who led Buffalo singers in their annual presentations of Handel's *Messiah* and Mozart's *Requiem*. His part in the rebirth of the University Music Department will be discussed later.

In 1967 the Budapest Quartet was disbanded, largely because of the encroachment of age. In 1970 it was replaced as a quartet in residence by a youthful group already established as an ensemble of great talent, the Cleveland String Quartet. The members, Martha and Paul Katz, Peter Salaff, and Donald Weilerstein teach in the Music Department and participate in public and faculty concerts.

Although working in a broader area and without such ideal sponsorship, the Buffalo Symphonette, organized in 1948 has managed to survive into the 1970's under the leadership of Fred Ressel, at one time principal violist of the Buffalo Philharmonic Orchestra.

In 1912 the armory at Elmwood Avenue and Virginia Street was renamed the Elmwood Music Hall. It was at this time presumably that it became the outstanding music

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hall in Buffalo. The hall had been built in 1885 to house the 74th Regiment of the New York State National Guard and in 1900 was remodelled into a convention hall. Between the abandonment of this hall and the opening of Kleinhans in 1940, the Buffalo Consistory on Delaware Avenue was the center of musical productions.

Despite the obvious popularity of music in Buffalo, the establishment of a permanent and viable symphony orchestra here continued to experience difficulty throughout the first third of the twentieth century. The many changes that occurred are unclear.

As reported in the *Express* of April 7, 1901, a Buffalo Symphony Orchestra was in being: "The concerts throughout have received a generous patronage and filled the spacious theatre [the Teck] to capacity. Included in the program are dances by Strauss, as well as works by Meyerbeer, Tchaikovsky and Nevin. The success of the orchestra has resulted in negotiations for concerts in Toronto with prospects of similar engagements in Rochester and Syracuse." Although this orchestra continued to play at the Teck Theatre for a number of years, it evidently had insurmountable financial problems, along with changes of conductor, and variations in size and quality. Said the *Express* of October 26, 1905: "Under the Management of Charles Kuhn and the direction of Adam Federleir an orchestra to be known as the Buffalo Orchestra will give a series of Sunday night concerts at the Teck Theatre. The players will number 35. Many of them are former members of the Buffalo Symphony Orchestra. The programs will include both popular and classical music." After this, traces of an orchestra in Buffalo all but disappear until the early 1920's when serious attempts were made to establish a permanent symphony orchestra, but without success. This presumed gap was filled by visiting orchestras. The New York Philharmonic also paid a visit, as did Eduard Strauss and his complete Vienna orchestra. In 1906 the Philharmonic Society of Buffalo was organized to give an annual May festival featuring the Chicago Symphony, imported soloists, and a local chorus of about 700 voices. Frederick Stock was the overall director. This festival was continued successfully until 1917 when concentration upon World War I brought it to an end.

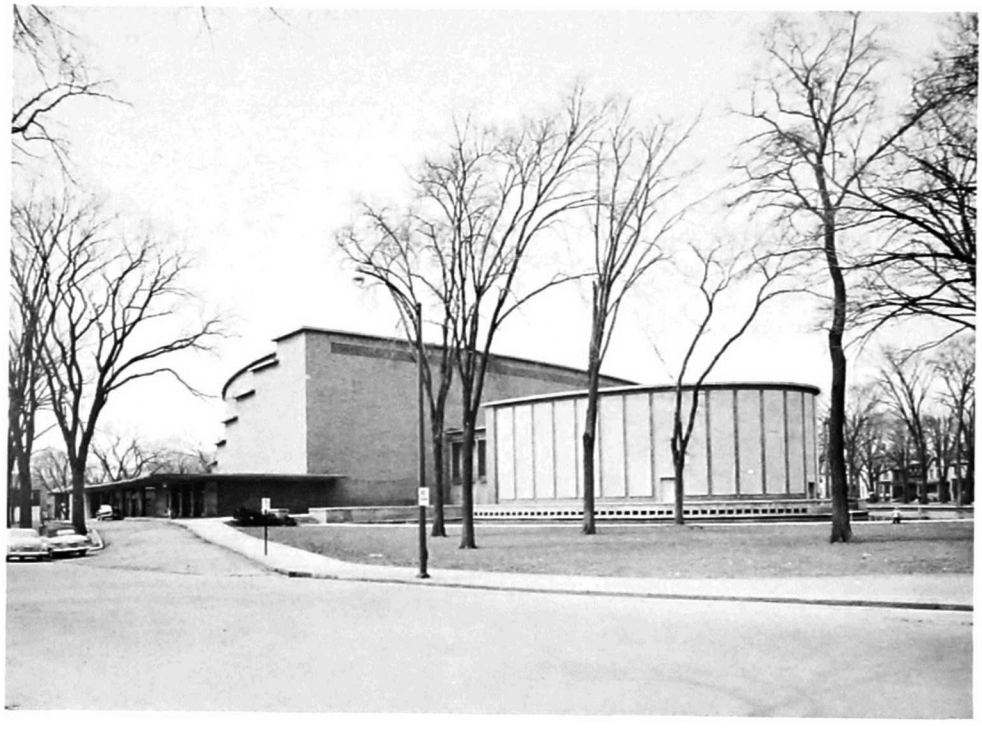
In October 1920 a free municipal concert was given under the direction of John Lund, who had labored persistently and successfully as an orchestral leader in the 1890's. The audience responded enthusiastically to Haydn, Mozart, Schubert, and *Country Dance* by Mary M. Howard of Buffalo. A few concerts were given subsequently, but the orchestra could not maintain itself. One year later Arnold Cornelissen conducted an orchestra through a conventional program, ending with another local effort, *Vision Pastoral*, that he composed. This orchestra was short-lived, as were the others.

Finally, in the 1930's, a sound and permanent orchestra was created which steadily increased in size and quality until it was rated one of the ten best orchestras in the country. It came about in January 1932, when 25 musicians, led by John Ingram, volunteered to rehearse in preparation for an April concert of symphonic music. Membership soon increased to 70 and April 30, 1932, the Buffalo Symphony Orchestra played its first concert in the Elmwood Music Hall. This performance was followed by daily concerts as part of the Buffalo Centennial Celebration in July of that year.

The Albright Art Gallery offered its sculpture court as a concert hall free of charge and there were also programs at Bennett High School and pop concerts in the Elmwood Music Hall. Among the early conductors in addition to John Ingram were Theophile Wendt, Lajos Shuk, and Franco Autori who in 1936 became the permanent conductor. In this same year the Society was incorporated.

As one year of depression followed another, funds from the Mayor's Emergency Relief Bureau and individual sponsors were necessary to sustain the new orchestra until 1936 when the Works Progress Administration (WPA) of

Kleinhans Music Hall



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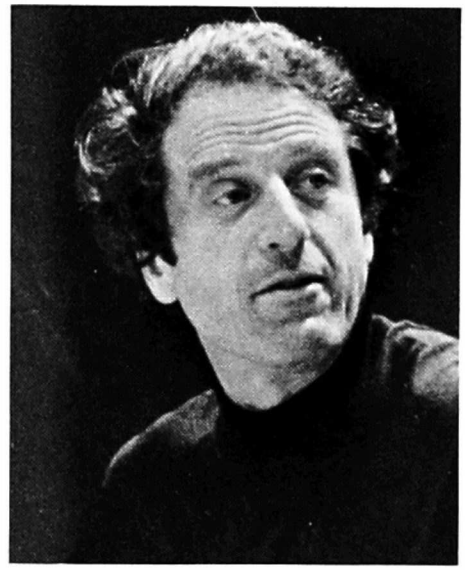
the U. S. Government took over its support. However, in 1939 all such projects were discontinued. Friends of the orchestra, working in harmony with the Musicians Union, then took control and raised the necessary money through annual campaigns. The number of players, the budget, and the deficit grew, but the orchestra managed to carry on.

The move of the orchestra to Kleinhans Music Hall in 1940 was an important event in its history in that it gained a permanent, adequate home, both for rehearsals and performances. A gift of Edward L. Kleinhans, the Hall was designed by Eliel Saarinen, and is one of the finest music halls in the world. Its large hall for concerts and other public gatherings has a seating capacity of 2,839. The smaller Mary Seaton Room, with 875 moveable seats, is used for chamber music and dancing. There is also a rehearsal room and several public lounges.

World War II limited both the funds and activities of the Orchestra, but at the end of the war several benefactors, including Mrs. Edgar Wendt, Frank B. Baird, and Cameron Baird, provided sufficient money for it to survive. A few years later, Frank M. Farrar added a memorial fund in honor of his aunt.

From the early 1940's on, the Orchestra was unusually successful in its choice of conductors. William Steinberg, chosen for the 1945-46 season was born in Germany, and had been the Music Director of the Palestine Symphony, followed by a close relationship with Arturo Toscanini as Associate Director of the NBC Symphony. In his first season the deficit was paid off and the Orchestra increased from 70 to 82 members. Each concert of the series was now given both on Sunday afternoon and Tuesday evening. As evidence of improvement, the second season brought its first recording, its first tour, and its first commercial broadcast. Local and national critics all agreed that the Orchestra was showing impressive growth.

Josef Krips



Lukas Foss

When Mr. Steinberg left in 1952 to become the conductor of the Pittsburgh Orchestra, he was succeeded by Josef Krips of Vienna. This appointment was regarded as a great coup for Buffalo. He was invited for the second half of the 1953-54 season and remained in Buffalo 10 years.

Mr. Krips had been Conductor of the Vienna State Opera, Conductor-in-Chief of the London Symphony, and a guest conductor with the leading orchestras of Europe, America, and Australia. In his first year at Buffalo subscriptions rose 2,700 to 4,600 and the season was expanded to include 14 pairs of concerts at Kleinhans and two series in the suburbs. Having been brought up on German music, Mr. Krips featured it in his programs. Thus, he introduced Western New York to the Beethoven and Brahms cycles. He also expanded and upgraded the orchestra and took it on tours which met with excellent notices and capacity audiences.

In 1958, the Philharmonic President, Robert L. Millonzi, commissioned *Light Out of Darkness*, a choral work by Normand Lockwood, and it was introduced in one of the regular concerts. Another event of importance was the purchase in 1959 of the NBC Symphony Library of some 2,000 titles.

In 1962 Mr. Krips accepted an invitation to direct the San Francisco Orchestra and Lukas Foss, known also as a pianist and modern composer, became conductor. Under his leadership the repertoire of the Orchestra was expanded to include works by avant-garde composers such as John Cage, Penderecki, and Stockhausen, and thereby gained for Buffalo a favorable reputation as having one of the most advanced orchestras in this country.

As the reputation developed its activities expanded. It participated in a project to bring contemporary American compositions to students in the various branches of New York State University. In 1968 the Orchestra gave a concert by invitation at Carnegie Hall, about which the critic Eric Salzman said: "The reign of Lukas Foss in Buffalo has made that upstate New York city an unlikely contender for the title of Modern Music Capital of the USA . . . No praise is too high for these performances by the Buffalo Orchestra under Foss's knowledgeable direction."

As with art and the theatre, there was much local criticism by conservatives of the programming. In 1969, when the future of the Orchestra was in serious jeopardy—perhaps due in part to its modernism—Foss resigned to share his time among composition, teaching, and guest conducting, including

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several appearances in 1970-71 with the Orchestra. His role with the Creative Associates and the Festival of the Arts Today will be discussed in connection with the University and Albright-Knox Art Gallery respectively.

Two suburban symphony orchestras should also be mentioned, one in Amherst, organized in 1947, the other in Orchard Park, organized in 1949-50. Both are under the direction of Joseph Wincenc.

In the 1950's and 1960's there were two major sponsors of musical activity in Buffalo—the Philharmonic Society and the Music Department of the State University, as well as a number of minor sponsors such as the Albright-Knox Art Gallery, the Museum of Science, and the Buffalo and Erie County Library.

The University Music Department had been reorganized by Cameron Baird who was head of the Department and the donor (1957) of Baird Hall. Under his leadership and that of his successors, the Department grew from an enrollment of three students to 125 undergraduates and 30 graduates in 1970 and a faculty of 39 full-time and 14 part-time instructors.

After the death of Mr. Baird in 1961, Allen Sapp was named Chairman of the Department. Like Mr. Foss, who was an old friend, Mr. Sapp was an established avant-garde composer. With his encouragement and the financing of two special funds, the Department continued to expand aggressively and perceptively.

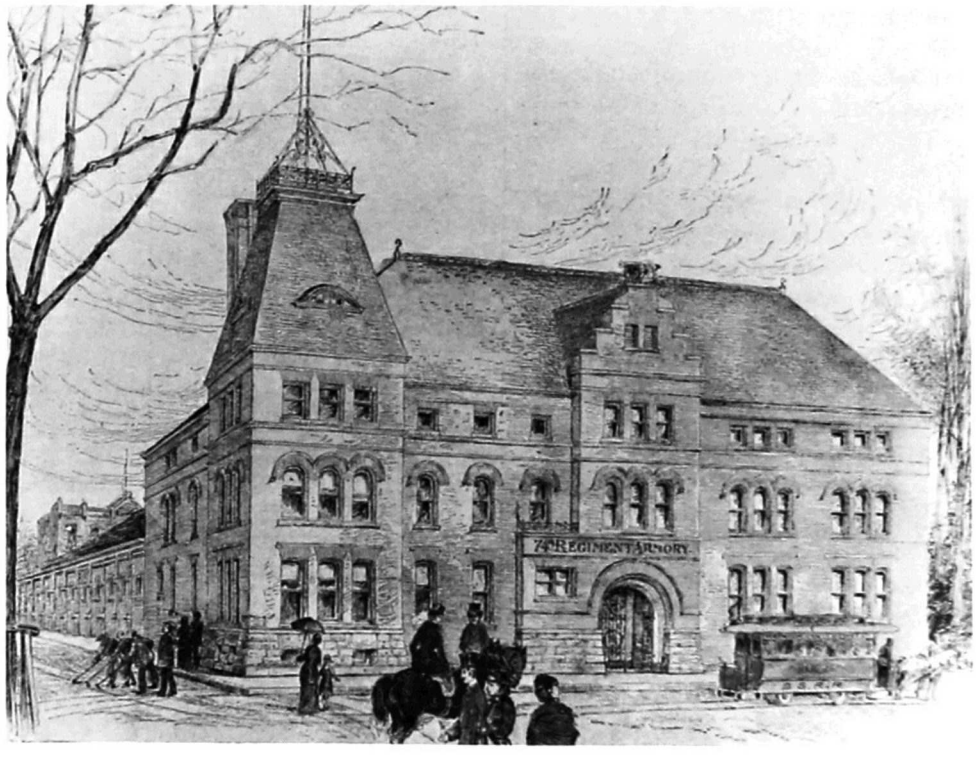
The first fund was the Frederick Slee Bequest. Mr. Slee (1870-1954) left the bulk of his estate both to enrich the chamber music resources of Buffalo and to endow the Slee Professorship which brought outstanding contemporary composers to the University. The Slee Professors, who lecture and conduct seminars, have been, as of 1970, Aaron Copland, Carlos Chavez, Leon Kirchner, Ned Rorem, David Diamond, Allen Sapp, Alexii Haieff, Leo Smit, Virgil Thomson, George Rochberg, Mauricio Kagel, Henri Pousseur, Lejarin Hiller, Istvan Anhalt, and Nicholas Nabokov.

The second fund, a $200,000 grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, in 1962 established the Center For Creative and Performing Arts. Creative avant-garde musicians, both composers and performers, were brought to Buffalo from all over the world. Terms of this grant permitted them to work as they chose, free from financial stress, and to give unlimited time to the rehearsal of new compositions—a vital necessity in such difficult music according to Mr. Foss, author of the project. The first formal concert given by the Associates was on November 29, 1964, at the Albright-Knox Gallery. It was followed by a repeat performance in Carnegie Hall, New York City.

The music composed by the Creative Associates was often formless, dissonant, satiric or violently electronic. It was also played on strange or disembowelled instruments and interspersed with common noises from our everyday environment. Nevertheless, their concerts at the Albright-Knox Gallery under the title, Evenings for New Music, and at the University in Baird Hall developed a loyal audience and sympathetic press.

In 1965 a studio for electronic music was set up by Ramon Fuller, a student of Dr. Lejarin Hiller of the University of Illinois. Three years later, Dr. Hiller himself arrived to work with Mr. Foss as Co-Director of the Center for the Creative and Performing Arts. Dr. Hiller, who is also a mathematician, was instrumental in making the University of Illinois one of the foremost electronic music centers in the world.

The State-accredited Community Music School of Buffalo, founded by the Buffalo Chromatic Club in 1924 as the First Settlement Music School, has been of increasing influence in the training of Erie County musicians. Its purpose is to "provide musical education for young people unable to pay standard prices for expert teaching." In 1970 the faculty comprised 45 musicians on a full or part-time basis and there was an enrollment of over 700 students, many of whom were paying the full tuition. Inevitable operating deficits are met by the United Fund of Buffalo and Erie County.



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Erie County has also contributed more than its share of popular song writers to Broadway. The best known were Ray Henderson, Jack Mahoney, Harold Arlen, and Jack Yellen. Nearly 100 million copies of Ray Henderson's work were sold. Among those which are still being sung and played are *Life Is Just a Bowl of Cherries, You're the Cream in My Coffee, Button Up Your Overcoat, and Sonny Boy*. Two of Arlen's great hits were *Over the Rainbow* and *Stormy Weather*. Jack Mahoney contributed *When You Wore a Tulip and I Wore a Big Red Rose*. Jack Yellen, currently living in Springville, wrote the lyrics for a number of big New York revues, including several productions of George White's *Scandals* and the *Ziegfeld Follies*. He was the author of *Happy Days Are Here Again, Ain't She Sweet*, and *I Wonder What's Become of Sallie?*

Among the great moments in music in the first decade of the century were the appearance in 1905 of Emma Eames, the dramatic soprano of the Metropolitan Opera Company, and the visit of the Savage Opera Company of England playing *Tannhauser, Aida, Lohengrin, Rigoletto, Faust, The Valkyrie* and *La Boheme*. Madame Schumann-Heink and Paderewski also passed through on tours.

The most spectacular musical event of 1901 was the June Saengerfest held at the 74th Armory, under the sponsorship of the North American Saengerbund. Over 100 choruses—3500 male voices—took part in the concerts assisted by an orchestra of 75 musicians. At the matinee Madame Schumann-Heink sang the solo with a chorus of several thousand children.

In 1904 the Guido Chorus of male voices was formed with Seth Clark as Conductor. It became one of the strong musical organizations of the City and remains active. A second male chorus, the Philharmonic, was formed in 1906 under the direction of Andrew T. Webster. In the same year the first series of concerts by visiting orchestras occurred with Mai Davis Smith as one of the impresarios. For years thereafter she and others brought to Buffalo the outstanding performers and orchestras of the day. Among those who followed her were Marian de Forest, Bessie Bellanca and Zorah Berry.

Among the notable Buffalo musicians of the 1920's and 1930's were Martha Millinowski, head of the Music Department of Vassar College; John Meldrum, in charge of music in the Oklahoma School for the Blind; Warren Case of the David Mannes School of Music in New York; and Wendall Keeney on the faculty of Smith College. The concert pianists, Guy Maier and Harry Cumpson were nationally known as was the concert violinist, Charles Stoke. Among the more renowned opera singers were Ruth Ashley Smith who sang for several years in the Neues Opera House in Leipzig, Germany; Anita Klinova (Anna Klein) who appeared at the Milan Opera House in Italy; and Edna Zahm of the German Opera Company. Geraldine Ayres Ulrich and Cosmo Vullo were with the American Opera Company and Julia Mercurio appeared with the San Carlo Opera Company. Kathleen Howard, Nina Morgana, Helen Oelheim, Rose Bampton, Thelma Altman, and Myrtle Schaaf, all of whom were either born in Buffalo or lived here as children, sang at the Metropolitan Opera House.

Kathleen Howard, the first Buffalonian to sing at the Metropolitan, was an outstanding contralto and an unusually versatile actress as well. From 1916 to 1928, when she left the Metropolitan to become the fashion editor of *Harper's Bazaar*, she sang in 25 roles. In addition she wrote a full length book, *The Confessions of an Opera Singer* (1918) and played comic roles opposite W. C. Fields in the movies. Nina Morgana made her Metropolitan debut in 1920 in *Rigoletto*, playing the role of Gilda. Helen Oelheim, who was with the Metropolitan for 10 years, made her debut in 1935 singing Siebel in Gounod's *Faust* and Rose Bampton, whose long career included engagements all over the world, appeared first in November 1932 singing Laura in *La Gioconda*. Eleven years later Thelma Altman sang Theodoro in *Boris Godounov*. Myrtle Scaaf, who was known as the baby of the Metropolitan, began her career at the age of 16, touring with the Scotti Opera Company. After three years at the Metropolitan, she sang leading roles in light operas by Victor Herbert.

Although the careers of several contemporary instrumentalists have been hard to trace, that of the pianist, Leonard Pennario, born in Buffalo in 1924, is easy to follow. After studying under Guy Maier and Isabelle Vergerova, he made his debut in 1936 with the Dallas Symphony. There followed similar appearances with all the great eastern orchestras including Boston, New York, and Philadelphia as well as tours in Europe and South Africa. He also composed a number of piano pieces and background music for a movie, and became a popular recording artist.

Other local musicians of talent were Eudice Shapiro who became a concert violinist, Edith di Bartolo, piano soloist with the Buffalo Philharmonic Orchestra in 1937, and Judy Burganger. Miss Burganger, upon winning the Merriwether Post First Prize in Washington, D.C., was recommended by Rudolph Serkin for study in Stuttgart, Germany. While there, she won first prize at the Munich and Cologne festivals. When her European training ended, she played in a chamber music group at the Marlboro, Vermont Festival and toured with the Buffalo Philharmonic Orchestra under Krips, playing the Schumann *A Minor Concerto*. She is currently giving recitals with her husband, a violinist with the Cleveland Orchestra.

As was the case with the theatre and orchestra, the dance was a popular art form in Buffalo, al-

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though in the beginning it too was apparently confined largely to visiting professional companies.

Even in the early period, the professional companies that stopped over on their way from New York to Chicago or California, could usually be assured of a full house. The Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo came regularly, if not often. Katharine Dunham and Pearl Primus gave dance-lectures on primitive dance forms; Trudi Schoop and the Joos Ballet brought laughter with their satires; and the early moderns—Mary Wigman, Kruetzberg, Doris Humphrey, Martha Graham, Charles Weidman, and others—danced alone or with their companies before enthusiastic audiences, housed in the Erlanger, Kleinhans Music Hall, or State Teachers College auditorium.

There probably have been dancing schools in Buffalo from the very beginning. Certainly both the society belles and the "canawlers" knew how to dance, though there would have been a somewhat different approach in each case. In the early twentieth century Miss Curtin and Charles van Arnum taught ballroom dancing in the great tradition, and there were a few schools for tap dancing and ballet. But the quality of the early instruction presumably was no better than that of the average school today concerned less with art than with personality development and physical fitness.

In the midcentury, there was a great expansion of interest in the dance as an art form. An event largely responsible for the improvement in quality of local ballet teaching was a grant from the Ford Foundation to the School of American Ballet in New York City to provide seminars for ballet teachers and scholarships for talented students. Following a national survey by George Balanchine, Buffalo teachers were invited to participate in these seminars and accredited teachers were sent for over six years to conduct classes of selected students and give general advice.

During the 1960's there were at least five active classical ballet schools: The American Academy of Ballet, directed by Maris-Lynne Battaglia; The Ballet Center of Buffalo, directed by Kathleen Crofton; The Ballet School of Buffalo, directed by Helen Kaloff; The Ferrara Studio of Ballet Arts, directed by Norma Ferrara; and the Royal Academy of Ballet, directed by Ginger Burke. Among the graduates of these schools who turned professional were Jacqueline Marshall and Robert Brassel, now with the American Ballet Theatre Company; the three members of the Sackett family: Francis, Donna, and Paul, all with the New York City Ballet; and Michael Bennett, the choreographer of such musicals as *Koko* and *Sweet Charity*. Paul Hangauer currently is a local teacher, choreographer, and performer.

In the strictly classical field, Jannina Frost apparently was the most prominent. In 1942 she was the prima ballerina of the Chicago Civic Opera Company in the production of *Halka*, after which she was featured in the London Ballet and a dramatic ballet, *Defeat and Triumph*, produced on the first anniversary of the State of Israel at Madison Square Garden, New York.

Out of the Ballet Center, organized in 1967 to train professional dancers, has come the Niagara Frontier Ballet. The Civic Ballet of 1935 lasted only two years. The Civic Ballet of 1946 directed by Alexis Kaloff, also was short-lived; but the Niagara Frontier Ballet appears to be based on a more lasting foundation. Miss Crofton, its director, has danced with the Anna Pavlova Company, the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, and others, and taught many famous performers in her own London school. The Company is acquiring a reputation beyond the Niagara Frontier. It made its debut at the Jacob's Pillow Dance Festival in 1969 and subsequently has given performances in Washington, D. C. and Rochester. As it looks to the future, it plans to include experimental and avant-garde productions as well as the classical ballet.

The first non-classical dancer from the area to exert an influence beyond Western New York, was Ellen Becker, who was born in Buffalo in 1891. Following her attendance at the Louise Delaney School at the Twentieth Century Club, she studied with Ruth St. Denis, became an instructor in the Denishawn School, and toured with this group. In 1918 she opened a local school in interpretive dancing which lasted for a number of years.

Miss Becker's school produced at least two gifted students. The first, Alleen Stevens, also studied with Ruth St. Denis and Ted Shawn, both in New York and California. She then became Miss Becker's assistant for five years, and ran the school during Miss Becker's illness. From 1926 to 1942 she directed her own school through the transitional period from Isadora Duncan to Mary Wigman.The second student, Louise Jassoy, was an assistant of Miss Stevens for a number of years. She was the first local modern dancer, and received her advanced training from Doris Humphrey, Charles Weidman, and Hanya Holm as well as Ruth St. Denis and Ted Shawn. Having spent about seven years with Miss Stevens, she established her own school in connection with the Studio Theatre School. She gave many dance recitals, one of which was a feature of the Buffalo Centennial in 1932. When she married and left Buffalo, there was a break until Seenie Rothier arrived from New York City in 1941.

Miss Rothier found it difficult to support herself through the dance—indeed, the man who installed her telephone told her that it was a mistake to add such an expense because she would not last three months. Thirty years later, however, she was the head of a well established school. She performed several times in New York as a solo dancer and appeared locally with the Philharmonic Orchestra in Stravinsky's *L'Histoire du Soldat.*

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One of her pupils, Linda Kent, perhaps the finest modern dancer produced in Buffalo, is currently dancing with the Alvin Ailey Dancers of New York.

As with music and literature, the University, under the direction of Billie Kirpich, has become one of the leaders in the modern dance field. In the fall of 1966 Miss Kirpich of New York City became the head of its Dance Theatre Workshop. Since her arrival, the workshop, either at Baird Hall or the Domus Theatre, has produced two works a year, created on campus with students and artists in other media, including the Creative Associates. It was the first local group to integrate dance and the theatre. Its production, *Close Up: 33 Million* utilized eight TV sets showing news shots.

Nor was literature neglected by Buffalonians after 1900. In 1919, the Western New York Branch of the National League of Penwomen was organized by Effie Burns. She found 37 local women who could meet the criterion of having produced five byline articles paid for and published by periodicals, newspapers, and publishing houses. As the Society matured, the rolls were opened to musicians, sculptresses, painters, and writers in the new media of radio and television. The Society flourished along with the development of the arts in Buffalo. For a tea in April 1952, it issued over 40 invitations to local authors who had written books since World War II. In 1970 there were about 80 active members.

One of Buffalo's most prolific writers with over 18 full length novels and 22 juveniles to her credit was Mrs. Jane Abbott, born in Buffalo in 1881. From her first book, *Keineth* (1918), through *Juliet is Twenty* (1927), to *Heyday* (1929), and on, she wrote steadily and sold one or two books a year. Many of her books were written for teenagers, and a few were best sellers. She also wrote two plays, *The Wonder Gate* and *Light Heart*, for young children.

In the 1920's and 1930's two women writers turned out a constant stream of popular short stories and novels for such widely circulated magazines as the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Ladies Home Journal,* and *Woman's Home Companion*, which were later published in book form. The elder, Nalbro Bartley, born in Buffalo in 1888, wrote *Fair to Middling* (1929),*Her Mother's Daughter* (1921), *The Fox Woman* (1927-28), *The Godfather* (1929), and several other novels. The second in age, though not in rank, was Nelia Gardner White, who, although born in Settlement, Pennsylvania, in 1894, spent most of her writing career in Buffalo. *David Strange* (1928), *Joanna Gray* (1928), and *The Thorn Tree* (1955) are three of her best known works.

Hugh McNair Kahler was a male rival. The son of the pastor of Holy Trinity Lutheran Church, he was not born in Buffalo, but spent his youth here before leaving for Princeton from which he was graduated in 1904. It has been said that he wrote more stories for the *Saturday Evening Post* than any other writer of the period. Among his many novels and stories which appeared as books, were *MacIvor's Folly* (1925), *Hills Were Higher Then* (1925-31) and *East Wind and Other Stories* (1921-23). He collaborated with Booth Tarkington and Kenneth L. Roberts in writing *The Collector's Whatnot* in 1923.

Yet another *Saturday Evening Post* writer of novels and short stories was Charles Francis Coe, born in Buffalo in 1890. In addition to being a popular author, he was an outstanding criminologist and penologist. Some of his titles, *Gangster* (1927), *Swag* (1928), *Hooch* (1928), *G. Man* (1935), and *Ashes* (1952) reveal these interests.

It is not widely known that F. Scott Fitzgerald spent a number of his early years in Buffalo, living both on Irving Place and Highland Avenue. That he took many local memories with him is proved by his references to a number of youthful incidents in his writing. His talent as an interpreter of his own "lost generation" is undeniable. His first

Taylor Caldwell

novel, *This Side of Paradise* (1920) was an instant success. His succeeding works were *The Beautiful and Damned* (1921), *Tales of the Jazz Age* (1922),*The Great Gatsby* (1925), which is generally considered his finest work and others. He lived a short (1896-1940) and troubled life.

Two other Buffalo women, both from prominent families, were successful writers who devoted their skill mainly to writing for children. Elizabeth Coatsworth published her first book of verses, *Fox Footprints*, at the age of 30, followed by a biennial succession of poetry and juveniles as well as a number of contributions to prominent literary magazines. In 1930 her book, *The Cat Who Went to Heaven*, was given the Newberry Award as the best juvenile of the year.

Elizabeth Yates also received the Newberry Award for her book, *Amos Fortune, Free Man* in 1943. After 10 years of discouraging apprenticeship, her first book *High Holiday* was published in England. Like Elizabeth Coatsworth she has written a miscellany of articles and essays for the current magazines.

Other authors of children's books are Gil Nagy, who wrote *No More Dragons* in 1969; Dr. Max Landsberger, who wrote *Children Who Are Too Bold*; Margaret Goff

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Clark, with several mystery stories to her credit; Norma Kelly Kassirer, with a steady output of competent works; and Corinne Denneny Willis, who wrote the *Ivory Cage.*

Two of the most prominent authors of the 1930's and 1940's were the prizewinning Paul Horgan (1903-) and the popular Taylor Caldwell (1900-). The former, born and brought up in Buffalo, moved to New Mexico as a young man. The latter was born in Preswich, Manchester, England and at the age of six came to the environs of Buffalo where she is still in residence.

Mr. Horgan was introduced to the West through three years as a student at the New Mexico Military Institute (1920-23), after which he remained at the Institute as Librarian (1926-42). Since the early 1960's he has been associated with the Center for Advanced Studies and Graduate School of Wesleyan College. He has written over 30 works, including a play and an opera. In 1933 his second novel, *The Fault of Angels*, won the Harper Prize.

Taylor Caldwell reportedly has sold over 8 million copies of her more than 20 novels to date, and is the most widely read living American author outside this country. Like the current abstract-expressionist artist, she paints on a huge canvas—a 700-page novel is not unusual. Her panoramic vision ranges in time from the ancient to the contemporary, in space from the steppes of Asia to Rome and New York. Among her best known works are her first novel, *The Dynasty of Death* (1938); *Never Victorious, Never Defeated* (1954); and *Dear and Glorious Physician* (1959), a story of St. Luke.

A series of four volumes published from 1931 to 1939 and subsequent single volumes, contained the memoirs of Mrs. Mable Ganson Evans Dodge Luhan "giving back to life all that life brought to me early and late, showing crude and unflattering aspects of the past, the influences and changes as the years move along." Born in 1879 into the elite set which dominated Buffalo Society in the late nineteenth century, Mrs. Luhan in her first volume described with a candid eye, which was not locally appreciated, her life in Buffalo until her debut at the age of 18. Though these volumes were well written, they were interesting primarily as a picture of an intelligent, courageous, and unconventional member of Buffalo society who was one of the group of artists and intellectuals responsible for introducing modern art into America.

The most versatile of Buffalo's better writers is undoubtedly Dr. Charles A. Brady who was born in Buffalo in 1912 and is now Chairman of the English Department of Canisius College. In addition to writing weekly book reviews for the *Buffalo Evening News* since 1945, he has written criticism; history, *The First Hundred Years: Canisius College,* 1870-1970; juveniles, *The Elephant Who Wanted to Pray*, *The Church Mouse of St. Nicholas, The King's Thane,* and others; novels, among them *Stage of Fools* (1953), and *The Sword of Clontraf* (1960); and poetry, including the prize-winning *Wings over Patmos* (1951). Dr. Brady writes in various styles: with Jesuitical learning, with an Irish grace of mind, and in a straight narrative manner.

Harvey Swados, born in Buffalo in 1920, is another writer of distinction. A Guggenheim Fellow in 1961, he taught in the literary division of Sarah Lawrence College. His works include: *Out Went the Candle* (1955), *On the Line* (1957), *Years of Conscience* and *The Muckrakers* (1962), *A Radical's America (1962), The Will* (1963), and *A Story for Teddie and Others* (1965).

A number of twentieth century writers have chosen Western New York as their background. Bernice Kavinoky wrote of the Canadian shore in two novels, *All the Young Summer Days* (1943) and *Honey from a Dark Hive.* Roger B. Dooley, a teacher at Canisius, explored the First Ward of Buffalo both in novel and dramatic form in such works as *Less Than the Angels* (1946) and *House of Shanahan.* Mrs. Norman J. Getzin, an author of mystery stories, also wrote of the local scene. Her most successful work, *Encounter with Evil,* was adapted for television by Alfred Hitchcock.

Although humorists were not numerous, there was much laughter in Peter J. Laux's *A Man's Home is His Hassle.* And who can resent the inclusion of two short verses from *Rhymes Without Reason: (and some with),* written by Michael F. Ellis, a local advertising executive, for "those who can't stand or understand good poetry." "Treat the boss always with utmost good taste, you are the person who can be replaced." "For slips my wife pays 20 dollars, and then if one inch shows, she hollers."

In the 1950's Buffalo was home (through the University's English Department) to two writers who were part of the shower which preceded the heavy rain that was soon to come. Sloan Wilson, a short story writer-novelist, portrayed the life of a junior executive who daily commuted between New York City and Connecticut in his best seller, *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit* (1955). David Posner, a poet, had a light satiric touch, as shown in his burlesque opera, *The Kitchen Sink* (1960) and in his contributions to *The New Yorker* and *The Saturday Review.*

In 1968 Karen Brady quoted Lyle Glazier in her column for the *Buffalo Evening News* as saying: "When you talk about writing in Buffalo these days, you're not talking about a renaissance, you're talking about an explosion." The fuse that sparked this explosion was the liberal spirit which prevailed in the English Department of the University. During its phenomenal expansion, new ventures in form and in style were welcome and a standard was maintained that attracted teachers and writers of quality from all over the country. In 1970 there were more

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than 40 members of the faculty who had published novels, poetry, or criticism, including several of international reputation. To quote Eric Larrabee, there was "an extraordinary coming together of talents . . . . There is nothing quite like it anywhere."

One experiment was with electronic poetry. As described by Dr. William Sylvester, it was "a mixture usually of tape and live voice, sometimes done in the form of 'sound collages' with fragments of political speeches, advertisements and music interspersed. Electric poetry is an innovative, fairly new medium. It's primarily a game. It's an in and out thing."

Several groups of teachers and students, working separately or together, published small magazines known as "Sporadicals." These included the *Anonym Quarterly, Presence, The Wotge Review* (for young black writers throughout the country), *Intrepid, Paunch,* and *Fubbalo.-Audit* and *Peridexion* were allied publications, although they were not University centered.

The two best known University-based writers of fiction are John Barth and Dr. Leslie A. Fiedler. In his first novel, *The Floating Opera* (1956) Mr. Barth, who is Maryland born and a graduate of Johns Hopkins, wrote humorously and in a desultory style of an East Shore lawyer contemplating suicide. In the *Sot-Weed Factor* (1960) he followed his hero, a poet and virgin, from seventeenth century England to Maryland in a series of bizarre and enjoyable adventures of the type which have gained him a reputation as a black humorist. In *Giles Goat-Boy* (1966), an imaginative work of a high order, he satirized a computerized university. *Lost in the Funhouse* (1968) was a collection of 14 disparate short pieces; and *Fiction for Print, Tape and Live Voice* was an essay in multimedia. He has been classed by some critics as the outstanding American novelist of the 1960's.

Dr. Fiedler's volume of criticism, *Love and Death in the American Novel*, was called by the *New York Times* "One of the great essential books on the American Imagination . . . an accepted major work." He excels in fiction as well. In *Nude Croquet*, his wide-ranging collection of short stories, *The Stain* is a particularly moving piece. He has written two novels, *The Second Stone* (1963) and *Back to China* (1965) and in 1966 three novellas: *The Last Jew in America, The Last Wasp in the World,* and *The First Spade in the West.*

The poets currently teaching at the University are several in number and high in quality. They are aware of man's problems and individual agony. "Poets live in a well," wrote Robert Creeley, "from which the screams issue." And yet they exhibit various degrees of bitterness. There persists a love of nature, of introspective monologue, and of sound and rhythm for their own sake. The forms and punctuation may be quixotic, the content may be subtle to the point of obscurity—or deliberately so fashioned; nevertheless with such writers as Robert Creeley, Irving Feldman, John Logan, and Mac Hammond the thinking is individual and the images original.

Irving Feldman wrote *Works and Days and Other Poems* (1961), *The Pripit Marshes and Other Poems* (1955), and *Magic Papers and Other Poems* (1970). John Logan was the author of *Ghosts of the Heart, New Poems* (1960), *Spring of the Thief* (1960-62), and *The Zigzag Walk* (1963-68). Mac Hammond contributed *The Horse Opera and Other Poems* (1966), *Sorry for That,* and *Cold Turkey* (1969). Robert Creeley wrote among others; *A Form of Women* (1959), *The Charm and Uncollected Poems (1960), For Love, Poems 1950-60* (1962), and *Words; Poems* (1967). In addition, he edited with Donald Allen *New Writing in the USA.* Saul Touster was in the University Law School when he was awarded the Devins Memorial Award of the Kansas City Poetry Contest in 1966.

Albert Spaulding Cook, although basically a critic, wrote *Progression and Other Poems* (1963). Lionel Abel, the one prizewinning dramatist now in Buffalo, is the author of *Death of Odysseus* (1953), *Absalom* (1956) and *The Pretender* (1960), all produced with critical acclaim in New York.

With even greater expansion of the University lying ahead, the future of the contemporary arts seems virtually unlimited on the Niagara Frontier.

Although smaller than the University, the New York State University College at Buffalo has also experienced a phenomenal growth which has attracted at least one writer of international fame, Joseph Hitrec. A novelist, short story writer, translator, and critic, he was born in Zagreb, Yugoslavia, and came to Buffalo as the "mentor of creative writing" from the City University of New York. His outstanding work in fiction is *Son of the Moon* (1948) which was awarded the biennial Harper Novel Prize. The book is a study of modern India, where he spent some 12 years lecturing at Bombay City College, the University of Benares, and Osmania University at Hyderabad. This was followed by a second novel of India, *The Angel of Gaiety.* He has also translated a collection of short stories by Ivo Andric, the Yugoslav winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1961.

Erie County's many ethnic groups have continued to make valuable contributions to the cultural life of the area. So far as is known, every foreign group which emigrated to Buffalo formed its own cultural society as soon as its numbers could sustain one. The activities of some were widely publicized so that the community as a whole was aware of them and patronized the open meetings or concerts. Others were barely noticed and left few records.

The Poles, who continued to migrate to Erie County, eventually became the largest ethnic group in the area. As their numbers increased, their activities became richer and more varied. Among art

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societies the Pearl (Perla) Dramatic Circle (1914) should be mentioned. Nor was literature neglected. Men gathered for study at the University Club, which was both literary and scientific, and at the Joseph Conrad Literary Society.

Music societies were also popular. The Moniusczko Men's Choir, named for the Polish composer, the Fredro Men's Singing and Dramatic Society, the Lirnik Singing Society of Black Rock, and the Paderewski Singing Society, all established after 1900, were still thriving in 1970.

The Polish Arts Club, founded in 1944 with Eugene M. Dyczkowski, a painter and actor, as President, was organized "for those interested in the study, promotion and enjoyment of Polish culture" in order to "bring an understanding of the universal nature of Polish culture to the appreciative attention of its members and thus contribute to the cultural enrichment of the entire community." Its first project was an exhibit of Wladyslaw Benda's masks. The Club held its first jarmark (old country fair) in 1949 to finance the convention of the Polish Clubs of America in Buffalo, and mark the 100th anniversary of the death of Chopin and the poet, Slowocki. Subsequent programs included an exhibition of Polish Book Printing (1950), of wood engravings by Stefan Mrozewski, and a production of the poetic drama, *Forefather's Eve,* by Mickiewicz.

Probably the outstanding individual Buffalo-born artist of Polish descent is the singer, Genia Las, who starred on the Broadway stage in *Music in My Heart*, sang leading roles with the City Center Opera for three years, and appeared throughout Italy and other European countries both in concert and opera, and in the United States as soloist for a number of leading symphonies.

The Blacks also have established a variety of cultural groups, although few of them received wide attention from the general public. In 1901, the year of the Pan-American Exposition, the Metropolitan Orchestra, directed by William Butler, was one of the most popular in the city, playing both in concert and for local activities such as weddings, parties and balls.

One organist-composer of note, Nathaniel Dett, lived in Buffalo as did two piano teachers—Grace Pendleton and George Thompson. Mrs. Mary B. Talbert's daughter, Sarah May Talbert Keelan, a graduate of the Boston Conservatory of Music, taught locally for many years.

Of the many Black singers a few who should be mentioned are: Fannie Cato, Mrs. Edward Campbell, Mildred Carroll, Essie Hurt, James Gillian, Henry Binga, Frank M. Terry, Leonard Sayres, Gerrard Miller, and Jack Green.

In 1910 Milton Harden organized a "Boys' Brass Band" of 25 pieces which performed in the community for several years. This band in 1912 headed the parade which preceded the laying of the cornerstone of St. Joseph's Cathedral, the biggest parade in the history of Buffalo.

During the early years of the twentieth century Black musicians were denied membership in the Musicians Union, but their competition finally forced the Union on February 3, 1917, to charter a Black union, Local 533, American Federation of Musicians. The charter members were Clara Oliver, Charles Wright, Silas Laws, Charles Swayne, Monte Tate, John Neal, Julius Franklin, Henry Wheeler, and Raymond E. Jackson, who became the first Black in America to serve as a travelling representative of the A. F. of M. The union was reputed to have some of the finest musicians in the country among its members and consequently played a part in the promotion and rehabilitation of a number of famous national bands which had met difficulties. Among such bands were those led by Cab Calloway, Fletcher Henderson, Zack White, Jimmie Lunceford, Jimmie Harrison, Stuff Smith, Clarence Olden, Louis Russell, and Speed Smith.

The prominent bands of the 1920's and 30's were Jackson's Heard of Buffaloes, Charles Swayne and His Society Orchestra, The Four Black Dots, Capt. George Warmack and His Algeraims, The Jimmy Perkins Orchestra, Wes Helvey's Orchestra, the Al Jenkins Orchestra, the Chocolate Dandies, and the Chicago Nightingales.

Several choral groups were organized, such as the Clef Choral Club (1928), led by William L. Evans; the South Carolina Four, led by Henry Ashton; the Choraleers, directed by Lucille Owens; the Johnson Male Chorus; the Community Chorus, led by Mrs. Essie Hurt; the Cosmopolitan Chorus, led by Jack Green; the Famous Royal Serenaders; and from 1948-50, the Jesse Nash Choir of 40 voices, directed by Jesse E. Nash, Jr. In the early 1930's the McLean Theatre at William Street and Jefferson Avenue was the home of gospel singing, and presented a number of outside singing groups, mostly quartets and sextets, under the leadership of the Rev. Peter Trammell.

Today, music is firmly established in every area of the Black community. The public school system, long reluctant to integrate its staff, now employs between 15 and 20 Black music teachers and there are at least 25 performers and private teachers. Miss Aretha Franklin is perhaps the most famous contemporary singer, doing much to popularize "soul" music. Other musicians of note are Raphael Dubard, who has had operatic and concert experience; Gwendolyn Sims, recently a Creative Associate at the University; and Julius Eastman, a man of unusual talents, who is a bass singer, pianist, teacher, and avant-garde composer.

In the 1920's Black women organized several clubs for the study of the arts. The earliest, founded in 1922, was the Lit-Mus Study Club, which specialized in literature and music. The Booklovers Club, founded seven years

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later, was a monthly literary society, as was the Phyllis Wheatley Club.

It is not known whether there were any formally organized Black theatre groups in Buffalo in the nineteenth century. In a relatively early period, however, dramatic readings were given by Mrs. Rufus Howard, Mrs. Frances J. Nash, Miss Susan Douglas, and Mose Lacey. A more recent specialist in this area is Miss Rhoda Townsend.

From about 1920 on, the visual arts, dance, and drama were sponsored by several institutions. The two earliest were the McLean Theatre, already mentioned, which presented plays and vaudeville, and the Michigan Avenue branch of the Y.M.C.A. The first theatre group at the latter was The Y.M.C.A. Community Players. The second, founded in 1963, was the Ira Aldrich Players, an acting company of considerable talent which included among its actors and workers Jim Byron, Ishmael Reed, June Duell, Edward Lawrence, Fred and Lucile Clifton, and Bob Costley, who is currently acting with the Free Southern Theatre. The Buffalo actor who achieved the greatest prominence was Scoey Mitchell of movies and television.

In the 1920's, the first art school for Blacks was established in the Michigan Avenue Y.M.C.A. Several painters and sculptors who graduated from local art schools are now teaching in the local schools, colleges, and at the University. William L. Evans, noted for his paintings of African chiefs, came to Buffalo to direct the Urban League. Hubert Crawford, a commercial artist who also taught at the Michigan Avenue Y.M.C.A., is known for his work on WPA murals in Washington, D.C. during the Depression.

Perhaps preceding these pioneers, was Anna Davenport who specialized in teaching ceramics. Other Buffalo artists who should be noted were Mrs. Mabel McAlpin Newell, a teacher; German Gonzalez, a commercial artist for over 25 years; Oliver Lomax who taught and exhibited through the 1930's, 1940's, and 1950's; and William West, a pupil of Charles Burchfield, who was one of the few Black water colorists. Vivian Brown, awarded the Urban League Scholarship in 1952, is presently teaching in Cleveland.

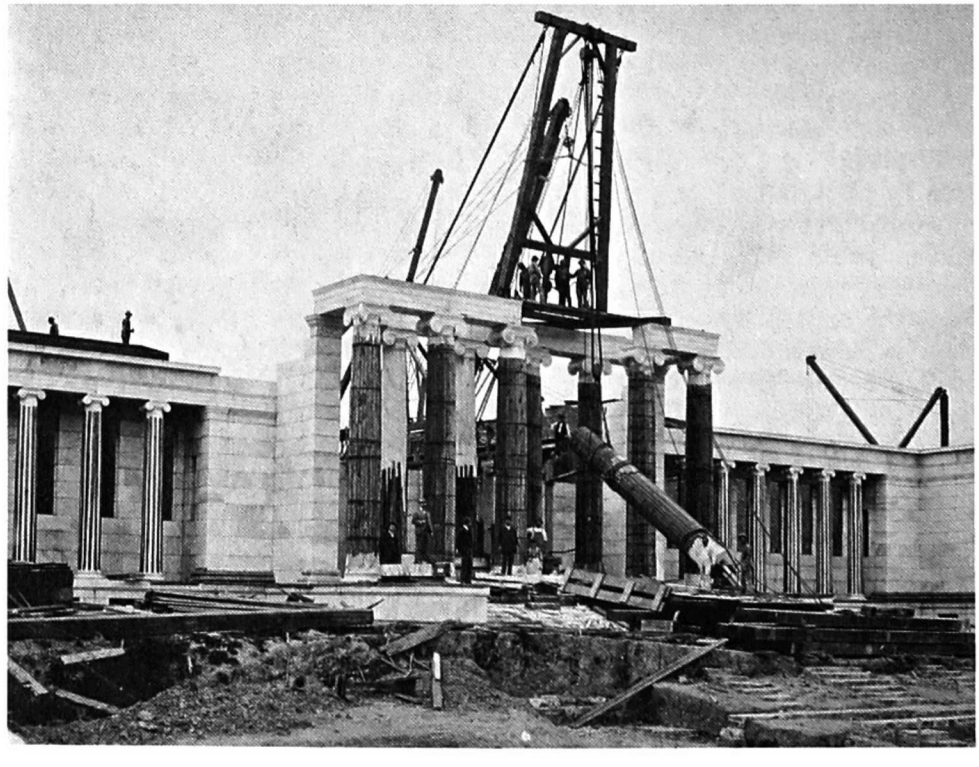
Among the contemporary Black artists is Wilhelmina Godfrey, a painter, printmaker, and weaver who painted the altar mural at St. Philip's Episcopal Church, and has had paintings exhibited in a number of established galleries. Perhaps better known as a weaver, her work has been included in exhibitions of national scope and she is currently an instructor of weaving at the University.

Allie Anderson, a sculptor whose work is included in Western New York Exhibitions, is now Director of the Upton Gallery at State University College at Buffalo. James Pappas, a painter, served as Curator of the Art History Department at the University in 1968, and has taught in several cultural institutions. Betty Pitts, another painter, is a member of the Buffalo Society of Artists; and Clarence Scott is a graphic designer.

In the 1950's and 1960's several institutions were formed by Blacks with the specific purpose of promoting the arts. The first and strongest of these was the African Cultural Center, founded in 1957 by Malcolm Erni. This Center after a prolonged hand-to-mouth existence is now financed by the United Fund and local foundations. It is established in its own building complex at 350 Masten Avenue which includes a small theatre, dance studio, class rooms, offices, and summer playground. Under the direction of Edward Lawrence, a well balanced program is provided free of charge to Black children. Adults participate in other activities.

The John F. Kennedy Center, controlled by the City of Buffalo, has since 1962 carried on an impressive art program for children. In 1967 James Pappas, Allie Anderson, and Clarence Scott organized the A.P.S. Creative Arts Center. They were joined one year later by Mrs. Wilhelmina Godfrey. The eventual purpose of this group is

Albright Art Gallery under construction



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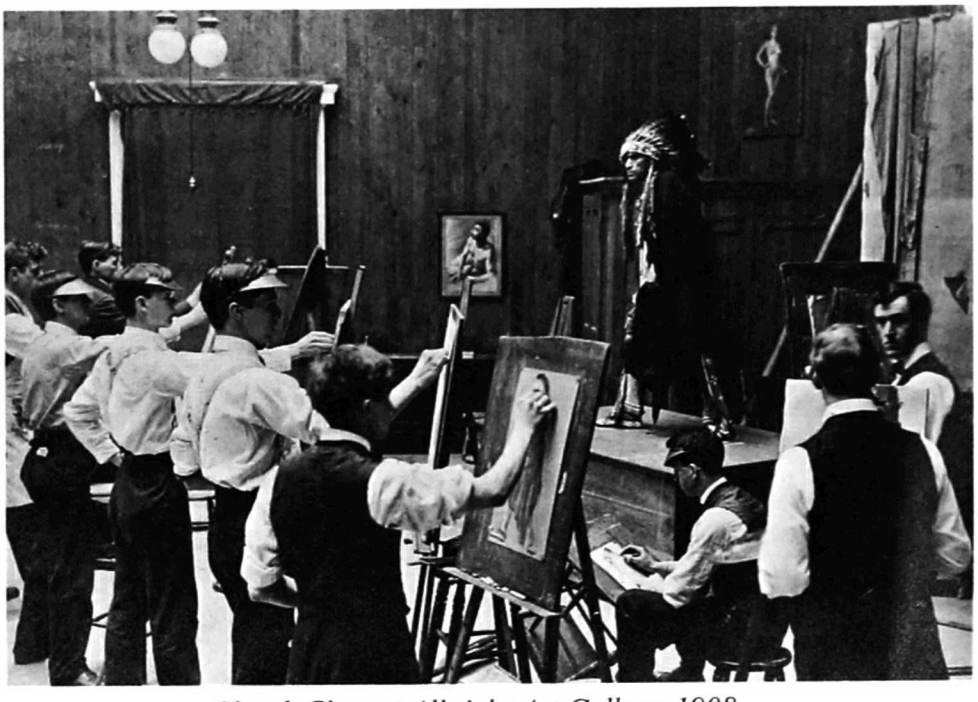
to build a large arts center in honor of Langston Hughes, a well known Black writer. In 1968 Cornelius Magnus Herrell set up the Masten Community Workshop for training young people in the arts.

Altogether the increased opportunities for self-expression through the arts are keeping up with increases in other fields. In 1970 the productions of the University and various colleges, both public and parochial, included black participants in music, dance, drama, and the visual arts. The dancer, Christyn Lawson, and the composer, Julius Eastman, are outstanding figures at the University.

In the twentieth century the Germans created a new group of singing societies. The Unity Club of Black Rock, organized in 1914, changed its name first to the Arbeiter Liederkranz and then, in 1949, to the Banat Men's Choir. Other groups were the Schwaebischer Maennerchor, the Male Choir Bavaria, Inc., and the Frohsinn Singing Society. In 1933 a folk dancing group, the Buffalo Chapter of the Schuhplatter Verein Edelweiss came into being and won several national awards.

One of the most influential groups that still attracts a large audience is the Dante Alighieri Society, founded by the Italian community in 1935. Meeting monthly at the International Institute, its program which embraces several arts, usually consists of a reading from Italian literature or poetry, music, and a guest speaker.

Other ethnic groups, though smaller in numbers, have also made contributions. The Finns have gathered from 1908 in Valo Hall for choir singing and drama. The St. David's Welsh Society was organized to sing the traditional songs of that country. In 1929 the Buffalo Choral Club was formed by the Orthodox Russian community. The Pan-Arcadians (1941) produced plays for the Greek-Americans and the satirical Schlaraffia Bisonia put on amusing works for the Germans.



Sketch Class at Albright Art Gallery, 1908

The most recent national group to arrive in Erie County is the Puerto Rican, which in 1970, numbered approximately 10,000. Though the great majority did not arrive until after World War II and came to this area as migrant workers, by 1966 they had, under the leadership of Mrs. Stephanie Berrios, established a center of creative activity at 347 Swan Street where arts and crafts were taught and plays for children were produced. In 1969 a second center, the Puerto Rican Social Center was opened at Swan and Chicago Streets.

Similar in scope but perhaps with more emphasis upon religious celebrations was the Centro Social Mexicano Club, Inc. at 51 Ingham Street in Lackawanna, which was founded in 1947.

Whether a specific nationality formed cultural societies or not, all nationalities brought their culture with them, needing the solace of their own arts to support them in their adaptation to a foreign, often harsh environment. The greatly expanded art activity in Erie County during the past 50 years is due, at least in part, to the interest and creativity of these minorities.

For the Fine Arts Academy a new and illustrious period began May 31, 1905, with the dedication of its new home, the Albright Art Gallery. Fittingly placed in Delaware Park upon a rise of ground overlooking the lake, it was a magnificent structure, described by one critic as the finest example of pure Greek architecture in America. Both its ornament and the two porches on the east side were derived from the Erechtheum on the Acropolis of Athens, whose decoration is in the pure Ionic style. Its one story, 250′ long and 150′ deep, contained 18 galleries; a central sculpture court, 56′ by 70′ and lined with pilasters and chaste columns; and a small lecture room crowded into the hemicycle. In the basement were vaults, exhibition rooms, work space, and classrooms for the Art School. The lighting, unique for the period, consisted of powerful electric lights between the roof and the ground glass ceiling, which approximated the illumination of daylight. At the opening of the Gallery, the eight caryatids—statues of women used as columns—which were to support the entablature of the porches, were not in place, since they had not been completed by their sculptor, Augustus St. Gaudens.

The architect was Edward B.

Collection of The Buffalo History Museum

Green, a member of the Buffalo architectural firm of Green and Wicks. The donor, John J. Albright, was a prominent industrialist and a major developer of Niagara Falls power through the Ontario Power Company and the Niagara, Lockport, and Ontario Power Company.

The social and intellectual elite of Buffalo came to the dedication rightly realizing that this was an outstanding event in the city's cultural history. The Teutonia Liederkranz, the Saengerbund, Orpheus, and Guido Singing Societies, sang a Beethoven choral selection and an *Ode* by Arthur Detmers of Buffalo; Richard Watson Gilder read his poem, *A Temple of Art*; President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard delivered the main address, *Beauty and Democracy*; and the ceremonies were closed with the singing of Philip Becker Goetz's *Hymn.*

When the Gallery opened, the collections comprised about 50 casts of Greek and Roman sculpture; several marble busts; more than 200 oil paintings by American and foreign artists; a historical collection of prints, composed of more than 200 items; a collection of etchings by Seymour Haden; and a small group of wood engravings by Henry Wolf. The print collection, embracing among others Durer, Rembrandt, Claude Lorraine, Turner, Millet, and Whistler. was strong; the American painting section was spotty; the European was academic and weak.

The affairs of the Academy were administered by a Director, Dr. Charles M. Kurtz, and an Assistant-Secretary. Dr. Kurtz had considerable experience organizing the art sections for expositions such as the World's Columbian Exposition. With the belief that "The dissemination of beauty and the growth of appreciation of the beautiful are accompanied almost invariably by the elevation of ideals of life and effort," he vigorously promoted art in Buffalo through the establishment of a sound collection at the Gallery, a wide variety of temporary exhibitions, and a monthly art publication entitled *Academy Notes.* These *Notes*, which he edited, became one of the most important art publications of the day. He planned to bring to Buffalo each year two outstanding exhibitions, one comprising the best obtainable works of living American artists, the other both American and foreign works, in order to keep Buffalonians in touch with contemporary developments. It was his belief that such a program, in a few years, would lead the public to a knowledge and familiarity with the art of the world such as was scarcely enjoyed in equal degree by the residents of any other American city. In addition, there were to be lectures, one-man exhibitions, and receptions for distinguished artists. This early emphasis upon the contemporary established the policy which was to make the Gallery renowned throughout the world as a leader of the modern movement.

Of the first exhibition of works by Buffalo artists, opened on the evening of January 9, 1906, Dr. Kurtz said, "The collection . . . numbers 245 exhibits representing 59 artists . . . . Those who have considered themselves fairly well informed concerning local art in Buffalo have expressed surprise at the extent and excellence of the collection, and from it many persons have gained an entirely new idea of the importance of Buffalo as a center of artistic activity and achievement."

The "First Annual Exhibition of Selected Paintings by American Artists" was opened on May 31, 1906. The *Newark Evening News* commented upon it as follows: "The average of the paintings is very high. A better assemblage of pictures than one is allowed to see in New York." Each year a similar cross section was shown, which, to Dr. Kurtz, improved in quality. The European counterparts proceeded from the Glasgow School, through the German School, to the French impressionists, and the "great" contemporary painters from Spain, Zuloaga, and Sorolla. In addition to these annual exhibitions there were several exhibits of local artists, a series of one-man shows by living American artists, and a miscellany of minor arts to engage the natural interests of the public.

Dr. Kurtz's attitude toward photography was an advanced one. As early as September 1907 he displayed works by the Photo Pictorialists of Buffalo and contemplated an international exhibition of artistic photography, organized on the same basis as the major painting exhibitions. He also considered the organization of exhibitions of selected works by American sculpture. This, too, was an innovation as sculpture in this period did not have the prestige of painting.

In the area of public education his thinking also was liberal from the beginning. As early as the fall of 1907, an arrangement was made with Superintendent Henry Emerson of the public schools and Bishop Colton of the Roman Catholic diocese to bring large numbers of school children to visit the temporary exhibitions on free admission days, accompanied by teachers who talked with them concerning the exhibits.

The exhibition of Sorolla's paintings—of which he had said "Never before has the interior of the Gallery been so absolutely pervaded with sunshine"—proved to be Dr. Kurtz's last. Sorolla, who accompanied the exhibition, painted his portrait in one sitting, in the doorway of the north gallery. The following day Dr. Kurtz was taken to the hospital where he died March 21, 1909. In its memorial, the Board of Directors said: "To this City of Buffalo, in the cultivation of an appreciation of the beautiful, in stimulating an interest in pictures, in strengthening the foundations for higher living, he has rendered a service the effect of which will always be felt in the life of this community."

Following the death of Dr. Kurtz, Cornelia Bentley Sage, his

Collection of The Buffalo History Museum

Assistant and Secretary, was immediately appointed Acting Director. On October 3, 1910, at the age of 26, she was unanimously confirmed as permanent Director, thus becoming the first woman in the United States to hold such a position. A Buffalonian by birth, Miss Sage had begun her art studies at the Art Students League, after which she had gone to the Art Students League in New York City. A capable, bouncy woman with charm and persuasiveness, she was somewhat more daring than Kurtz and more picturesque in her personality. She carried on his unfulfilled plans, then moved out far beyond him in a spectacular manner. Her transient exhibitions gave the Albright Art Gallery an international reputation.

In April 1920 she organized the first local industrial art exhibition under the auspices of the Fine Arts Academy, Guild of Allied Arts, Buffalo Society of Artists, Buffalo Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, Department of Public Instruction, Albright Art School, Chamber of Commerce, Rotary Club, and Ad Club. The exhibition concerned itself with both applied design and functional beauty. The categories included: china, furniture, textiles, automobiles, printing, photography, willow work, baskets, stoves, stained and leaded glass, mantels and grates, builders' hardware, building materials of all kinds, and wallpapers.

After several years of a surprisingly diverse and copious flow of exhibitions, both contemporary and historic, Miss Sage decided to reduce the number of temporary exhibitions so as to give the critics and public more time to appreciate them. She remained a pioneer. The achievement which brought the greatest acclaim of her career was the monumental exhibition of American sculpture in 1916. Never before had such a comprehensive view of American sculpture been given in a museum. Comprised of 802 medals; plaques; small and large sculptures of bronze, marble, and other materials; wood and ivory carvings; objects of sculpture in precious metals; portraits; allegorical statues; and works of decorative and monumental character, it filled not only the Gallery but the grounds as well. The exhibition made news both nationally and internationally. The *Boston Evening Transcript* devoted an entire page to text and illustrations, and the *Buffalo Evening News* reported: "No exhibition has ever created such a stir in the art and museum world; and not less than half the art institutions in the country, under the inspiration of the current exhibition, are making plans for sculpture exhibitions on a smaller scale." On its second Sunday the exhibition drew an attendance of 11,181, the largest the Galley had ever known.

The art Miss Sage imported in the early 1920's as representative of the best in Europe, is today considered academic and conservative. Spirituality, nobility, and delicacy were too firmly enthroned for the Gallery to open its walls to the brutality and sensualism of the new schools. Nevertheless, in January 1913, there appeared a travelling exhibition of contemporary Scandinavian art broad enough to include Per Krohg, a cubist, and Edvard Munch, an expressionist. They were accepted by the local press with surprising tolerance. Said the *Buffalo Times* of Per Krohg: "In much the same relation to the conservative school of painting, these cubist pictures stand as does the turkey trot to the minuet. Those who uphold the bizarre will find arguments in their favor." And the *Buffalo Express* said of Munch: "One of the most important positions in the room is occupied by Munch's masterpiece, 'The Sick Child' . . . . It is a wonderfully sympathetic picture."

A. Conger Goodyear, a member of the Academy Art Committee and a collector of growing importance, was the one local rebel in sight. But on August 1, 1924, before backing could be organized for an exhibit of contemporary art, Miss Sage, now the wife of Dr. William Warren Quinton, resigned to assume the position of Art Director of the California Palace of the Legion of Honor in San Francisco.

On January 27, 1925, the Board of Directors, meeting symbolically in the rooms of the Safety Deposit Department of the Marine Trust Company, selected William M. Hekking to succeed Mrs. Quinton as Director.

Mr. Hekking was an art teacher and marine painter of conservative bent who came to Buffalo from the Columbus Gallery of Fine Arts of which he was the Director. It was during his tenure that Mr. Goodyear, then Vice President of the Academy, Colonel Charles Clifton, and Anna Glenny Dunbar, a liberal sculptress and Honorary Curator of Sculpture, worked together to assemble a contemporary sculpture collection which was to become the finest in America. The Goodyear-Dunbar strategy was to prepare the directors and public for their purchases with a comprehensive exhibition of the sculptors' work from which purchases were to be made. In this way Mestrovic's "Innocentia," Maillol's "Night," and Bourdelle's "Virgin of Alsace" were acquired. Other important pieces purchased were Rodin's "Age of Bronze" and "Eve After the Fall." Mr. Goodyear also controlled the Fellows for Life Fund which was responsible for early purchases of contemporary painting.

The "Portrait of Katharine Cornell in Her Role of Candida," the heroine of Bernard Shaw's play of that name, was one of the controversial portraits in the collection during this period. It was painted in 1924 by Eugene Speicher, a Buffalo portrait painter of national reputation. Although of a conservative school of painting, it did not please many of Miss Cornell's friends or Gallery visitors. As a consequence, Mr. Goodyear, who had suggested the commission, paid the purchase price to

Collection of The Buffalo History Museum

the Gallery and presented the portrait to Miss Cornell. It hung temporarily in the lobby of the Empire Theatre where she was acting, until she gave it to the Museum of Modern Art from which it was eventually purchased by the Julia R. and Estelle L. Foundation and returned to its original home. One of the outstanding traditional portrait painters of his day, Speicher also painted a portrait of Colonel Clifton, which hangs in the Gallery, and one of Mr. Goodyear.

Julius J. Lankes, who specialized in woodcuts was a printmaker of some reputation. Born in Buffalo in 1884, he was trained both in the local Art Students League and the Art School of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. His work, frequently exhibited, was bought by many museums and libraries, including the Library of Congress, the Metropolitan Museum, the British Museum, and the Albright Art Gallery. Major collections of his work are held by the Buffalo and Erie County Public Library and by Dartmouth College.

The exhibitions of Mr. Hekking's first year were of good quality. Anders Zorn was exhibited throughout the month of May; George Inness added distinction in November; and George Pearse Ennis, an able American watercolorist, ended the year. The Academy owned one of Ennis' better paintings, "The Coming Storm." The sculpture exhibits began with the work of Cecil Howard, who was for some years a resident of Buffalo, and included about 100 pieces by Mestrovic in marble, plaster, bronze, and wood, and a group of Maillol's sculpture and drawings.

In February 1926, Mrs. Seymour H. Knox presented the Academy with four Greek sculptures dating from the fifth to the third centuries B.C.. In the same year Mr. Hekking announced the purchase of the original plaster cast of "The Relief of Robert Louis Stevenson" by Augustus St. Gaudens, the sculptor of the Caryatids. He must also be credited with strengthening the collection of pre-19th century painting.

Like Dr. Kurtz, Mr. Hekking was a progressive educator interested both in children and adults. One of his more picturesque projects was described in the *Buffalo Evening News:* "With the bronze relief 'Memorial to Robert Louis Stevenson,' the children's poet, as a background, more than 150 children from 20 of the city's kindergartens Friday morning sang and danced together in the annual demonstration in the main court of the Albright Art Gallery."

The most daring purchases of this period were: "Promenade au Bord de la Mer" by Gauguin, "La Toilette" by Picasso, "A Late Afternoon Glimpse of Notre Dame" by Matisse, "The Pool at Jas du Bouffan" by Cezanne, and "A Senegalese Woman" by Epstein.

Among the well chosen exhibitions of Hekking's career were a "Memorial Exhibition of George Bellows," an "Old Masters Exhibitions" from the Carl W. Hamilton Collection of paintings, sculpture, and minor arts, and a large selection of Chardin's paintings. The first exhibition of truly modern art, held in February 1927, was put together by the Societe Anonyme and brought to the Gallery by Katherine S. Dreier, President of the Society. The works of abstract artists, surrealists, the Blau Reiter Group, futurists, and advanced Americans were displayed. Said Miss Dreier: "This so-called modern art . . . is an expression of the cosmic forces coming to the fore which in time will change our vision of life as well as of art as radically as when Giotto broke with the Byzantine tradition."

For a number of years there were conflicts in purchasing policy, the majority of the Board being opposed to all the new contemporary schools. Mr. Goodyear, their main proponent, lost the battle and left for New York where he became the first President of the Museum of Modern Art.

By limiting her choice deliberately to men of established reputation, even Mrs. Dunbar did not go all the way in her 1927 exhibition of Modern European Sculpture. Brancusi, for example, was not introduced, although paradoxically his "Mademoiselle Pogany," an abstract brass head, was purchased in that same year.

At the end of 1928, the Clifton Collection was exhibited as a memorial to Colonel Clifton, who had died in June of that year. In 1919 he had established the Charles Clifton Fund with a gift of $100,000, the income from which was to be used in the purchase of paintings, and in 1924 had provided a special Sculpture Fund of $25,000, the principal of which was to be used in the acquisition of sculpture. In addition he had made many direct gifts of works of art.

On October 1, 1931, Judge Sears, President of the Board, announced that Hekking had tendered his resignation "and that it had been accepted with regret." Mr. Hekking left the Gallery with apparent bitterness. He stayed on in Buffalo as the *Buffalo Evening News* art critic and became the focus of the opposition which tried in vain to restrict the purchase and exhibition of contemporary art by his successor, Gordon Bailey Washburn.

Two sculptors of national prominence in the early twentieth century were born in Buffalo, and a third was trained here. The oldest was Charles Cary Rumsey (1879-1922), who was an expert horseman and eight-goal polo player as well. His training was conventional: early study at the Boston School of Fine Arts, followed by four years in Paris at the Julian and Colarossi Academies. His work remained within conventional standards, but within them he achieved distinction with his powerful, athletic figures and horses, particularly in the field of architectural sculpture. An output of approximately 200 works despite his early death at the age of 43, was evidence of his industry.

Collection of The Buffalo History Museum

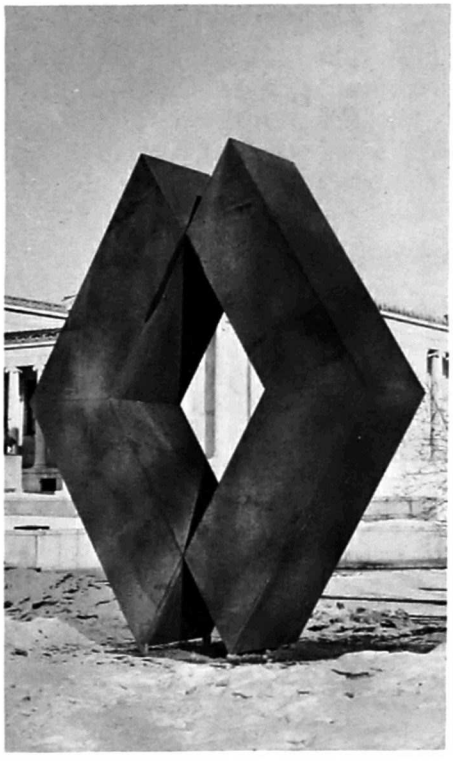
A small bronze version of his "Pizarro" stands on the grounds of the Albright-Knox Gallery and his "Centaur" faces the front of the Historical Society.

Thomas Hudson Jones, born in 1892, was educated at the Albright Art School, the Museum School in Boston, the Carnegie Institute, and the American Academy at Rome where he later became Professor of Fine Arts. Among his outstanding commissions were the "Tomb of the Unknown Soldier" at Arlington, Virginia, the "Bust of Gen. Grant" in the Hall of Fame, New York City, and a bronze figure of "Christ" for the St. Matthew Church in Washington.

Cecil Howard, Canadian-born, also began his art education at the Albright Art School. His bronze figure, "The Dance," was bought by the Gallery.

The growth of the Gallery formed a pattern loosely followed by the other two museums. As an institution, the Gallery was created both by the amateur and the professional, and patronized both by the general public and the elite. It was presented to the citizens of Buffalo and supported in part by city funds; and yet it was the property of the Board of Directors who were recruited almost exclusively from the prominent families or outstanding figures in the business and professional world.

As the collections, attendance, and staff increased, it was necessary gradually to tighten the organization and professionalize it. Nevertheless, numerous volunteers were always needed to stage benefits, to supervise active and curious children, to organize receptions and dinner parties, to act as docents for the public, both children and adults, and to assist in the cataloguing of the ever-growing collections of the Education Department. The Women's Advisory Board, a committee of volunteers formed in the early 1930's, became a vital link in the overall management, and additional committees were added through the years. The Advisory Board held exhibitions of its own, raised money to finance others too expensive for the general budget, solicited books for developing the Library, and sponsored many miscellaneous events.



Caryatids at Gallery

Washburn, 26 years old, was "an art connoisseur of Worcester, Massachusetts." He had completed a graduate course in fine arts at the Fogg Museum of Harvard, and was the youngest director ever appointed to head an American art museum.

Although inexperienced, Washburn became one of the Gallery's outstanding directors. Aggressive and venturesome, with a natural speaking voice and charm of manner, he was knowledgeable and imaginative and made some of the Gallery's shrewdest purchases. His problems were more varied and on a bigger scale than those of Mr. Hekking. Not only was there a continuing conflict between the public and all the defenders of modern art, but there was also,

Collection of The Buffalo AKG Art Museum

due to the Depression, a shortage of money for transient exhibitions and maintenance.

One basic aim of his program was to broaden the Gallery's public—Hekking had managed to eliminate the paid admission days—and to democratize the institution. But he alienated many of the people he was trying to attract by showing contemporary art; and embittered the Buffalo Society of Artists by replacing its annual exhibition with one open to any qualified artist in Western New York. At about the same time, parenthetically, the Buffalo Society was further weakened by the splitting off of some of its more progressive members to form a rival organization known as the Patteran. Eventually a more tolerant attitude prevailed on all sides, and both groups were given exhibition space at the Gallery in addition to the annual Western New York Exhibition.

Like his predecessors, Washburn was progressive in the field of education. He promoted guided tours for school children, interpretive exhibitions for both children and adults, creative painting and sculpture classes for children, and the building of an extensive loan collection of both original art objects and reproductions.

Although he sponsored modern art, he did not at this point in his career favor completely abstract art. As reported in the *Niagara Falls Gazette*: "He still clings to the old ideas, regarded by the moderns as heresy, that line, form and color are not sufficient in themselves, but the subject counts and counts vitally in a work of art."

That his attitude was essentially of a new, more liberal bent is nonetheless apparent. Many of the established landscape and portrait painters were absent from his first American Art Exhibition. In their place were primitives and expressionists. A few of his purchases will illustrate the catholicity of his taste: "St. Gorgon," a fifteenth- or sixteenth-century

French polychrome wooden statue (1931), a near life-size marble statue of a "Roman Poet" (1936), "The Holy Family" by Lorenzo di Credi (1933), "Morning in Provence" by Cezanne (1937), "Kneeling Woman" by Lehmbruck, and Renoir's "Mother and Child" (1940) and "Little Blue Nude" (1941).

The outstanding exhibition of 1932, "Art in Industry," was different from similar exhibitions which had preceded it, in that the beauty of each item was found in the total object, not in its applied decoration; and the products were all made in Buffalo. Along with an exhibition of "American Primitives," it served as the Gallery's contribution to the Buffalo Centennial. Included among the more spectacular exhibits were a Curtiss Robin cabin monoplane, a Fleet deluxe model 9 two-place tractor biplane, a Pierce-Arrow club brougham, and a Ford. There were also six completely furnished rooms, a soft drink bar—it was during Prohibition—and an office.

In October 1933, Mrs. Knox and Seymour H. Knox, Jr., presented the Gallery with a reference library. Located in the northwest wing of the Gallery, the library had an uneven career, at times struggling on without a librarian and with its doors closed to the public. Its basic purpose, which it fulfilled well, was to furnish background material, of use to the Director, docents, and students, for the growing collections.

The establishment of classes in applied art in industry was an innovation of 1933. Attended by executives and buyers of three Buffalo department stores, the classes viewed the selection and assembling of clothing and home decoration from the standpoint of color and design.

From 1933 to 1938 the Depression progressively restricted Gallery activities. Contributions from the city were reduced, as were gifts and money from individuals. The Gallery remained open, but with fewer hours, and had to give up part of its educational program. A museum publication was resumed on October 1, 1933, under the title *Gallery Notes*. Its format, mimeographed sheets on cheap paper, also showed the effects of the Depression.

In June 1934, the building was at last complete with the installation of the eight caryatids on the two east porches. The delay was due to the fact that, by the time they were finished, Albright's estate had suffered such reverses that it held them for purchase instead of making them a gift as Albright had originally intended. The Gallery bought them at the reduced price of $25,000.

As the Depression continued, the financial straits of artists all over the country tightened to such an extent that the government eventually made them eligible for official relief. In *Gallery Notes* appeared this item: "An exhibit of some of the work done under this [WPA] project, including murals for public buildings, sketches for incompleted murals, easel paint-

Collection of The Buffalo History Museum

ings, sculpture, wood carving, leather work, stained glass panels, and prints was held at the Gallery in April [1934]. In the first five days . . . the artists themselves were shown at work on the incompleted projects."

The year 1935 opened with one of the outstanding exhibits of Mr. Washburn's career, "Master Drawings," financed by Mr. Seymour H. Knox, Mrs. Harry B. Spaulding, and Mr. William A. Rogers. Of this exhibit, Agnes Mongan, an international authority on drawings, wrote as follows: "Never before in this country has there been shown at one time a group of drawings of greater significance, wider variety or finer quality than those assembled in the present exhibition....In this collection of little more than 100 drawings there is concentrated the history of European draughtmanship during the past five centuries."

In view of the success of "Master Drawings," a similar exhibition entitled "Master Bronzes" was shown in February 1937, financed by Mrs. Knox and Seymour H. Knox, Jr. It was equally well received by both the public and critics.

The local critics continued their attacks on all the temporary exhibitions of modern art. Said Steven Feeley of *Art of Today* in the *Buffalo Courier-Express*, January 5, 1936: "The foreword to the catalogue declares that the work shown must be considered as a direct commentary on modern society. If this is so, modern society is in even worse shape than many thought....A psychologist of purely amateur standing would say, after viewing the current exhibition, that many of the male artists of today are inhibited wife beaters. There is scarcely the figure of a woman in this show which has not a broken nose, a fractured limb, and some of the artists have not been satisfied to give their pictured ladies two black eyes but paint another on her ear and put a shiner on that also. The foreword to the catalogue advises those who do not like the art of today to 'turn his attack on the life that it reflects, not its elimination from canvas and stone.' The life that some of the works reflect was depicted a long time ago by Dante in his *Inferno*."

Turning for a moment to the local art schools, in the fall of 1937 the first step in the eventual alliance between the Albright Art School and the University of Buffalo was taken with the inception of a four-year course in art, combining studio and academic training, and leading to a newly created degree, the Bachelor of Fine Arts.

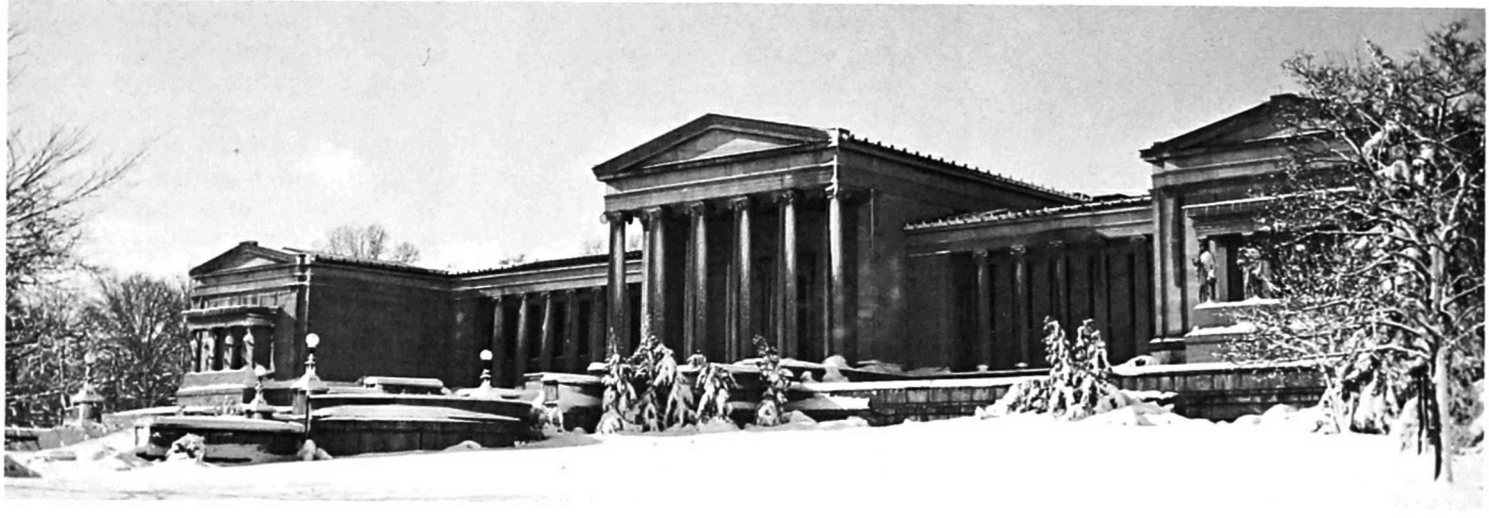
John I. Sewall became the full-time head of the University Art Department and held this position for many years. While in Buffalo, he wrote *Art in the Western World*, a comprehensive 700-page history of art in Europe and America. Urquhart Wilcox was the Director of the Art School at this time. He had first taught at the School in 1904, had returned as Acting Director in 1910 from a period of painting, and in 1920 had been appointed Director. Although his bent was conservative, under his directorship the School expanded greatly and affiliated itself with both the University of Buffalo and State Teachers College.

With the death of Mr. Wilcox in 1941 and the appointment of Philip Elliott as his successor, the policy of the School was liberalized. Elliott, a well known painter of many styles, generated a broad policy of teaching at the Art School. Dr. Stanley Czurles, head of the Art Education Division of State Teachers College, and his expanding young staff played roles of growing importance in the local acceptance of modern art.

For many years the Art Institute of Buffalo was a competitor of the Albright Art School. Begun as a WPA project in 1936, it closed in 1955. Its first director was Harry Bell, a creator of stained glass; its last was a painter, Robert N. Blair. Among the distinguished painters on its staff were Charles Burchfield, Edwin Dickinson, and Moses Soyer.

Gradually the more tolerant members of the public became less

Albright Art Gallery



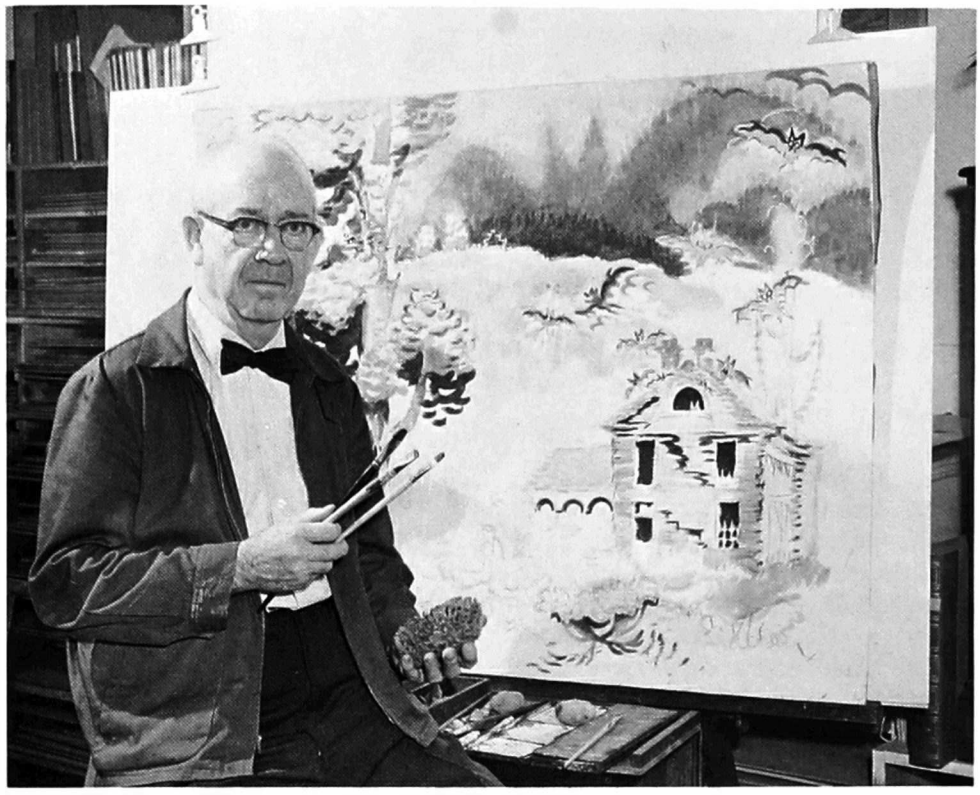
Collection of The Buffalo Fine Arts Academy

hostile toward the radical schools of art being presented by the Gallery. This acceptance was brought about both by familiarity and by the sympathy of the prominent local teachers with such movements. In 1938 the Gallery announced the establishment of the Room of Contemporary Art, a venture unique among art museums of the time. The Room was made possible through a gift of $100,000 by Seymour H. Knox and members of his family, and smaller gifts from other donors. Its purpose was to give the Buffalo public a more thorough acquaintance with the best in contemporary art—and with less risk since any work purchased for the Room could be exchanged or sold whenever advisable. In this way, Mr. Washburn, who had conceived the idea, could introduce contemporary art to Buffalo without a permanent, highly speculative commitment. The Room was opened on January 4, 1939, with an exhibition of 41 works, consisting of oils, water colors, and small sculptures.

On February 27, 1942, Mr. Washburn resigned to become Director of the Museum of the Rhode Island School of Design. His successor, Dr. Andrew Canduff Ritchie, was appointed on May 27, 1942. Despite the differences in personality and background, the transition was a smooth one.

Dr. Ritchie was a scholar with the, perhaps unexpected, charm of a Scot who played the violin and was wont to do a ballet with his wife at Gallery parties. Though his background centered upon the medieval and eighteenth century English periods, he furthered the Gallery's acquisition of contemporary art without pressure from outside sources.

Dr. Ritchie also tightened the organization and put the Gallery wholeheartedly upon a wartime basis. "All pre-war activities of the nation's art galleries must now be carefully scrutinized and their usefulness reappraised in light of the war condition," he said. Among the special activities were exhibi-



Charles Burchfield

tions of Red Cross prize paintings, of Russian children's art and of photographs of the Army P-39 Airacobra (made by the Bell Aircraft Corporation) from drafting board to flight. The Gallery also registered local artists for the making of posters, maps, and charts; gave Wednesday evening concert-dances on the Gallery steps during July and August; introduced at the Art School two large classes in production illustration; and changed its hours from 10 a.m. - 5 p.m. to 2 p.m. - 9:30 p.m. with special programs four evenings a week so that factory workers could take advantage of its offerings.

During the war the three museums, two libraries, and Zoo banded together as the Buffalo Six in a series of exhibitions entitled "The World We Must Know When the Boys Come Home." The exhibition of French culture at the Gallery comprised landscapes, prehistoric cave paintings, African sculpture, the death mask of Napoleon, contemporary French literature, bookplates of French provincial costumes, fine editions of the French classics, and a chanticleer—in the flesh. Of such varied material were the cultural resources of Buffalo composed.

Two physical improvements in the Gallery were the expansion of the Educational Department in the basement with its own entrance and lecture room; and the opening of the Members Room, the gift of Mrs. Seymour H. Knox.

Among the unusual exhibitions of Dr. Ritchie's career were the Miniature Rooms by Mrs. James Ward Thorne (1943) and the Cuttoli Tapestries (1944). The first series of Miniature Rooms consisted of French and English historic rooms ranging from a Tudor great hall to a Directoire bathroom. The second consisted of 37 units of rooms illustrating historic periods in American architecture and interiors. The models were all built to the scale of one inch to the foot. The Cuttoli Tapestries were large tapestries designed as modern decorations by Picasso, Dufy, Leger, and other great contemporaries.

In the spring of 1944 Charles Burchfield was given a retrospective exhibition of water colors and oils, dating 1916-43. Mr. Burchfield was undoubtedly the greatest art-

Collection of The Buffalo History Museum

ist ever associated with Erie County. A "poet of light and weather," he painted the local countryside in all its moods, both imaginatively and realistically and made the drabbest streets of Buffalo, the dingiest houses significant through his sensitivity and feeling for color and composition. Born in Ashtabula, Ohio in 1893, he received his art training at the Cleveland School of Art from 1912 to 1916. After working for several years in Salem, Ohio, one of his favorite subjects for painting, he moved to Buffalo in 1921 where he was employed by the Birge Company as a designer of wallpaper. From 1929 to his death in 1967 he devoted his full time to painting.

On December 9, 1966, the Burchfield Center was established as a memorial at the State University College at Buffalo. Its dual purpose was to make his paintings, drawings, sketches, journals, and other writings available for study, and to promote creative art through a "Western New York Forum for American Art." His work is constantly on display to inspire the students who view it.

Another important exhibition at the Gallery in 1944 was a comprehensive memorial exhibition of the works of Maillol, including both drawings and sculpture.

The biggest storm of Dr. Ritchie's tenure came in December 1943 when he sold 142 unwanted items from the Gallery collections at auction in New York. The quality of these items was poor; the styles were no longer accepted in contemporary circles; and storage space was needed. The plan was Mr. Washburn's, but the execution fell to Dr. Ritchie. The adverse reaction was caused largely by the devastating disparity between the original purchase price and the sale price—a few of the paintings hailed as "masterpieces," by Dr. Kurtz and Mrs. Quinton brought less than $100 each. The sale became a matter of national importance. Artists all over the country attacked it as a menace to their established values; the newspapers and art magazines simmered. Nevertheless the Gallery survived; and in a short period other museums, similarly burdened, dared to follow its lead.

In the spring of 1945 occurred the most spectacular acquisition in the history of the Gallery, five eighteenth century English paintings. This was possible through Dr. Ritchie's intimate knowledge of the J. P. Morgan collection from which they were purchased, and the generosity of the Knox family, now well established as the Gallery's outstanding benefactors. The paintings were "Portrait of Miss Rosamond Croker" by Sir Thomas Lawrence; "The Lady's Last Stake" by William Hogarth; "Cupid as a Link Boy" by Sir Joshua Reynolds; "Lady Hamilton" by George Romney; and "Miss Evans" by Thomas Gainsborough. A preview preceded the unveiling and a special catalogue, illustrated in color, was published. With works by David, Gilbert Stuart, and Ralph Earl already purchased and a Pannini attribution, "Festival at Montenero," shortly to arrive, an eighteenth century gallery was now in being.

Among Dr. Ritchie's other purchases were "Croquet" by Winslow Homer; "Still Life" by Georges Braque; "Arlequin" by Picasso; "Portrait of Rose Caron" by Degas; "Elles," a portfolio of lithographs by Toulouse-Lautrec; the proof plates of the *Book of Job* and Dante's *Inferno* by William Blake; the first version of "Chahut" by Georges Seurat; "Portrait of Pierre Desmaisons" by David; and "Composition" by Mondrian, the first completely abstract or nonobjective painting purchased. In addition during this period there were large gifts from Mr. Goodyear and Prof. Arthur Michael.

In May 1945, Dr. Ritchie was granted a one year leave of absence to serve as Chief of the Fine Arts, Monuments and Archives Section of the U. S. Group Control for Austria. The purpose of this Section was to reassemble and restore to the original owners the art objects stolen by the Nazis and cached in Austria. During Ritchie's absence, Dr. Katharine B. Neilson, Curator of Education, was Acting Director.

A number of other significant purchases were made after Dr. Ritchie's return. In 1946 he bought the "Portrait of Anna Colonna Barberini," a seventeenth century Italian sculpture, and "The Yellow Christ" by Gauguin. The following year acquisitions included "Le Canegou" by Juan Gris, and "Composition" by Kandinsky. In 1948 a Spanish seventeenth century sculpture, "The Duke and Duchess of Maqueda" and two publications, *Jazz*, illustrated by Matisse, and *Histoire Naturelle*, illustrated by Picasso, were purchased.

The two largest exhibitions of this period, both highly successful, were "Good Design Is Your Business" (1947) and "Paintings Looted from Holland" (1947). The criteria for the former were: good contemporary functional design, availability on the market, moderate cost, and manufacture in the United States. The final choice represented the cream of some 40,000 items examined. The second exhibition comprised a wide selection of the ever-popular seventeenth century Dutch paintings which had been stolen by the Nazis. It brought a large number of the conservative public out of hiding.

The Picture Loan Library, sponsored and operated by the Members Advisory Council, was opened on October 16, 1948. The purpose of the Library was to "foster the works of local artists and to act as a means whereby artists and the public may come to know each other." Through this Library a painting by a prominent local artist could be borrowed at a fee of $1.50 a month with the option of purchase. This service grew through the years in numbers and breadth, and eventually included works loaned by New York Galleries. Altogether it has been one of the most successful enterprises launched by the Gallery.

In January 1949, Dr. Ritchie re-

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signed to accept an appointment as Director of the Department of Painting and Sculpture at the Museum of Modern Art, New York. His regime had been the logical extension of his personality—sound, intelligent, and courageous. The first to purchase abstract painting, he did not overlook the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He strengthened the Education Department and dared to upgrade the collection by disposing of the minor works or popular favorites of an earlier day. And he was the first to publish a greatly needed catalogue of the collection, along with numerous elegant lesser catalogues and notices. Altogether the Gallery was fortunate under his direction.

Dr. Ritchie's successor, Edgar Craig Schenck, had been Director of the Smith College Museum of Art. Mr. Schenck was born in Hot Springs, North Carolina, in 1909, and when still a child moved with his family to Hawaii. In 1934 he received his Master of Fine Arts degree at Princeton, and became Director of the Honolulu Academy of Fine Arts from 1934-47. His special interests were medieval and oriental art.

Mr. Schenck was not a well known scholar, for he had published no authoritative work in the field of art. He was, on the other hand, knowledgeable in the arts, genial, friendly, and well organized. His gifts lay mainly in the areas of public relations and administration as shown by the excellent relationships he established between the Gallery and the city administration, the Board of Education, the Art School, the University of Buffalo, State Teachers College, and the public at large.

To reinforce his scholarship, he employed Patrick Joseph Kelleher as Curator of the Collections and strengthened the staff in several other areas.

The purchases made by Mr. Schenck and Dr. Kelleher were numerous, highlighted by "St. Gregory Nazianus," an oil sketch by Rubens; "Portrait of a Negro: Joseph, Servant of Gericault" by Gericault; a number of German expressionists; and many contemporary paintings from the United States, Latin America, and Europe. The sculpture featured included "Sacrifice" by Lipschitz, a Mesopotamian Mountain God" of about 2800 B.C., and a bronze, "Diana and the Stag," attributed first to Hellenistic Greece, then to Rome.

The exhibitions were well balanced. In 1950, the "Dorothy Liebes Contemporarry Fabrics" were featured, together with an exhibit "From Bosch to Beckmann," and a "Retrospective Exhibition of Eugene Speicher." The following year "The Exact Instant," a photography exhibition, featured candid camera and news shots rather than conventional pictorial photography. "Expressionism in American Painting" received acclaim in museum circles and "Lowestoft China" was shown in 1954. The most controversial exhibition in many years was the "Retrospective Exhibition of Paintings by Hyman Bloom." Among the items were a group of putrescent corpses and dissected bodies, painted at times with "shrieking and strident color" and others "with a brush that slides around the form, making it round, slimy and moist." The public reacted violently; a few of the most disturbing works were removed from the walls.

Among the miscellaneous innovations were the inclusion of a dinner for members in connection with the annual meeting of the Fine Arts Academy, a two-day Art Market for local artists in the Park Rose Garden, and the establishment of a Theatre in the Round in the sculpture court. This theatre, in cooperation with the Studio Theatre, produced such plays as *Antigone* by Anouilh, *The Cocktail Party* by T. S. Eliot, and *The Frogs* by Aristophanes. It was during Mr. Schenck's tenure also, on July 1, 1954, that the Art School was incorporated with the University of Buffalo, thus completing a movement which had begun in 1937.

The Gallery budget was generally a problem. The bequest of George B. Mathews, amounting to over $300,000, was released by the death of Mrs. Mathews on December 16, 1951, but as with most gifts, the income was restricted to purchasing. Again and again different councils and groups sponsored fund raising events. In the interim between Dr. Ritchie's departure and Mr. Schenck's arrival, an Athenian Ball, with elaborate decorations and Greek dancers, drew acclaim from the society editors, but did not greatly alleviate the problem. In 1951, the president announced that the Gallery had run on a deficit basis for the past 10 years; and that its budget for exhibitions at the time was only $4,400 a year, which would not pay one-twentieth of the cost of any single exhibition such as the Vienna Treasures available in Toronto.

Nevertheless, the Gallery continued to function. The Education Department again expanded in a number of directions. Since the Supervisor of Art in the public schools did not favor a resumption of the eighth-grade tours which had been suspended by the restrictions of World War II, a sixth-grade tour correlated with social studies was organized. Painting and modelling classes for children, for adults, and for children and adults together were instituted as were classes in art appreciation. The number of lectures increased sharply both within and outside the Gallery; the items in the Loan Collection were borrowed by a broader public. In 1950, as part of its general program, the Gallery was host to the New York State Teachers Association.

When Dr. Kelleher left the Gallery in 1953, he was replaced by Carroll Hogan, Curator of Prints and Drawings at the Dallas Museum of Art. Schenck resigned late in 1954 to become Director of the Brooklyn Museum.

The final exhibition organized by Mr. Schenck was the six weeks' celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the Gallery, which opened after his resignation. The program consisted of a parade of automobiles

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dating from 1905 to 1955, exhibits in downtown stores, a chamber music concert, special related exhibits by the other two museums, and a series of exhibits at the Gallery itself: "Fifty Paintings, 1905-55," "A Tribute to John J. Albright," "The Albright Art Gallery in 1905," and "Art School Life in 1905."

The man who was to guide the Art Gallery to its greatest heights as an exponent of the contemporary, was Gordon MacIntosh Smith, who followed Mr. Schenck as Director. He came to the Gallery from the Currier Gallery of Art, at Manchester, New Hampshire of which he had directed for nine years. His wife, Elizabeth Bowser Smith, also joined the staff, serving as Director of Publicity and assisting in other areas. Her death five years later placed an additional burden upon Mr. Smith.

Working closely and sympathetically with Seymour H. Knox, Mr. Smith, through judicious purchasing, built up the contemporary collection into one of the two or three greatest in the country. Most of the acquisitions were gifts of Mr. Knox.

Said Mr. Smith in the *Art News*, May 1957: "We have experienced a great burst of creative energy, especially in the work of the abstract-expressionist, which is unprecedented and it is in this unprecedented aspect that it becomes important, because for the first time America has become a leader, certainly in the field of painting . . . and it deserves . . . fearless recognition as such. A museum of today has more than ever a duty to act as patron of these artists who are making history—not after they have made it but while they are making it."

This was a venturesome program demanding courage, but it was carried out expertly and successfully. It was a momentous change from the days of Dr. Kurtz who dared to introduce impressionism only 30 years after its appearance in Paris; and a deeper commitment than the original Room of Contemporary Art. As proof that the policy was genuinely contemporary, it was maintained through the subsequent revolts against abstract-expressionism in the forms of pop art, op art, kinetic art, constructivism, shaped painting, etc.

Mr. Smith's tenure as Director has been so long and vital that many details worthy of note must be slighted or omitted. The listing of temporary exhibitions will necessarily be cursory. It begins with "Young British Sculptors," "Sculpture by Barbara Hepworth," and "German Painting Today." Other exhibits included "4000 Years of Modern Art" (1957), "20th Century Design" (1958), "Paintings and Drawings by Vincent van Gogh" (1962), the "Works of Andrew Wyeth" (1962), "Pop Art" (1963), and "Afro-American Art, a Trans-Atlantic Tradition" (1969).

There were also recurring exhibitions of Mr. Knox's gifts which, by the end of 1970, totalled more than 213 paintings, 106 sculptures, and 25 prints. A distinguished single exhibition in 1964 served as a memorial to A. Conger Goodyear whose accumulated donations amounted to a second great collection including "The Spirit of the Dead Watching" by Gauguin and "The Old Mill" by van Gogh, as well as other paintings and numerous prints and drawings. A third gift, 31 paintings by Clifford Still, was also exhibited in 1964. This was one of the most extraordinary gifts ever made by an artist to an institution. In a different category are the two festivals of contemporary art, "Festival of the Arts Today" (1965) and "Plus X Minus: Today's Half Century" (1968), which will be considered later in detail.

After 50 years of increasing activity, the Gallery was no longer large enough or sufficiently well equipped to cope with the demands placed upon it. Some of the abstract-expressionist paintings required ten times the amount of exhibition space demanded by the average painting of Dr. Kurtz's day. Furthermore, there were a greater number and variety of activities. In 1955-56, over 51 special events were held, including concerts, films, dinners, demonstrations, lectures, and previews.

The Board of Directors employed Paul Schweiker as architect to enlarge the building. Schweiker favored adding two wings at a lower level on the park side but, when this plan was revealed to the public, it was condemned almost universally as a desecration of Buffalo's most beautiful building. He was, therefore, dismissed and a new plan was drawn up by Gordon Bunshaft, a Buffalo-born member of the firm of Skidmore, Owings, & Merrill, which called for a two-story glass contemporary building separated visually from the main building by an open sculpture court. The addition was built without protest and the basement of the old building renovated. The complex now includes a restaurant, a commodious auditorium, modernized offices, a greatly enlarged Education Department, and approximately double the exhibition space.

When the new building was opened with due ceremony on January 19, 1962, it was rechristened the Albright-Knox Art Gallery in honor of its benefactor, Seymour H. Knox. The individual galleries were named for other donors. As part of the

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celebration—it was also the centennial of the founding of the Fine Arts Academy—a history of the Academy entitled *100* by Dr. J. Benjamin Townsend was published, a lively, well-illustrated condensed version of the past 100 years.

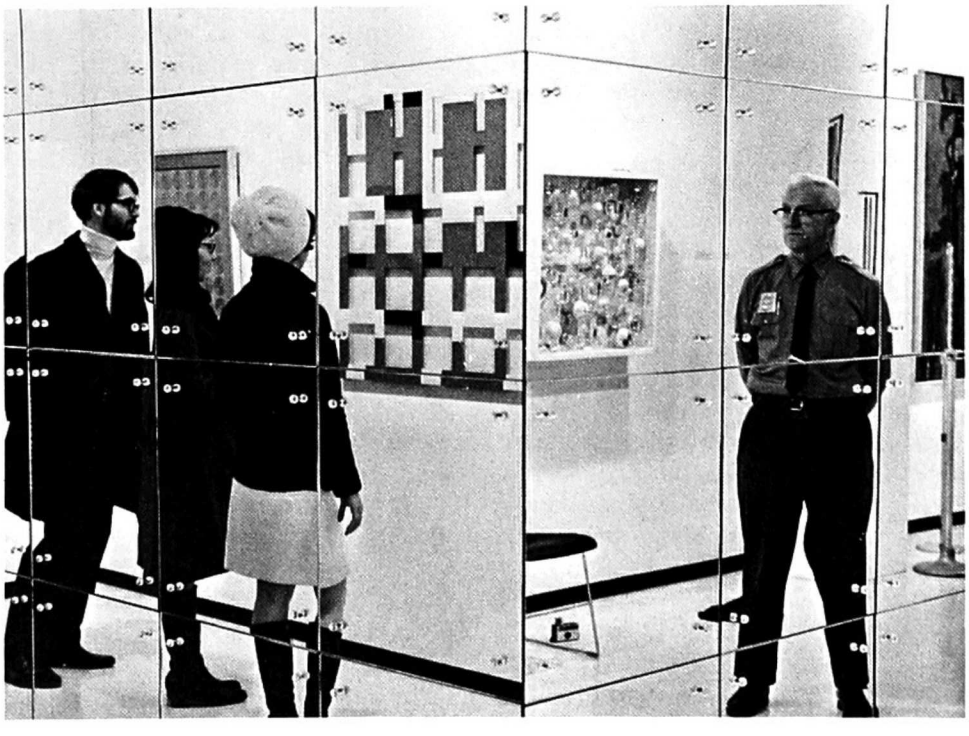
At once the Gallery took on the stature of a large metropolitan institution. The building itself, the augmented collections, the greater number of activities, and two unusually popular exhibitions of paintings all attracted a tremendous new public, including thousands of visitors from outside the County and from abroad. Said the *Buffalo Evening News*: "No museum in the world compiled an attendance to rival the Albright-Knox Gallery in proportion to population." The total attendance for 1962 was 756,058.

The building program was financed largely through the Seymour H. Knox Foundation at a total cost of about $2 million, $300,000 of which was spent on cleaning and remodeling the old building. The City of Buffalo, the County, business organizations and a greatly enlarged membership contributed to the formidable budget of $216,000.

In April 1962, *Caligula* by Albert Camus was produced in the new auditorium under the direction of Neal du Brock. The ill-equipped stage—it had not been built for the production of plays—demanded considerable ingenuity; nevertheless, other plays followed, as well as numerous avant-garde concerts by the Creative Associates, a series of movies, and lectures.

In November 1963, pop art made its debut at the Gallery. Here at last was the familiar subject matter the public had been calling for; and yet the outcry against it was as vehement as any previously directed against expressionism, abstractions, or surrealism. Said Mr. Smith in connection with the examples of this new school which the Gallery had purchased: "They are our environment blown up and put into focus. We see this kind of thing as we walk along Broadway. The pop artists are offering social comment, almost a continuation of what Ben Shahn and his school did earlier." But to the public an actual washbowl, a colored sponge, a painting made up of 100 Campbell soup cans, or a life-size man, made of plaster and placed in a real environment was too casual, too intimate, too commonplace to qualify as a work of art.

When op art with its eye-straining optical illusions arrived, the protest was restrained. The patterns were acceptable, though coldly mathematical and worked out in impersonal metal or glass, and the colors were lively and brilliant. Shaped canvasses, part painting, part sculpture—ominous, aggressive, lively, or sensuous—were accepted stoically in comparison with the reaction to the explosive designs and searing color of the Contemporary Dutch Paintings and Sculpture which appeared in January 1963.



Under the leadership of Katharine B. Neilson (1943-49) and Roger Squire (1949-57), the Education Department had grown steadily. Now with ample quarters, an adequate auditorium and an enlarged staff, it shared in the accelerated expansion of the Gallery as a whole. Charlotte Buell Johnson, who replaced Mr. Squire as Curator of Education when illness forced the latter to retire, instituted a number of innovations.

During the period of remodelling and construction, extension work was substituted for Gallery tours. Slide talks related to such subjects as French and Mathematics were given in the school rooms as well as illustrated assembly talks. After the opening of the new building, the eligible age of children for Gallery tours was broadened to include four- and five-year olds. To meet the soaring demand, Gallery members, 19 in number, were trained as docents through a formal program. This enabled the Department also to take its services to the deprived children in such areas as Talbert Mall and Neighborhood House.

Among the most successful of the new projects was the Spring Vacation Carnival which involved both children and parents through creative art classes for the children and Gallery tours for the parents. There were two innovations in 1970. The first was a bus known as the Color Wheel which, like a mobile library, could function as a small art center wherever the need existed. The second was a Sound Shop, a project financed by the New York

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State Council on the Arts, to develop among children "an awareness of music as sound which can be related to its environment . . . more specifically to the painting and sculpture in the Gallery."

Among the important acquisitions after the expansion of the building were paintings by Severini, Max Ernst, Robert Delaunay, a late Picasso, and a collage by Kurt Schwitters; and sculptures by Jean Arp, Gabo, Pevsner, and Hepworth. To illustrate the diversity of the acquisition policy, contemporary works in molded plexiglass, wood and aluminum, plexiglass and lenses, marble, plastic, forged steel, mirrors, and bronze were acquired. The artists were American, South American, and European. The most unusual and popular acquisition was the Mirrored Room by Lucas Samaris, acquired in December 1966. When standing inside the room, the mirrored walls, ceiling, and floor extended one's image into infinity.

"The Festival of the Arts Today," was an outstanding example of cooperation among cultural institutions. The first festival, held February 27 through March 8, 1965, was sponsored by the Albright-Knox Art Gallery, the Buffalo Philharmonic Orchestra, the State University of New York at Buffalo, the State University College at Buffalo, and the New York State Council on the Arts. The Gallery played host and bore the brunt of the preparatory work.

The Festival was of international significance. Other avant-garde festivals had been held in Europe; but never one so broad in its scope, or one that included films, plays, paintings, sculpture, music, city planning, poetry, and ballet in one stimulating, somewhat overpowering confluence. It drew the attention of a surprised world to a "provincial," equally surprised Buffalo. By all common measurements the Festival failed, as John Cage would say, because it was a success.

A main attraction of the Festival was the kinetic sculpture displayed in the Gallery. Both in normal light and in the dark, abstract creations clanked and squeaked and groaned, some flashing light as they twisted about, others changing color or throwing colored patterns on the wall. When the "Musicope" by M. Schoeffer was played, "an infinite combination of abstract images, iridescences, colors and motions were projected on a screen." Mr. Lye's sculptures "performed music of their own making." Examples of op art and constructions also were included in the exhibition.

The lecturers reviewed the contemporary movements in several fields or disputed wittily and paradoxically among themselves. Participants included John Cage, composer; David Posner, poet; Jill Johnston, dancer; and Lukas Foss, composer-conductor.

The contemporary music presented, with its lack of conventional form, dissonance and chance combinations of tones as well as its inclusion of noise and electronic compositions, bewildered or annoyed a large section of the audience. Said John Cage of his own piece: "It is not something that was in my own mind, but something that happens." Said John Dwyer in the *Buffalo Evening News*: "After all when the viola player pops up a little yellow umbrella just for the swooshy sound, a fiddler shoots off a toy tommy gun, a baritone sax player throws stuff into the bell horn, a trombonist slowly dismantles his instrument and blows through shorter and shorter tubes—it sort of makes it worth your while . . . . Sometimes the players did what they were told, sometimes anything they wanted except go home. . . . Mr. Cage is the undisputed royal anarchist of the day, in its golden era."

In the five evenings of music most of the works were less chaotic than Cage's, and varied in style, size, and production. One piece by George Legiti was performed by 100 metronomes ticking their way through eternity. Allen Sapp, Lukas Foss, Kagel, Bussotti, Penderecki, Varesi, and Silverman were among the established, less radical composers represented.

John Dwyer found the Merce Cunningham Dance Company enchanting, though his description of "Winterbranch" implies some reservations: "'Winterbranch' to a squawking non sequitur of taped sounds by La Monte Young, opened with a hooded performer working his way across the stage floor in a kind of electric strait jacket. After that, characters kept carting one another offstage on a sliding blanket; with some inventive duo acrobatics between. For a finale, the whole bunch got hooked up together, falling down, getting up, falling down, finally collapsing in a corner and being covered up by a strolling extra. . . . The 'New Music' seems extraordinarily effective as a setting for these avant-garde choreographies."

The productions of the Judson Dance Company were evidently even more bizarre. Said John Dwyer of the opening of "Untitled": "Girl . . . with huge blue bandage on right foot, purple stocking on left, sitting at table. Makes a cellophane salad bowl with spikes into a hat. Puts together an eight-decker hot dog sandwich. About to eat it, but decides to stick the sausage on the hat, presses lever, hot dogs all stand up. . . . Here and elsewhere the choreographers and performers seemed to have given themselves a strange test of artistic courage. Namely, the exploration of monotony."

In the opinion of Ardis Smith, the *Buffalo Evening News* critic, the plays by Ionesco: *Bedlam Galore, Foursome, The Leader,* and *L'Impromptu* were lavishly produced, but not Ionesco's best. Mr. Smith found the movies hard on the eyes and difficult to follow, with many trick shots, montages, cutbacks, and double and triple exposures. The films shown were *Blue Moses* by Stan Brakhage, *Twice a Man* by Gregory J. Markopoulos and *Eat* by Andy Warhol.

Edmund N. Bacon's ideas on

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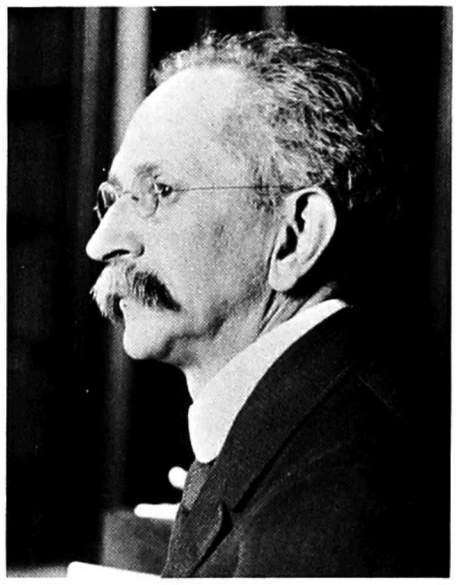
city planning proved to be advanced and imaginative.

The Studio Arena Theatre joined the list of sponsors for the second festival. Titled "Plus X Minus: Today's Half Century," it had all the handicaps of a younger brother. Its quality equalled that of the first; but styles in the arts had not changed drastically in the interval of three years and the audience was conditioned now to shock tactics. The Theatre featured the world premier of *Box-Mao-Box* by Edward Albee. A movie, *New York Diaries*, by Jonas Mekas was also shown for the first time. However, the constructivist works by Naum Gabo were familiar to many, and the survey of pure abstract art was new in its comprehensiveness and organization rather than in content. This festival varied also in that it included jazz concerts and placed a greater emphasis on literature, with poets Louis Zukofsky, Allen Ginsburg, Charles Olson, and novelist John Barth reading from their own works. Lectures were given by Naum Gabo, Vjenceslav Richter, Yannis Xenakis, R. Buckminster Fuller, and Len Lye. Playwriting and stage design were discussed by panels as was the new music.

The Merce Cunningham Dance Company performed in lovely abstract patterns. The Philharmonic Orchestra played the still difficult symphonic works of Yannis Xenakis, Foss, Cage, and Penderecki; and the more intimate Creative Associates interpreted pieces by Harry Somers, Tadeusz Baird, Brock McElheran, Foss, Lejaren Hiller, Carlos Alsina, John Hassell, Yuji Takahashi, Xenakis, and Isang Yun.

The Festival, which ran from March 2 through March 17, 1968, had an attendance of 48,600. It was altogether worth a third venture.

In the 66 years of the Art Gallery's existence, the consistency of its position as a pioneer and the courage with which it maintained that position despite formidable criticism can only be admired. Although most of the early choices of Dr. Kurtz have been discarded,



Dr. Frank H. Severance

and many of the current "masterpieces" also will bow before the sounder judgment of time, the survivors will comprise a collection that any county can be proud of. Seen from the limited view of the contemporary, it is today one of the finest modern collections of painting and sculpture in the United States. The austere, classic Gallery and its lively contents are, of course, a strange contrast. Mr. Knox, father of the groom, is apparently pleased; but one wonders about Mr. Albright.

In the 1950's and 1960's a great increase in general art activity occurred. The art teachers training course at the New York State University College at Buffalo, the largest such unit in the world, drew many students and teachers into the area. Its Burchfield Center also promoted local interest in art through exhibitions and general encouragement. Art was "in" as one facet in the ever-greater interest in culture, so much so that the increase in the number of practicing artists outran the increase in population. In 1970 there were enough art societies to warrant an integrating, protective council. The major weakness in the general situation was the lack of a steady local market. Sales galleries, in attics or basements, in private homes or store fronts, struggled to survive, but without outside financial support most of them soon failed.

With well over 100 local artists submitting work in the annual Western New York Exhibitions, and many times that number of lesser ambition, it is impossible to list the practicing artists during the mid-twentieth century. Only a few will be mentioned, most of them influential teachers as well: Seymour Drumlevitch, Harriet Greif, Philip Elliott, Virginia Cuthbert, Martha Visser't Hooft, Harold Olmsted, Robert Blair and Roland Wise. Tony Sisti was a popular picturesque figure of an earlier day.

The Historical Society was also growing and changing during this period. On September 30, 1902, with appropriate ceremony, the State deeded its Pan-American Exposition building to the Society. The Building was rectangular in shape, about 130 ft. by 80 ft., and 50 ft. high. It was made of white marble and designed by George Cary in the Doric Greek style, with an impressive portico dominating the smaller body of Park Lake known as Mirror Lake. The figures in the pediment and the 11 reliefs along three sides of the building were designed by Edmond Amateis and added in 1929-30. The pedimental figures represented Philosophy, Industry, Art, Husbandry, History, Science, Mars, Religion, and Law. The reliefs depicted historic events on the Niagara Frontier, such as the Burning of Buffalo, the Opening of the Erie Canal, and Perry at the Battle of Lake Erie. The bronze doors, designed by R. H. Perry, symbolize Ethnology and History. They were the gift of the President of the Society, Andrew Langdon.

The interior consisted of a grand hall opening into the second floor. The spandrels, panels, and lunettes on the upper floor were decorated with murals and oil paintings. In addition to the exhibition space, the building was equipped with committee rooms, a library, and a lecture hall. To construct the building, the State gave $100,000, the Historical Society $45,000, and the City $30,000.

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At the formal dedication, in the presence of about 400 people gathered in the auditorium, George Alfred Stringer gave the introductory remarks, followed by Reuben Gold Thwaites, who spoke on the function of a historical society. The Hon. Daniel N. Lockwood gave the concluding speech, responding for the New York State Board of Managers of the Pan-American Exposition of which he was Chairman. Following the ceremony, the statue of Lincoln was unveiled in the grand hall. This bronze statue, designed by Niehaus, was presented by the Lincoln Birthday Association and the estate of Julius E. Francis, whose collection of Lincoln relics had previously been given to the Society.

In this same year, Dr. Frank H. Severance, an eminent scholar, took over direction of the Society as Secretary-Treasurer. Before coming to the Society, he had considerable experience as a newspaperman both in Erie, Pennsylvania, and Buffalo, where he was Managing Editor of the *Buffalo Express.*

The progress of the Society may be followed briefly with quotations from several annual reports, beginning in 1906:

> Some phases of our regional history are now well covered, notably the War of 1812, the Upper Canada Rebellion of 1837-38, the Construction and Political History of the Erie Canal, and some other topics. The descriptive literature contained in the books of travellers, where visited and written of the Niagara region since the close of the eighteenth century, is also contained in an exceptionally full collection of several hundred volumes. During the year past the Sunday afternoon lectures and musicals have been continued, except during the mid-summer season.

Annual report, 1907: The Secretary devoted part of the time included in his leave of absence to research work in the government archives of England, Canada and France. His special quest was for maps of the Niagara region or plans of Ft. Niagara or other early constructions, French or British, in the region of the lower lakes. Manuscripts of historical value were also sought.

Annual report, 1908: During the year over 4,000 children of the public and parochial schools visited the building, spending an hour in the Museum, sometimes with descriptive talks.

Dr. Severance's administration of the Society (1902-31) was much longer than that of any subsequent director. Basically a scholar, it was through his writings on local history that he made the Society known outside the area; his work extended well beyond the bounds of Erie County in such books as the two-volume *A New Frontier of France* so that the usual reservations about "local" history did not seem to apply. The thoroughness of publications that were devoted only to Western New York or Erie County relieved them, too, of imputations of parochialism and inspired feelings of respect in the learned community far and wide. Severance was not able to publish a volume annually to swell the imposing bookshelf of *Publications,* but it was limitations of the budget, not of his or his few amateur assistants' efforts that limited him.

It was a determined effort on his part that won this achievement. He had justly described the Society of the late nineteenth century as "for the most part a little coterie of elderly gentlemen . . . meeting now and then to hear someone's reminiscences, more or less inaccurate, or if true, not always important; to sup together and to elect officers for another term...."

With the possession of the new building a great influx of new materials demanded his attention also, and these he organized by collections, often unfortunately with little historical relationship. One room contained the Lincoln Collection, relics of the Civil War, and portraits of the Presidents. The Greene Collection of casts and relics from Egypt, Turkey, Assyria, and India was housed alongside articles of local interest. A large hall was reserved for oil portraits, relics of Millard Fillmore, and an original set of the Boydell engravings of Shakespeare.

Buffalo Historical Society

To develop a library was less trouble. The materials were more standardized and the methods established. By 1906, Dr. Severance was able to report considerable successes: "Some phases of our regional history are now well covered, notably the War of 1812, the Upper Canada Rebellion of 1837-38, the Construction and Political History of the Erie Canal, and some other topics. The descriptive literature contained in the books of travellers...is also contained in an exceptionally full collection of several hundred volumes." The following year he noted that he had devoted a part of his leave of absence to research work in foreign archives and to seeking historically valuable manuscripts. One of his particular interests was the original plan of Fort Niagara, and at this or some other time he was successful in procuring it, thus making possible accurate restoration of that site.

At the end of 1911, the library contained 32,054 books and had reached the goal of forming the best collection "not only of Buffalo and Western New York, but of the St. Lawrence Valley and the Lower Lakes." Cataloguing and shelving had been completed and a strong start made in collecting and organizing manuscript and pamphlet collections. It reached very far in some items, but it also was complete in its holdings of the Buffalo newspapers—a type of material that had not long been appreciated by historians.

While his major effort was in collecting and organizing materials, particularly editing and publishing, Severance was far from ignoring the possibilities of exploiting historical lore for popular education. During 1907, over 4,000 children in school classes came to the museum, and many were provided with descriptive talks. Severance also lectured frequently on Sunday afternoons, often using museum collections as points of departure or as illustration, for he believed that comment greatly enlarged the significance of an artifact. The *Book of the Museum* presented essays based on this perception.

Modernization at the Society took the form of making displays more attractive and self-explanatory. In 1922, Robert W. Bingham was engaged as Curator for this purpose. He was given the new title of Director in 1934 after Dr. Severance's retirement. In addition to his reorganization of the exhibition rooms, Mr. Bingham eliminated much extraneous material from the exhibits and introduced four dioramas and nine murals. To illustrate the clash between the French and British for control of the Niagara Frontier, he set up in the entrance hall a French wing, illustrated with two dioramas: "The Sailing of the Griffin" and "The French Settlement on LaRivere aux Chevaux" (Buffalo Creek), and a British wing, similarly illustrated with "Sir William Johnson at Fort Niagara in 1760" and "The Indian Village Founded on the Banks of the Buffalo Creek." In the alcove of this entrance hall were the surveying instruments of Joseph Ellicott and many other items connected with the purchase and survey of the area by the Holland Land Company.

As Director, Mr. Bingham wrote *The Cradle of the Queen City*. One of his lesser known achievements was his role in the restoration of Old Fort Niagara. Based upon the original plan found in Paris by Dr. Severance, Mr. Bingham did the necessary research for the reproduction of the details and furnishings.

In his first annual report he announced the gift of the Apostles clock from the late Myles Hughes, who had spent over 30 years of his spare time making it. The movement of the Apostles at every hour made this the Society's most popular possession. The outstanding gift of 1925 was the Spaulding Collection of old Staffordshire and Liverpool china, embracing about 350 pieces. This brought the total china collection to over 800 items.

In December 1925 upon petition, the Council of the City of Buffalo appropriated a sum of money for the enlargement of the building, which was no longer adequate to house the collections and the expanding Library. With this money two new wings were added, extending the building 25 feet at each end; improved museums cases were installed; and the Library and auditorium were enlarged. George Cary was again the architect. On May 20, 1929, the building was rededicated.

In 1932, as part of Buffalo's one hundredth anniversary, the Society placed on exhibition a miniature plaster relief of the Village of Buffalo as it stood before it was burned by the British in 1813. There was further cooperation in the form of two special exhibitions. One compared rooms of 1832 with similar rooms of 1932, and the other showed samples of needlework, costumes, etc., of the early period. In addition, a pageant was given to illustrate 14 episodes in the city's history.

During Mr. Bingham's regime, both the Director and staff gave many lectures, as a rule including a series for members and another on Sunday afternoon for the public. The ever-increasing collections in the 1930's included additions to the Indian relics, pioneer implements, collections of stamps, coins, furniture, and several large miscellaneous items such as the 1901 Motorette, the first model produced by the Pierce-Arrow Company. The greater number of items on display and the temporary exhibitions drew a greater number of visitors. In this decade the annual attendance passed 100,000.

In the early 1930's the Society gave radio talks over Stations WBEN, WEBR, and WKBW. In 1937 it produced a bi-monthly series of historical dramas of the Niagara Frontier over WEBR and intermittently thereafter presented a variety of programs concerning local history.

Collection of The Buffalo History Museum

Said Mr. Bingham at the annual meeting of January 1935:

> A pioneer in modern methods, the Buffalo Historical Society for some years has planned and worked to create a teaching museum of the Niagara Frontier. This last year's endeavor has created in the exhibition halls a visual history of that region and through these endeavors we now have one of the most highly specialized museums in the country.

By 1940 with the help of WPA artists, the decoration of the second floor was finally complete. On the south side of the Grand Hall were five lunettes. A central one, "The Muse of Niagara," by Tabor Sears, was flanked by four others by Pascal Scime depicting scenes of early Western New York history. Two murals were also painted in the War Hall: "Perry's Visit to the Navy Yard at Scajaquada Creek" and "Lincoln Speaking from the Balcony of the Old American Hotel." Already in place at that time were "The Sailing of the Griffin" by H. C. Koerner, "The Blessing of the Cross at Ft. Denonville by Father Milet," by Alice Russell Glenny, "The Triumphal Bridge at the Pan-American Exposition" (the original architectural rendering) by F. Hopkinson Smith, and "The Cave of the Winds" by Reginald Cox.

In the same year the Society reassembled on the edge of Park Lake an authentic log house built about 1830 on the Tonawanda Indian Reservation. This was especially popular with children, but had to be dismantled eventually because of vandalism. The temporary exhibitions in the 1940's included such diverse subjects as "Polish Art" (1940), "The Evolution of the Telephone" (1941), "Lithographs by Currier & Ives" (1945) and "Engravings and Lithographs of Niagara Falls" (1946).

Several important donors added to the collections. A. Conger Goodyear gave letterbooks relating to the War of 1812; Elizabeth Emery Carberry donated pioneer material from the old Emery House in East Aurora, Colonel Laurence H. Gardner presented historic flasks, U.S. Stamps, a banjo clock, and other items. Sarah H. Clifton, George W. Benson, Harry Davis, and Erik Heyl also were generous.

During World War II, the war activities of Erie County were thoroughly recorded; a card index of casualties was set up; and, among other related exhibits, the Signal Corps photographs of the war were displayed. The Director, Mr. Bingham, was appointed Historian of the Erie County War Council.

After the war the Society moved aggressively to carry out Mr. Bingham's plans for educational programs. In the autumn term of 1948, from four to five classes from the seventh grades of the Buffalo public schools visited the Museum daily to study the history of the Niagara Frontier. In the spring term the classes from the fifth grade were added for a tour of the transportation exhibition and colonial life. There had been numerous classes in earlier years, as has been mentioned, but these had been by special appointment, with the teacher taking the initative.

In 1948 "The Trial of Red Jacket," a large oil painting by John M. Stanley, was purchased. The authentic depiction of the costumes worn by the Iroquois men and women, and the portraits it included of the three rival leaders: Handsome Lake, Cornplanter, and Red Jacket, made it historically invaluable. In addition it illustrated an important event in the history of the Iroquois Six Nations.

By the late 1930's almost all the issues of the local newspapers were on file for use in research, as were the city directories for every year they were published since 1828. In 1949 the project of microfilming the newspapers was begun.

Mr. Bingham retired as Director on September 30, 1952, at the age of 72. The main exhibitions of his last few years were a loan of "Currier & Ives Prints" in 1950 and the "Commemorative of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Pan-American Exposition" in 1951. In these same years Mrs. Charles Cary presented the Society with plates from the dinner services of President Andrew Jackson, Dewitt Clinton, and Lord Sackville-West. Other donors gave early bicycles, a motorcycle, and many other items.

Mr. Bingham left the Museum greatly improved both in its display techniques and physical condition; nevertheless the constant evolution in museum practice was to demand many further changes.

Dr. Wilbur H. Glover, Mr. Bingham's successor, was a sound choice at this point in the development of the Museum. He was the first Director with experience both in the teaching of history and in museology. He had left teaching for museum work, first as a field representative then as Chief of Education at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin from 1947 to 1952.

Dr. Glover's basic program was to bring a local museum with limited resources and funds up to as high a standard as possible by adding specialists to the staff at salaries that would attract the well qualified, and by establishing new categories for the research material so that it would be more readily

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accessible to Society patrons.

Under his direction the Society resumed publishing as a major activity. Beginning with Winter, 1953, *Niagara Frontier* was issued four times a year in an attractive format. It embraced five or six illustrated articles on Western New York history, the annual reports of the Society, book reviews, and editorials. This was followed by the *Voyageur*, a newsletter primarily for teachers; and a series of individual publications, now 17 in number, called the *Adventure Series*. These were essays written for young people and include such titles as *Old Fort Niagara, Millard Fillmore,* and *Beginnings of Buffalo Industry.* In 1959 the first definitive biography of *Millard Fillmore,* by Robert J. Rayback, was published.

An expansion of activities took place in several areas. To reach a rural public, the Society set up exhibitions annually at the Erie County Fair. The Congress of Local Historical Societies was organized to give the small town societies the opportunity of sharing resources in knowledge and practice; and in 1953, the Erie County Federation of Historical Societies was established to discuss problems that were commonly shared. In addition, the Congress of Junior Historians was inaugurated for pupils of the seventh grade, which consisted of an annual meeting featuring a quiz program, dramatic productions, and competing exhibits submitted by individuals or classes. Another of Dr. Glover's achievements was the introduction of greater variety in the exhibitions through the creation of extra storage space and a work room for their construction.

In 1956, welcome new funds from Erie County financed an expansion in staff and activities. In 1960, the name of the Society was changed to the Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society in recognition of the County's vital support. During this period John Renfrew Dean enlivened one of the Museum walls by painting a series

of panels depicting the Buffalo Harbor as a background for a model of the Dart elevator, the first steam-driven grain elevator in the world; and scenes of Erie County agriculture as a background for models of early farm machinery made in Buffalo.

There was never a year in which gifts were not received. The main difference at this point was that as the Society matured, they were more pertinent and often actively solicited. Where else, for example, should the lens from the old Chinaman Light go, or the large marine anchor now at rest on the little island of grass adjacent to Charles Cary Rumsey's "Centaur"? In the field of manuscripts, a rich source for research, the collection now included letters, diaries, account books, and journals of many varieties, given by prominent individuals and families, organizations, churches, public bodies, military units, and so forth. Among the recent family papers received were well known names such as Cary, Wilkeson, Spaulding, Park, Putman, Mack, and Coatsworth.

Under the heading, Miscellaneous Activities, should be included; the dig on the site of the Joncaire Trading Post at Lewiston; television programs; a bulletin board exhibit, opened in the plant of the Dunlop Tire and Rubber Corporation; the continuous placement of historic markers; the institution of the Red Jacket Award (1957) given for distinguished civic service; and the organization of several cooperating chapters—The Lower Lakes Marine Chapter, The Civil War Round Table, and the Ondiara Archaeological Chapter.

Among the temporary exhibitions should be mentioned the "Paintings of Grandma Moses," "Upstate New York Calls America," "400 Years of Pewter," "The International Frontier of Niagara"—a general sociological survey of the area—and "New York State Silver."

The final major project, which opened in 1962 after the resignation of Dr. Glover, was the long-term exhibition, "The 1870 Street," financed jointly by the Junior League and the Society. It embraced nine store fronts and offices, with partial contents, representing the commercial life of the period. The Buffalo Express; T. & E. Dickinson's Jewelry Store; Adam, Meldrum & Company; Cottier and Daniels' Music Store; and

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Anthony's Drug Store were among those shown. With its irregular format and its numerous contents, it had both interest and charm.

Dr. Walter S. Dunn, Jr., succeeded Dr. Glover in 1963 as Director of the Society. He was Chief Curator of the Wisconsin State Historical Museum at Madison, and developed three branch museums in Wisconsin. Under Dr. Dunn, the exhibition policy consisted of several temporary exhibitions annually and the gradual modernizing of all the museum displays through one or two major, long-term exhibitions a year.

In 1963, exhibitions included a "History of the U.S. Navy," consisting of 88 prints, water colors, and etchings from the collection of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, augmented by objects from the Society's collection. This exhibition was followed with "Treasures from Our Collections," which embraced oil paintings of historic significance. In September, the Glidden Tour of 220 antique cars passed through Buffalo and stopped at the Society. The long term exhibition of that year, "People of Our City and County," opened in December. It consisted of 17 life-size figures in authentic costumes against a painted background representing some phase of their environment or career. A large map with colored bulbs showed the settlement and distribution of the nationalities making up the population of Buffalo.

Throughout this period the annual exhibit at the Hamburg Fair was held and in 1964, the old Agriculture Building was designated the Historical Department. Local Erie County historical societies competed for prizes awarded for exhibits. Aurora, the Tonawandas, Clarence, Hamburg, Lancaster, Orchard Park, Marilla, Newstead, Grand Island, and Boston accepted the invitation to participate and each acquired a booth. The number of exhibitors has since increased.

The long term exhibition for 1964 was "Military Heritage on the Niagara Frontier." The Society's large collection of firearms and military costumes was presented in 31 cases to illustrate the military history of this area from the French and Indian Wars to World War II.

This policy was carried on through 1970. Temporary exhibitions showed great variety. The year 1966, for example, included "Historic American Buildings"—photographs of 28 distinguished Western New York buildings; a "History of the Red Cross;" and a comprehensive array of photographs, medals, maps, and insignia outlining the vital participation of the Polish Armed Forces in World War II. In the years following, there were exhibits such as "Values to Hold—Worlds to Explore," commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Girl Scouts; "Olympic Games by Western New York Teams and Individuals; a "Tribute to the late Owen Augspurger;" and "Canisius College, the First 100 Years."

The long-term exhibitions, necessarily fewer in number but more impressive in content, were "Tableware Trends in America" (1965), "Indians of the Niagara Frontier" (1966), "Industry, Transportation and Commerce" (1968), and "Pilot House" (1970). In addition to these, the Pioneer Rooms and the 1870 Street were renovated and improved.

Other activities included the Junior League President's Ball (1967); a promotional campaign to furnish the Wilcox Mansion which had been purchased by the U. S. Government as a historic monument; sponsorship of an annual Folk Festival (1964-67) featuring the music, dances, and costumes of the different nationality groups in Buffalo and Erie County; and the extensive microfilming of newspapers and original materials. There were also travelling exhibits such as "Erie County, the Complete County" (1964), and numerous loan kits for the public and parochial schools that illustrated subjects of importance in social studies. Of special value was the assistance given to local historical societies in setting up their own museums. Through such cooperation were launched the Cattaraugus Area Historical Society (1964), the Historical Society of the Tonawandas (1964), and the Williamsville Historical Society (1964).

The historic movie series contin-

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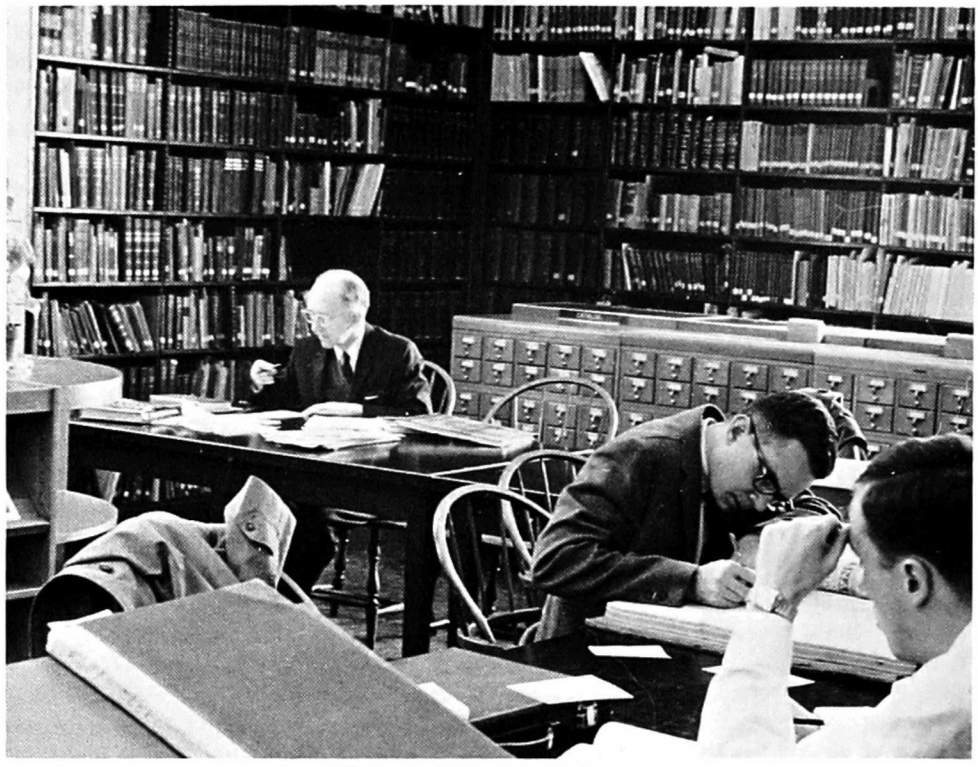
ued as did radio talks and occasional appearances on television. Many papers and letters were received of such prominent figures as Frank Severance, Thomas Cook Brown, William Henrich, Alfred H. Kirkhofer, and Thomas McKaig. The Sidway and Spaulding papers also were presented to the Society as well as letters of Millard Fillmore which were purchased by Mrs. Daniel B. Niederlander. A flow of acquisitions enlarged such collections as military insignia and arms, coins and stamps, dolls and doll furniture, airplane models, and oil portraits.

The relationship between all three museums and the schools has been mentioned at various points in their development. In the 1960's this relationship was enlarged. It became common for a qualified member of a museum staff to teach a few classes at a nearby college or university. While Director of the Historical Society, Dr. Glover taught at the University of Buffalo, and Dr. Dunn conducted classes in the Administration of a Historical Agency for students at the State University College at Buffalo. Another innovation, financed by the Federal Government, was a work-study plan whereby students from six local colleges helped earn their way by working part time at the Museum.

The history of the Society Library has been inadequately traced. Like most museum libraries, perhaps like all libraries, it was for years inadequately staffed despite the prominent role its 55,000 volumes played in local research. Attempts were continually and successfully made to increase its usefulness; but limited funds and new urgencies in other areas were restricting factors. Newspapers had to be clipped daily; new equipment such as microfilm readers had to be mastered and serviced; deteriorating items had to be preserved; new gifts and purchases catalogued; shelves reorganized. And there was a constant flow of requests for information—by mail, from Europe as well as America, by telephone, and in person. By 1970 practically every available newspaper published in Buffalo was in the Society files, most on microfilm. Over 60,000 pamphlets had been catalogued along with hundreds of manuscript collections. The resources of the Society were being put into better order than ever before. But there was still much to be achieved.



Historical Society Library

What was the standing of the Society at the end of its first 100 years? Of the three local museums it was the first to achieve a high national rating due in part to the generosity of the State in providing it with a building of its own. In 1905, it was named by the American Historical Association as one of seven local historical societies in the nation that easily ranked in significance with state societies. In midcentury, the Society received two national Awards of Merit from the American Association for State and Local History. The first, in 1963, was for "the unique contribution to education made by the series of booklets, *Adventures in Western New York History*;" the second, in 1965, for "preserving the heritage and contribution made by those of foreign birth and parentage." It engaged as well in cooperative projects with the National Historical Publications Commission and the New York State Council on the Arts. Under sponsorship of the former, it produced as edited documentary microfilm publications The Papers of Peter B. Porter and The Papers of Millard Fillmore. A special program of national significance was the restoration of the Wilcox Mansion in partnership with the Theodore Roosevelt Inaugural Site Foundation and the National Park Service.

In 1970, it was altogether a sound organization, well administered, with ample collections and well thought out plans for future growth.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, making the most of its new position as a branch of the State University of New York, the Society of Natural Sciences continued to expand its education program. Included were special exhibits at the Museum to illustrate current phases of school work, loan exhibits to schools, and lectures to teachers and students. Parts of the program were successfully introduced in 1901.

The loan service, which eventually embraced mounted pictures

Collection of The Buffalo History Museum

and exhibits, lantern slides, and movies, was inaugurated in 1902 in the form of a travelling exhibit illustrating the story of Hiawatha. It was put together by Frederick Houghton who was singularly fitted for such an experimental undertaking, being both the Chairman of the Education Committee at the Society and Principle of one of the public schools. In the same year, Dr. Carlos E. Cummings went into the schools to lecture on birds and other topics. To gain illustrative material for these lectures he travelled widely with his camera to such areas as Mexico, the Pacific, and Yellowstone Park.

The George E. Hayes Bequest, received on the death of Mrs. Hayes in 1906, led to the establishment of the Hayes School of Natural Science under the direction of Henry R. Howland. The activities of this school included regular Friday evening lectures to the public and the continuation and expansion of a series of lectures for school children. In 1970 the Hayes Lecture Series for Adults was still popular.

The Society also enlarged its collections steadily. In 1901, the Ethnology Collection acquired American Indian stone implements, Mexican baskets and pottery, and artifacts which had been on display in the African Village of the Pan-American Exposition. This acquisition and subsequent purchases made the African collection of over 3,000 items probably the finest in America.

In gathering material for the Society's collections, a number of local amateurs became authorities in their selected fields. In the early twentieth century, Millard C. van Duzee, one of the few members interested in entomology, became a recognized authority on the family *Dolichopodidae* (flies) and published 86 papers on the subject.

From the hands of aspiring geologists the Society received many hundreds of fossils, minerals, and rocks of Western New York. A unique contribution was made by Lewis J. Bennett who owned the stone quarries near Main Street and Fillmore Avenue. Having noticed that certain fossils, the Eurypterids, occurred in the layers of rock, he gave his workers a bonus for every specimen reported. In this way the Society acquired the most complete collection of this order in existence.

In 1901, the Society was given the minerals which were exhibited at the Pan-American Exposition. This was followed two years later by a group of radium and allied minerals, donated by Stephen T. Lockwood. In 1908, the 6,000 specimens of rocks, minerals, and fossils in the S. P. Carll Collection arrived. The E. E. Teller Collection of Silurian fossils was received in installments between 1908 and 1912; and in 1909, a number of Eocene fossils from the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia rounded out the collection.

From time to time local archaeologists presented the Society with sufficient artifacts to give it eventually a comprehensive survey of Indian life in Western New York. Dr. Wende, for example, donated a collection of Iroquois masks in quality as good as that of any other single institution. About 1910, Mr. Houghton took an active interest in a local survey of Indian sites and started an extensive field campaign. As the result of diggings at Victor, New York, Gainsville, Ontario, and other sites, nearly 1,000 items were added to the collection. Donors also presented pre-Inca textiles and stone age implements as well as items excavated in Europe and Babylon.

In 1917, William L. Bryant was appointed Director of the Society and Dr. Cummings became full Hayes Professor. Mr. Bryant, who was Director from 1917-25, specialized in the collection of Devonian fish. During his regime the exhibits were largely geological, covering mineralogy, economic geology, and geologic history.

In 1920, the Society became the last of the three museums to move into its own building. On Elmwood Avenue, just south of the Albright Art Gallery, there was erected for its use a central unit which could be expanded into a large building when funds were available. The completed building, designed by Edward B. Green, architect of the Art Gallery, was to be in the classic style to conform with its nearby sister museums.

Activities were expanded whenever it was feasible. On April 16, 1922, a new medium of communication, the radio, was inaugurated in Buffalo with station WWT. Professor William P. Alexander of the Museum staff was the first speaker on the first program. In the 1920's and 1930's this medium was used more and more by all three museums, many of the broadcasts being given as roto-radio talks with illustrations in the Sunday *Courier-Express.*

Late in 1919, Chancey J. Hamlin became President of the Society with the aim of building the Museum into an institution of major importance. One of his first projects was a concentrated campaign to convince the citizens of Buffalo of the desirability of expanding the Museum, so that the Society could meet the demands of both adults and children in the fields of science and constructive recreational activity. The campaign was successful. In 1922, the New York State Legislature gave the city authority to erect a Museum of Science at a cost of not more than $1 million. Mr. Hamlin left the Society before completion of the building.

Before the new museum opened, the Conchological Section was expanded by large gifts from Mrs. John D. Larkin (1922) and Mrs. George N. Pierce (1924). This section was now so extensive that almost four years were required to label the specimens so that they could be adequately studied. "There still remained many more gaps in the series, however, and many more shells must be obtained before the collection will be sufficiently comprehensive to be of great value to the student engaged in special research except in the case of the *Unionidae.*" In 1925, the bird collection of Kirke B. Mathes was purchased by the Society, the first big addition to the Ornithological Section

Collection of The Buffalo History Museum

since the acquisition of the Bodemeyer Collection in 1873. It comprised about 795 mounted birds and 550 skins. This comprehensive group also was one of the finest in the country.

In the early twentieth century there was little interest in entomoloby until Hamlin presented the Society with a large collection of insects purchased from E. G. Love of New York. In this collection the *Coleoptera* (beetles) were the most fully represented and included rare specimens from all over the world. In addition there were *Lepidoptera* (butterflies and moths), *Hymenoptera* (bees and wasps), *Diptera* (flies), *Odonata* (dragonflies), and *Orthoptera* (grasshoppers, locusts, crickets, and the like).

In 1926, Dr. Charles J. Fish came to the Museum from the United States Fisheries Commission to be Director and take charge of research. Dr. Fish was a prominent oceanographer and ichthyologist and participated in a number of research projects while at the Museum, including a biological survey of Lake Erie. When research was discontinued in 1932 due to a lack of funds, he was given a two-year leave of absence and resigned at the end of this period. He was succeeded by Dr. Carlos E. Cummings.

The Society soon became the city's largest center of visual education, lending free slides, projectors, and pictures to both schools and individuals. In 1928, when the Society was establishing itself in its partially finished building, the Department of Visual Education of the Buffalo Public School System moved into offices on the ground floor, and in 1934, inaugurated a delivery service which brought about a tremendous increase in the circulation of material.

The new Museum, erected at the eastern end of Humboldt Parkway, was designed by Esenwein and Johnson and completed in 1929. The interior was carefully planned with 11 halls branching out from a large central hall in such a way as to present to the visitor an orderly sequence from the Hall of Physics and Chemistry to the Hall of Primitive Races. Large gifts from such prominent families as the Knoxes, Schoellkopfs, and Goodyears enabled it to install exhibits of a quality that drew the attention of the entire museum world. With these modern installations and its varied activities, the Museum became one of the outstanding institutions in its field. The building also included a large auditorium, an observatory on the roof, and ample exhibition space for its varied collections.

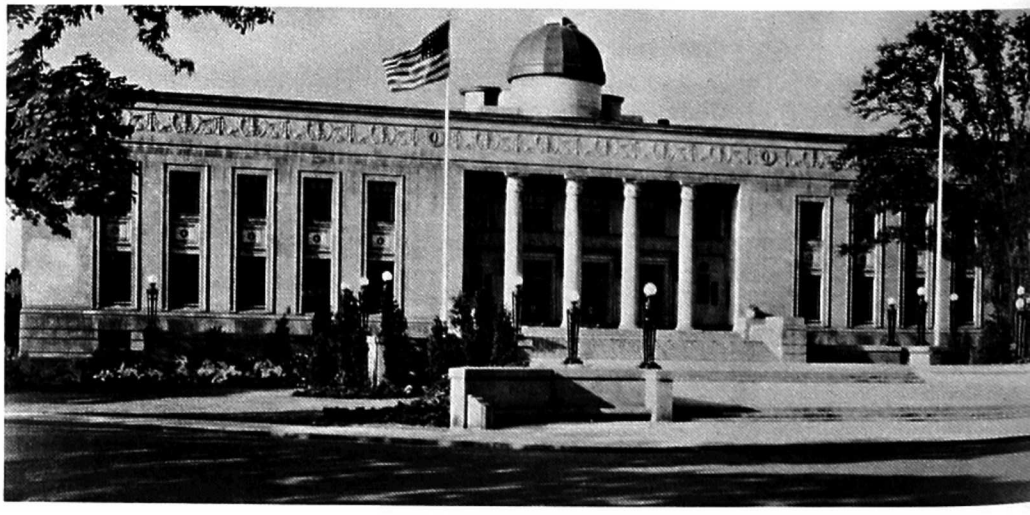
The Kellogg Observatory was given to the Museum by Mrs. Spencer Kellogg as a memorial to her husband. It was equipped with an eight-inch f-15 refracting telescope. A five-inch, short-focus Clark refractor was added in 1934. Harold Baumler, the first Director, and George A. Davis, Jr., translated their enthusiasm into organizing the Buffalo Astronomical Section in 1930. Later the Buffalo Astronomical Association, it was one of the most active sections of the Society. Mr. Davis became known internationally through his publications on the names of stars.

With these additional funds and space, came an increase in staff including teachers and curators in the major divisions of the natural sciences. The first internal expansion was in educational activities. Ruth V. Weierheiser, a science teacher, was employed to supervise additional classes throughout the year and to institute a summer school for children, museum games, a story hour, and other projects. William P. Alexander of Cornell University was engaged to direct the extension services consisting of hobby clubs, scientific sections, and the Roosevelt Field Club. There also were divisions of the Educational Department in such subjects as art and music.

In 1929, the three-term plan of adult education was put into operation, including a number of subjects in both science and art. It should be pointed out that the scientific sections and other organizations affiliated with the Society also carried on a type of adult education through their meetings, papers, and other activities. The public was further enlightened through three series of free lectures: the Hayes Friday evening lectures, the Sunday afternoon popular science lectures, and the Monday evening talks. The Society also instituted an intensive museum training course of 16 weeks duration. The Society was able to enlarge its services in other fields as well. In the same year, working with the New York State Conservation Commission, it conducted a biological survey of Lake Erie and analyzed the psychology of museum visitors in cooperation with the American Association of Museums. This study, the first of its kind, continued for six years and was financed by the Carnegie Corporation.

Stepping outside its basic role, as it did at times, the Society develop-

Museum of Science



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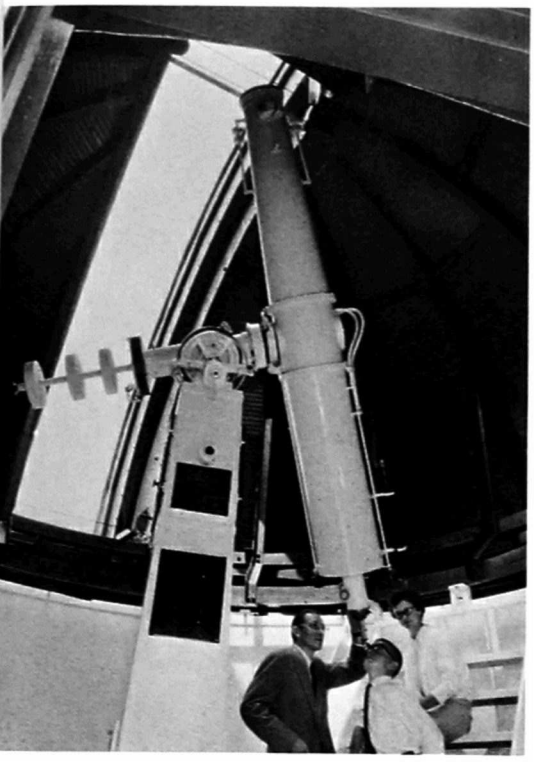


ed an active, though not major, Department of Music, perhaps partly due to the interest of Mr. Hamlin's wife, Emily Gray Hamlin. In addition to a course in music appreciation, the Society promoted a young people's orchestra; a large adult chorus; the Schola Cantorum; concerts featuring both singers and instrumentalists; and the lending of scores and records.

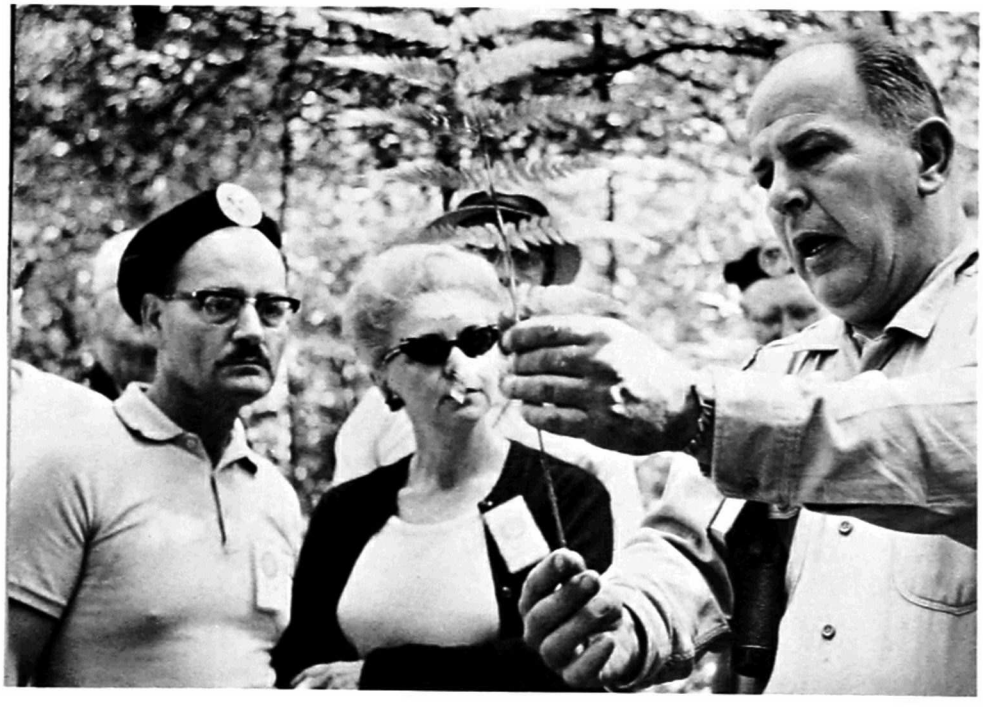
The Nature Sanctuary Society of Western New York and the Allegheny Field and Trail Club, launched in 1927 also served as vehicles for adult education. The purpose of the first was to buy and preserve certain local areas of special interest to the natural scientist. The initial purchase was a northern bog in Erie County. The second organization, a joint venture with the University of Buffalo and the New York State Museum, was located in Allegheny State Park. Here in the School of the Forest, as it was popularly known, both teachers and students could learn the ways of birds, animals, and insects, and study a wide variety of indigenous trees and plants in their natural environment. The School added to the attractiveness and usefulness of the Park by creating Indian and aquatic gardens, a fernery, and well thought out trails.

Another project of the period was the publication by the Museum of a nature magazine, *Hobbies,* which included a calendar of events, annual reports, and scientific articles of general interest. And not to be overlooked were the numerous field trips around Buffalo under the leadership of staff members. The magazine, *Bulletin,* published by the Society with its own funds, continued to be issued. Many of the articles were written by scientists of the first rank and made important contributions to scientific knowledge.

The junior program was growing yearly into a well-balanced Museum activity. In the spring, the 4th and 7th grades of public school children were brought to the Museum in buses for a tour correlated with social studies; and in the fall, the 5th and 6th grades were added. Classes in science, arts, and crafts were offered on Saturdays.

The Society Library which had been of relatively little use in the nineteenth century due to cramped quarters and meager cataloguing, was gradually made available for serious students and research workers as its quarters grew and its resources increased. The important steps taken between 1920 and 1923 when Dr. Augustus Shearer was in charge were discontinued after he left because there was no official librarian for almost five years, until the Society moved into its permanent building. There the majority of the books were put into a research library on the second floor, and the more popular works in the ground floor library and reading room. In the year 1936, there were approximately 16,000 books serving as the mainstay of an efficient library.

In the decade following the opening of the new building several of the collections were greatly improved and broadened. One of these was the Geological Collection. In addition to the Reimann Collection, made up largely of western Middle-Devonian fossils purchased in 1933, there were several of like quality. In 1931, the Society was given a collection of Ohio Ordovician and Iowa Upper-Devonian fossils and a series of cretaceous fossils from Tennessee; and in 1936, it purchased the Ringueberg Collection of local Silurian fossils. In 1932, the United States National Museum and Harvard University gave the Museum the rare mineral specimens needed to fill a gap. One spectacular acquisition in 1930 was the skeleton of a large mastodon dug up by a Society expedition at Cromwell, Indiana, financed by



Collection of The Buffalo History Museum

Watts L. Richmond. The continued upgrading of the collections was assured through the bequest of Frederick K. Mixer in 1924. With the income from this bequest a large portion of the gem collection was bought, thereby creating one of the best collections of its kind in the country. To serve the collections as a didactic aid, 16 paintings were put on display as background, illustrating the life of the different geological periods.

In 1934, junior music appreciation was started by distributing five free tickets to every school in the city. The schools picked their best pupils from the 6th, 7th, and 8th grades and sent them to the Museum. In the early 1930's there were also two junior divisions in sketching.

Other items of the period which should not be overlooked were the growth of the Clinton Herbarium, which now comprised 50,000 mounted and labelled specimens; the publication of an authoritative study, *The Flora of the Niagara Frontier* by Charles A. Zenkert; and the receipt of over 7,000 specimens of insects, a gift from Albert G. Dimond. Most of these were local forms in good condition.

In the winter of 1936-37, owing to the Depression and consequent reduction in funds, all evening classes and other gatherings were cancelled and all scientific research was discontinued. The extension program, however, was not adversely affected. In 1937, the Society recovered from the effects of the Depression with an increase in income from the city large enough to permit the restoration of normal exhibit hours, staff, salaries, and services. Aided by this restoration, the Schoellkopf Hall of Evolution was opened. In 1938, the Bennett Alcove of Geology, the Hall of Geology and Paleontology, the Knox Hall of Primitive Races, and the Knox Hall of Civilization were finished, and greenhouses were erected on the roof. The same year the P.G. Black collection of over 6,000 ethnological specimens from Oceania was bought with a grant from the Carnegie Foundation, and the best of it was installed in the Hall of Ethnology two years later. In 1939, the Hall of the Niagara Frontier and the Spaulding Hall of Conservation were added to the new exhibits.

In reviewing his tenure of office, Mr. Hamlin reported that the Museum was:

> ...the first museum in the world to pioneer with children. It was the first to plan and execute its exhibits so that they would tell a continuous related story of man's scientific knowledge. It was the first museum in the country to devote halls exclusively to physics, chemistry, astronomy, to genetics, and to public health, and it will be the first to develop such an exhibit of prehistoric and primitive peoples as the Hall of Primitive Art now in process. It is a pioneer in adult education and in evening exhibit hours to make the Museum available to business people. . . .A survey of the country's 123 leading museums in 1930 stated that 'The Buffalo Museum has the highest efficiency ratio of all reporting museums.'

One of the greatest honors that could come to the Museum was in 1937. Fifty thousand dollars was given as a grant by the Rockefeller Foundation for the training of museum personnel during the ensuing three years. . . .It amounts to the international recognition of the exhibit plan, the installation methods and the educational program of this institution.

The Hall of Primitive Art now being developed is a first in the museum world, designed to show the geographical distribution of peoples through the origin of primitive art motifs and the course of their migration over the surface of the globe.

This hall was dismantled in 1960 to make room for library expansion.

During World War II the Society cooperated with the government more directly and vividly than did the other institutions. Antiaircraft equipment was installed on the roof to protect the area, and nine members of the armed forces were quartered on the third floor. To counteract the loss of the school bus service, five science lecturers took the Museum to the schools, speaking and demonstrating at assembly programs.

In 1941, despite the restrictions of the War, two new clubs were established: the Do Something Club for Children and the Explorers Club, a nature program for families. In the same year the Hall of Africa and the Hall of Plant Life were opened. The following year the Hall of the Pacific was added and the Goodyear Hall of Heredity and Environment was enlarged by sections demonstrating the principles of heredity and migration of races. After 1945, the Spitz Planetarium was placed in part of the Kellogg Hall of Astronomy.

In 1944, the first annual craft institute was held and the next year a library of films was added to the Audio-Visual Department. In 1947, a Curator of Biology was appoin-

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ted to supervise the new Division of Biology. Two years later Ellsworth Jaeger, Curator of Education, and for many years a prominent figure in the Museum's activities, organized the Wakan Tanka (Buffalo Medicine) Dancers to conduct research in the field of Indian culture. Through this research the members learned to make their own costumes, equipment, and properties, and developed a colorful dance program which was very popular as a form of public entertainment. Some years later another group was started which eventually developed a repertoire of over 100 songs from different cultures.

A definite change in direction occurred in the early 1950's. Mr. Hamlin had resigned as President of the Society in 1948, to be replaced by George F. Goodyear. Dr. Cummings severed his connection with the Museum in 1950 to be replaced in 1951 by Fred T. Hall. When Mr. Hamlin died in December 1963, his obituary said in part:

> His perseverance in raising money to finance the erection and upkeep of the exhibits in the principal halls of the new Museum was astounding. (The prominent families). . . all contributed generously for these purposes largely through his efforts. His own financial contributions in money and material totalled almost a half million dollars, more than the next two largest benefactors combined. . . . For most of his 28 years he made his presidency a full time job. He served the American Association of Museums as President, for many years as a trustee. He helped to found the International Council of Museums in 1948 and headed this organization for its first five years. . . .He was the first president of the Buffalo City Planning Association and from 1925 to 1947, Chairman of the Niagara Frontier Planning Board.

Dr. Cummings, who died in January 1964, was the assiduous professional of this exemplary team. It was he who laid out the plan for the building and arranged and installed the majority of the exhibits, often doing the actual work himself. He was Secretary of the Society from 1903-18, Director of the new Museum from 1934 to his retirement in 1948, acting Director for two years, and Director Emeritus thereafter. During his tenure, among numerous other changes, an exhibit on Germ Cells and Fertilization was installed in the Hall of Heredity and Environment, and the Director's office was converted into a Hall of China.

Like Mr. Hamlin, Mr. Goodyear was a member of a prominent industrial family. In civic affairs he played a prominent role in the Buffalo Philharmonic Orchestra Society, the Urban League, the Medical Foundation, and the Board of Education, of which he was President. He was given the Red Jacket Award in 1962.

Of Mr. Goodyear's tenure as President, it was said that he "continued all the fine ideas and innovations brought to fruition by Mr. Hamlin." It should be added that he was also an innovator and a sound administrator who made the best of the handicap of less money for expansion and for the necessary refinement and modernization of such exhibits as physics and astronomy.

The new Director of the Science Museum in 1951, Fred T. Hall, was formerly Director of the Davenport, Iowa Public Museum. His specialty was ornithology. During his tenure, the Museum continued to refine and enlarge its exhibits and to make numerous other improvements. The Benedict Indian Alcove was formally dedicated; the Hall of Sculpture, Seals, and Masks was opened (1952); and the Elizabeth W. Hamlin Oriental and Archaeological Library was installed. Between 1953 and 1955 the space between the tops of the existing wall cases and the ceilings was utilized for exhibits.

Public relations continued on a sound basis with the Society taking full advantage of each new medium of communication. A weekly television program on WBEN-TV succeeded the radio talks. The publications were updated in format and appeal. In 1958, the magazine, *Hobbies*, was retitled *Science on the March*.

The Do Something summer program for children was greatly expanded and given the intriguing name of Tepee Camporee. A number of years later a summer program was inaugurated at the Slate Creek Nature Center.

In 1956 in recognition of its broadened services, the Society was given its first annual grant by Erie County. It also received a large bequest from James Savage, which was used to change the Zoology Corridor to the James Savage Hall of Zoology. In the same year the Niagara Frontier Archaeological Project was inaugurated, jointly sponsored by the University of Buffalo and the Society; and in 1959 a grant was received from the National Science Foundation to finance a program for outstanding high school students.

In 1961, the hundredth anniversary of the Society, the attendance was 378,059. This anniversary was celebrated in three parts, including papers on scientific subjects, an evening session—100 Years of Science, and a banquet.

In 1965, a directory of the sections of the Society listed: The Allegany Field and Trail Club, Buffalo Astronomical Association, Buffalo Audubon Society, Buffalo Ornithological Society, Ceramics Section, Conchological Section, Conservation Forum of New York State, Foothills Trail Club, Geological Section, Guild of Allied Arts, Nature Sanctuary of Western New York, Niagara Frontier Chapter of the Izaak Walton League of America, Science Museum Camera Club, Wakan Tanka Indian Dancers, and the Western New York Weather Society. Some sections were more active than others, acquiring property for con-

Collection of the Buffalo History Museum

servation purposes, sponsoring exhibits, while others limited themselves to study or lectures and meetings. Among the property owners was the Buffalo Audubon Society, perennially interested in local birds and their habitat. In 1951 and 1955 it acquired title to Beaver Meadow, a 136-acre bird sanctuary near Java Village. In 1958 it took possession of the Allenburg Bog, a plot eventually increased to an area of about 250 acres of sphagnum bog, wet lands, and forest. The Nature Sanctuary Society of Western New York controlled the Houghton Bog in Zoar Valley and the William Prindle Alexander Preserve in the same general area. In 1967 it purchased land in the town of Sardinia, the Clifford Furman Preserve, which comprised three acres of sphagnum bog and four acres of meadow and woods. The Buffalo Ornithological Society bought property on Grand Island; the Western New York Chapter of Nature Conservancy took over Moss Lake and the Deer Lick Sanctuary; and the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences itself acquired an area about 11 miles east of East Aurora.

As a substitute for the Allegany School of Natural History which was discontinued during World War II, a group from the Buffalo, Rochester, and Jamestown Audubon Societies established in 1960 an Annual Allegany Nature Pilgrimage, a three-day visit in June to study the local flora and fauna. The Museum became a cosponsor in 1966. The maximum enrollment was set at 650.

In 1964 the Museum upgraded the Kellogg Observatory by converting it into a practical instrument for the study of the sun. This not only attracted a greater public, but helped to train aspiring young astronomers. Among the additions to the equipment were a long focus refractor connected with a spectrograph and a projection system to observe the photosphere. A monochromator for the study of the prominences was already in use.

In May 1967, the Egyptian Room was opened. Of the featured attraction, three mummies on loan from the Historical Society, two were set up in a tomb-like enclosure, the walls of which were painted with figures and hieroglyphs to simulate an actual tomb. Artifacts from other contemporary ancient civilizations were also included. Adjacent to the tomb was a wall exhibit consisting of the third mummy, a heavy wooden coffin, and a life-size radiograph of the mummy. In the same year the Observatory added a series of afternoon "sun shows" at which the sun was studied through a solar telescope.

Following the death of Mr. Hall in January 1969, Dr. Virginia L. Cummings was named Director in 1970. She had joined the staff in 1945 as Curator of Anthropology and Registrar, later becoming Assistant Director.

During this period there was considerable publicity concerning the obsolescence of the exhibits. This was acknowledged in the 1970 Annual Report:

> An unprecedented amount of coverage was given to the museum by the press and news media with interest culminating in a series of articles in the *Buffalo Evening News*. These stories focussed upon conditions of neglect which were of deep concern to museum staff members who had initiated a concerted effort toward rehabilitation long before public attention was directed to the remaining sore points.

As part of this rehabilitation, the Halls of Physics and Chemistry, Heredity and Environment, and Man were closed as obsolete, and several other exhibits were discarded. What had once been thought the finest type of museum display had become a "symbol of an archaic tradition." The Hall of Man was remodelled into a multimedia theatre which gave among its first productions *Man Reaches for the Moon, Africa Today,* and *Birds in Your World*. Renovation, research, and scientific publications were all stepped up. Land for astronomical work was purchased in Langford, New York to offset the pollution of the Buffalo atmosphere.

In 1968 both the Hall of Vertebrates and the Children's Museum were opened. In the latter exhibit views of a woodland and cave were presented with such clarity and intimacy that the child received an illusion of being in the presence of local birds, animals, plants, and trees. The cave, which could be entered, was based upon the Howe Caverns.

During this year the Western New York Society of the Archaeological Institute of America and the Mycological Society became sections of the Society. The local chapter of the former was organ-

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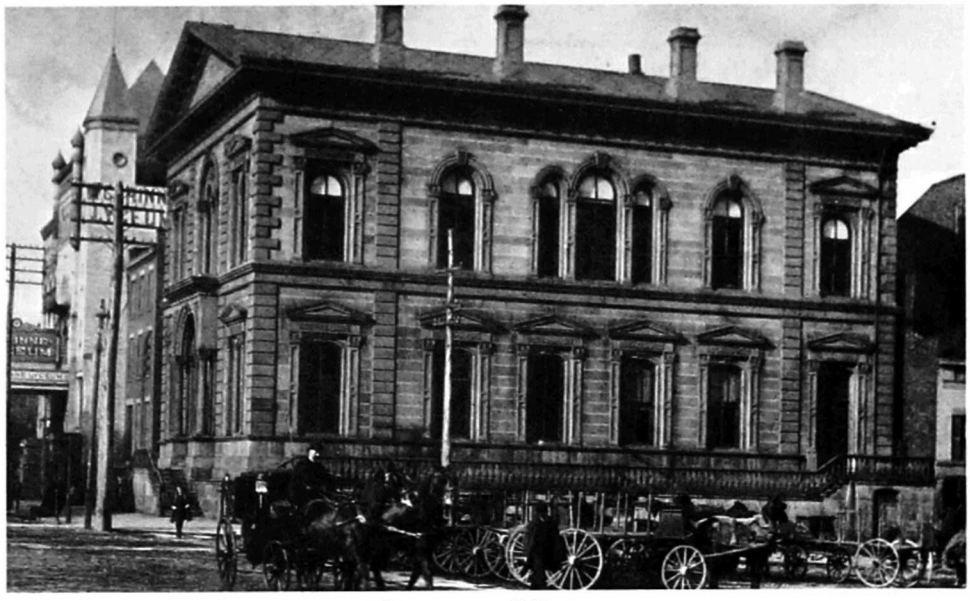


Grosvenor Library

ized in 1966 as an affiliate of the National Institute, and sponsored lectures, two magazines, and an extensive annual meeting.

The main exhibit of 1969, "Out of Africa," opened in April. The festivities embraced several formal dinners, a fashion show, dancing by the African Cultural Center ensemble, lectures, and the relating of African folk tales. The exhibit itself consisted of over 750 African items, most from West Africa, including Ashanti gold weights, Benin bronzes, Baule masks, Bakota guardian figures, drums, and art from the Belgian Congo.

In membership drives, in public relations, in increased financial support both by private and public donors, in innovations, in rehabilitation there was evidence of a new, optimistic, and aggressive attitude throughout the Museum. Under Dr. Cummings, its course was once again pointed toward the moon—and beyond.

Both the Grosvenor and Buffalo Public Libraries kept pace with the exciting developments which occured in their sister institutions during the period.

From the beginning of the century until the Second World War was an active period of growth for both libraries. In 1910, to house its growing collection, the Grosvenor Library bought the cyclorama building next door and remodeled it into a beautiful circular reading room. In 1918, it expanded again through the purchase of the adjacent property on Franklin Street, into which it moved its Medical Department. This Department, established in 1898, was to become one of Grosvenor's largest sections. A second specialized section, Local History and Genealogy, was added in 1915. The last considerable building addition was the auditorium (1940), after which the reading room was rebuilt with added shelving. Before the adding and remodeling had come to an end, many minor projects had been undertaken such as preparing rooms to house the educational classes undertaken by the Library during the early years of the Depression. Earlier a new refectory had encouraged gatherings, including a new literary group, Scriptores, constituted about 1925 by men interested in writing.

Buffalo citizens did not only demand service, but also space for their gifts of fine books and other items. In 1914, Edward H. Butler, publisher of the *Buffalo Evening News*, gave the Library $5,000 for the purchase of finely printed books. The gloom of World War I, when use of the library declined, and the 1918 influenza forced its closing in a general quarantine, was lightened by the receipt of two important gifts: in 1918 the large book collection of Dr. Arthur Cleveland Coxe, Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Western New York 1865-96; and in 1919 a collection of over 2,000 war bulletins, proclamations, posters, examples of enemy propaganda, etc. from Edward Michael. A later gift was 1,300 beautifully bound volumes from Archibald Smith in 1925. In the following year, the Four Folios of Shakespeare, with a first edition of his *Poems* and a set of Boydell's engravings were received from Colonel Clifton. Many books on architecture came from George Cary. Mrs. Frederick L. Pratt donated the four elephant folios of Audubon's *Birds of America* along with the quarto volumes of his *Ornithological Biography* and *Quadrupeds of North America.*

In July 1937, the Grosvenor received a monumental gift from George Nathan Newman consisting of 13,000 volumes and 7,500 phonograph records. The books were of general use with a large section of American and English literature. The records served as a sound beginning for a collection which later brought great distinction to the Library. It had been growing from department status, moving into the new portion of the building in 1922 and 1923. Margaret McNamara (Mrs. Mott) was two years later made head of the department, which contained 1,300 volumes, 2,000 pieces of sheet music, and a large collection of popular music to care for. In 1940, following the Newman Gift, a grant from the Juilliard Trust raised the Department to Division status.

Mrs. Mott was one of two Acting Librarians during World War II, and the other, Dr. Julian Park, distinguished himself by forming the Rare Book Room to house safely its sizeable collection in that field. This led to further public activities. In 1950, a group of

Collection of The Buffalo History Museum

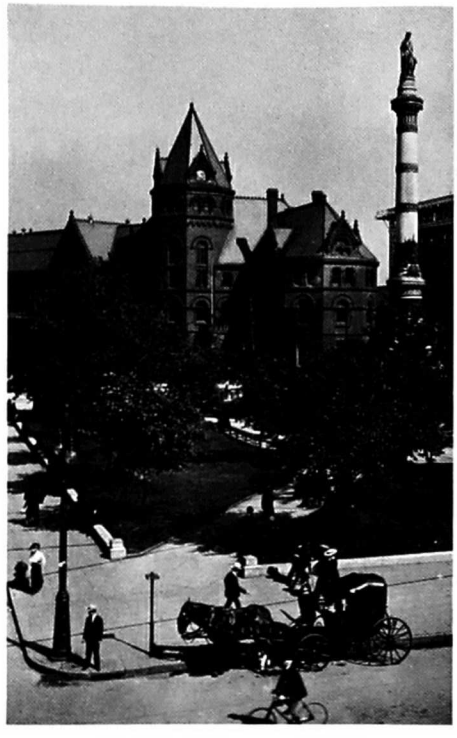
collectors and students, brought together by their common interest in this Room, formed a rare book club, named the Salisbury Club after Smith R. and Hezekiah A. Salisbury, Buffalo's first printers. In the refectory, regular luncheon meetings were held at which one member spoke on some allied subject. The great benefactor of the Club was the Right Reverend James B. Bray, pastor of the Holy Name of Jesus Church, who eventually distributed to organizations and individuals his collection of over 2,000 rare books.

The conclusion of the list of major benefits to the Grosvenor was provided by the bequest of George Nathan Newman in 1951. He added to his previous gifts most of his estate, including 6,000 books, money, and an income from Main Street property.

The development of collections at the Buffalo Public Library was, of course, quite different. Its devotion to public circulation, in contrast to the Grosvenor's concentration on provision of reference materials, dictated that its development should be in branch libraries. In 1923, it appropriated $200,000 for the building and equipping of seven new libraries. The Cazenovia, the Fairfield, and the Kensington Branches were opened in 1925; the Genesee Branch in 1927; and the North Park in 1928. In addition, two established branches, the Lafayette and the Utica, were given new buildings and renamed the West Side Branch and the North Jefferson. The small Grant Street Branch was opened in 1928; and the Clinton Street Branch in 1930. In 1935, the combined circulation of the 14 branches almost equalled that of the main library, the total being about 4 million. Supplementing the branches were 145 traveling libraries serving institutions, churches, and study clubs, and book depositories in hospitals and industrial plants. These services required large staffs and large book collections, so it is no wonder that its budget in the late 1920's was $425,000 in contrast to a modest $106,000 for the Grosvenor.

Administration of the libraries was by no means a matter of selecting books and adopting cataloguing systems, although those were not matters to be taken for granted. Many of the chief librarians, as well as such division heads as Mrs. Mott, had interests that gave them mastery of several specialized fields. Edward van Duzee, Librarian of the Grosvenor from 1896 to 1913 was well-versed in astronomy and entomology. More chiefs were largely concerned with professional matters, as one of the Grosvenor's distinguished heads, Dr. Augustus Shearer (1917-1941), who followed Frederick C. Wood (1913-1917), head cataloguer since 1897. Shearer had thrown himself into the task of standardizing hours and salaries of the staff; he also wrote a pamphlet outlining the Library's services and resources, and edited the recently established quarterly publication, *The Library Bulletin.*

Their opposite numbers at the Buffalo Public Library were Walter L. Brown (1906-1931) and Alexander Galt (1931-1950). Both found challenge enough in the expansion program of the Branches, struggling with the nearly hopeless situations of Depression and World War II, and day-to-day operations. Brown had assisted an earlier Librarian, the historian Josephus N. Larned, to install the Dewey system of cataloguing, and with the steady growth of his administration there were constant problems in adjusting it. In spite of all, Brown found time for innovations in the interest of public service. In 1928, the Library formed an Adult Education Bureau and a Readers Bureau to aid readers who needed help in the organization of a course of study. In 1929, it created a Department of Technology through which students, mechanics, artisans, and engineers could follow the latest developments in their trade or science. This was in tune with the efforts



Public Library, 1902

of the other institutions, of which the Museum of Science achieved the most in the use of museum and library resources for aids to school work as well as systematic individual study.

As late as 1952, with the opening of a Business and Labor Department by the Grosvenor, this thoughtful extension of the utility of library resources was continuing, even against the increasing financial constrictions of the old system of two libraries. The Business and Labor Department was set up by Harold Hacker (1952-54) who had succeeded Rutherford D. Rogers (1947-52). Rogers' job turned out to be a battle to keep the Grosvenor operative against creeping deterioration while the new countywide system was being developed. Hacker added a further innovation in allowing circulation of phonograph records and still another great public convenience in setting up a room for the use of research students who needed to use typewriters or other recording equipment. But long before this very late time in the Grosvenor's independent history, Librarian Shearer had joined the popular education procession by

Collection of The Buffalo History Museum

offering classes on a considerable scale. Its relatively stable income permitted it to go on during the Depression, and in 1932, it offered 12 classes a day in a wide range of subjects.

Radio had also been seized as a device for this purpose, and from 1928, for about ten years, a regular program of book reviews was presented over Station WBEN. In May 1928 was begun one of the most useful services ever instituted by the Grosvenor, a bureau of information to prevent conflicts in lecture and concert dates through a bimonthly central calendar. It was discontinued after four years, a casualty of the Depression. Most such efforts have had some permanent effect; the Divisions are still active, and such an extra as the Grosvenor's Music Department's concert series in the new auditorium of 1950, designed to avoid duplication of any other, is still to be found today in the new central library building.

It has been hinted that financial problems have been at times overwhelming. The Grosvenor was in a more comfortable position than the museums because its income, being on a tax percentage basis, grew with the city, increasing in 30 years from $14,000 to $80,000 but still requiring an increase so that in the year 1928-29 it was $106,000. The Buffalo Public Library's appropriation from the City of Buffalo had risen at the same time to $425,000. The Depression caused the use of all libraries to increase greatly, the one commodity in abundance being spare time. There was also a widespread desire to upgrade one's occupation. At the same time the income of the Public Library was drastically reduced, falling to $333,000 in 1933, while the number of books borrowed rose from less than 3 million to over 4 million. To survive, the Library was forced to curtail its branch service, dismiss some staff members, and reduce the salaries of the remainder. It was a very trying period, in which much needed work was postponed.

Nevertheless, the Public Library celebrated its one-hundredth anniversary with appropriate ceremony throughout the city. The Philharmonic Orchestra dedicated a concert to the occasion, School 52 produced a literary pageant, a secondhand book store presented its assorted contents, and Stephen Leacock and John Lord O'Brian spoke at gatherings. A history of the Library by Arthur Goldberg commemorating the first century of service to the citizens of Buffalo appeared in the *Buffalo Evening News* preceding its publication in book form.

After that, the Librarian went back to grim reality. The annual reports throughout the late 1930's emphasized the deterioration of services. Insufficient books were being bought and repaired, thereby reducing the number in circulation and, in time, reducing the number of borrowers. The complaints were directed mainly at the paucity of funds, but also at the inadequacy of the outdated buildings. Buffalo was spending 54 cents per citizen on its library, compared with $1.20 spent by Rochester. In 1937, the Common Council appropriated $31,000 less than the minimum provided by state law, and only made up the difference after the Library brought suit. The feasibility of merging with the Grosvenor Library was receiving more and more study, Buffalo being the only large city in the country supporting two libraries.

Adding to the strain upon the staff was a change in reading habits during the 1940's. Gradually the adult public was asking for more nonfiction, which required greater research on the part of the librarians; and the children, who were the easiest to serve, were borrowing more from the convenient branch libraries. The Grosvenor's problems came to a head in the postwar period after six war years with no increase in funds. Before the Common Council had been persuaded to increase its annual appropriation from $110,000 (the level of 20 years earlier) to $125,000, a number of staff members had resigned and the Library had been dropped from the Association of Research Libraries for its inability to purchase a sufficient number of new books.

The acute financial problems of the two Libraries were solved in 1948 when the Erie County Public Library, created on April 6, 1947, as one item in the unification program of the Republican Party under Edwin F. Jaeckle, assumed support of both. They did not, however, join the system until July 1, 1954. They were both old established institutions proud of their

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histories, with conflicting philosophies, and a competition in services difficult to adjust. A further obstacle was that a complete merger required the consent of both Boards, the Buffalo Common Council, the Erie County Board of Supervisors, and the New York State Legislature. There was considerable political maneuvering about management as well as differences of opinion in regard to the site of the new central building. One faction favored the Chippewa Market, the City Planning Commission wanted the Library on Niagara Square; the final choice was the Public Library's own location on Lafayette Square with additional space purchased on the east.

The creation of the Erie County Library brought about considerable activity. The town libraries entered the new system with alacrity since it guaranteed their financial support and the terms were liberal, each library being permitted to keep its own Board of Trustees and manage its own affairs. New branches were built in the city; town libraries were improved and enlarged; and a mobile library was purchased to deliver books in the County areas where libraries were inaccessible. The first mobile library, equipped in 1948, made 35 stops on a semimonthly schedule and circulated 121,000 volumes. By 1949, the number of books in circulation had increased. In 1950, an unusual service, financed by the Buffalo Consistory, was the lending of ceiling projectors and microfilm books for the use of immobile bed patients at home or in hospitals.

Between 1947 and the final merger, several important events occurred at the Public Library. In 1947, the County assumed financial support, so that for a while it had two sources of income. In 1950, Alexander Galt retired as Librarian after 27 years of service, and was succeeded by William T. O'Rourke, who had previously been Librarian at Brocton and New Bedford, Massachusetts and Assistant Librarian locally since 1945. In 1953, the New York State Legislature adopted legislation permitting the consolidation of the Buffalo Public, the Grosvenor, and the Erie County System under the name of the Buffalo and Erie County Public Library. The conditions were acceptable only after a fight by the Library to keep its independence, the County wanting it to be a County department with political control. The final governing board consisted of 15 members, including three from each library appointed by the Board of Supervisors.

The last annual report of the Buffalo Public Library was in 1953. The County Board had agreed to give the new system a minimum appropriation of not less than one-tenth of one percent of assessed city property and special franchises, the approximate equivalent of the combined income of the Public and Grosvenor Libraries at that time. As the County grew, more and more small libraries joined the system. The future of the new Library seemed assured.

At the time of the merger, the staff of all the constituent libraries consisted of 187 librarians and 540 nonprofessional personnel serving a collection of about 2½ million books. In addition to the central library there were 18 city branches and 34 units beyond the city limits. The new centralized services comprised a countywide borrower's card, the reception at any unit of returned books, interlibrary loans, and frequent deliveries. Four mobile libraries were in being.

The man who developed the countywide system was Joseph B. Rounds. Coming from the Library School of the University, he had become Librarian at the Grosvenor in 1941 on the death of Dr. Shearer. He left in 1942 for war service, resuming the position thereafter. In 1947, he took up the work of organizing the new system, opening relations with the town libraries and organizing a centralized processing system with headquarters in the Buffalo Public Library. There the attack was begun on the dual cataloging methods: Congressional in the Public and Dewey in the Grosvenor. This is not completely resolved twenty years later, for it approaches the

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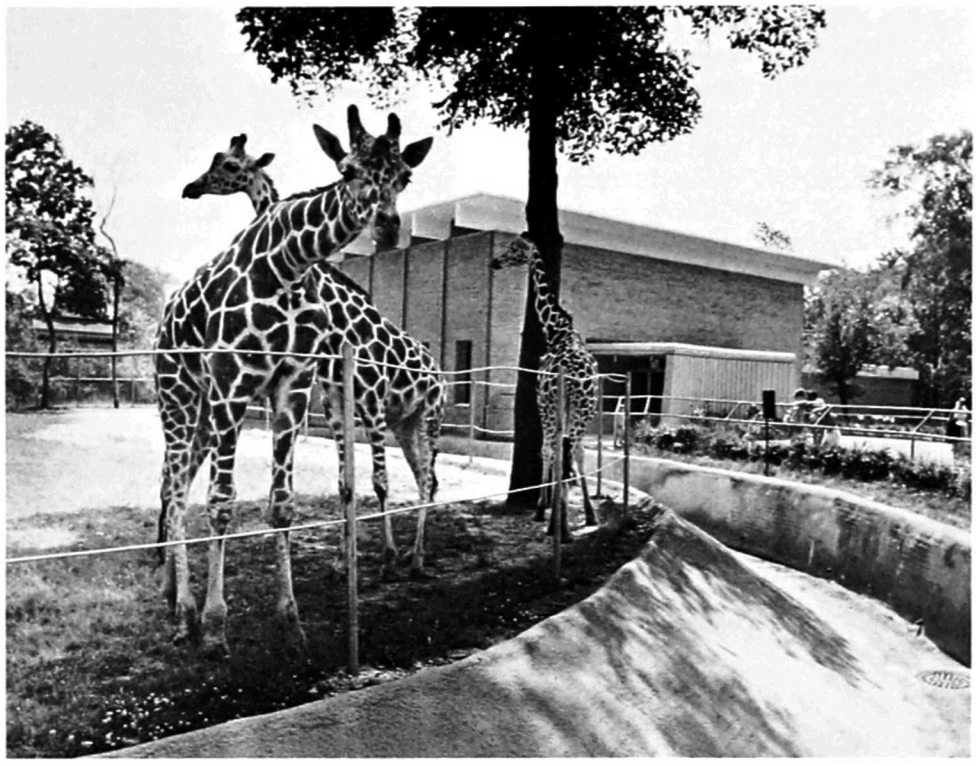

impossible under normal library funding.

In the 1950's there was added pressure upon each member of the Library System. Throughout the County new educational facilities were being erected to meet the growing desire for cultural and economic advantage; and local industries were creating large research laboratories. Furthermore, progressive teaching methods included more extensive outside reading. The students and researchers could be served adequately only by a large library with many special departments as indicated by the use of better than 6 million items in 1958. The circulation of books and mounted pictures in classroom collections of Buffalo schools totalled more than one million.

After the merger in 1954, the system expanded steadily. In the first 11 years, five new city branches were added, six of the established ones were enlarged, 11 county libraries were constructed, and six others were enlarged. The Music Department, which loaned 87,276 items in 1958, added 2,093 titles from the National Broadcasting Company's library of symphonies and parts. Expansion in photocopying and allied fields was accelerated in the late 1960's through State and Federal grants; and special books were donated by the Grosvenor Society.

The detailed planning of the move to the new building was a time-consuming task that had to be achieved in addition to all regular services. Many changes were recommended by consultants, one being the elimination of the medical collection, another being the creation of larger branches with greater resources. Throughout, employment problems continued. From 1951 to 1961, the circulation of books increased 85.4 percent but the number of the staff increased only by 48.7 percent, with most of the new positions assigned to the branches. To meet the shortage of librarians, a program of in-service training was begun, with eight junior library-trainee positions offered. Six trainees were helped with scholarships.

The new Central Library, designed by James W. Kideney & Associates and Paul Hyde Harbach and Elon B. Clark, Jr. of Associated Architects, was built at a cost of about $11 million. Contemporary in style, it had a capacity of 2 million volumes with seven subject departments and special rooms for children and young adults. The departments were: General Information; History, Travel, and Government; Education, Sociology, Philosophy, and Religion; Business, Economics, and Labor; Language, Literature, and Fine Arts; Science and Technology; and Music.

The east block of the new building was opened for service on March 1,1963. The same year, 124,000 books were acquired; new city branches were opened and others were enlarged. The opening of the completed library took place on September 8, 1964. It was an occasion for the normal quota of special events: music, reception, a formal dinner, and speeches. In 1967, a reversal in philosophy occurred in relation to the branch libraries when it was discovered that, in the underprivileged areas, better service could be given through small neighborhood libraries than through a few large, well-equipped ones. The school libraries also were reorganized. In 1969, there were 1,391,453 books in the Central Library, over 40,000 phonograph records, 45,000 maps, about 900 movies, and 250 mounted pictures. In the outside libraries were 1,086,579 books, making a total of 2,478,032 in the system. One could say with pride that the little collection of books gathered together by the Young Men's Association had come a long way.

The origins of the Buffalo Zoo in the 1890's has been mentioned in the chapter dealing with the parks in Erie County as an example of administrative method. The Zoo was lost among the boards and bureaus but managed to live a life of its own and contribute a small but important essential to a very large public following. Again and again the recondite world of academic zoology appeared to abandon interest, and just as frequently, the officials of the Parks Department

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ignored the consequences of neglecting a dense population of undomesticated animals.

But as often as neglect took its toll, public enthusiasm for the Zoo revived, stimulated by an unflagging curiosity in the world of wildness. The impulse that created the white marble museums of art and history in Delaware Park at the time of the Pan-American Exposition, and not too long afterward made a start on a museum of science in the same place, almost succeeded in providing a zoo of equal quality. The failure is understandable since so many great civic accomplishments were in the air and pressures on the pocketbooks of the philanthropic correspondingly heavy, but the effort is deserving of mention. The Exposition had hardly closed in 1901 when Frank H. Goodyear, who had already presented many animals to the Zoo including the famous elephant, "Big Frank" (1900-39), proposed that an adequate zoological garden be erected on the model and scale of New York City's Bronx Zoo and the newer one in Cincinnati.

Goodyear demonstrated his earnestness by inviting over 100 of those who might be interested to inspect the Cincinnati zoo at his expense. He conducted them there in four railroad sleeping cars, where they were received with delight by city officers and the officers of the streetcar company, which had bought the zoo and was operating it because it made good business for them. Goodyear's friends came back in a state of euphoria and made their pledges to pay for Buffalo's new zoo; a site was chosen between the Casino and Delaware Avenue, and momentary objection to it from B. C. and D. P. Rumsey ended in their assent and a subscription of $50,000; and a request to incorporate a Zoological Society went forward to the State Legislature.

This was January 1902; the project was dead in May. Even the certainty of gifts of $250,000 to build the zoo wrought no ecstasy in the Legislature, where the Erie County

delegation sourly rejected the humiliating provision that the City maintain the zoo on Legislative mandate. When this was removed an argument began on the incorporators' insistence that admission fees be collected during three days of every week, which they argued would prevent any rise in the cost to the city (already $15,000 yearly) and benefit the subscribers, scientists, and the animals in limiting the crowds. Legislators standing for unlimited popular rights easily won this battle, whereupon the incorporators replied that they preferred not to act under such a charter.

The Zoo therefore remained with slight changes and only a very gradual enlargement for decades. It had added buffalo to sheep on the meadow in 1892, elk 1893, and branched off into bear pits 1898, seals in 1899, and an elephant in 1900. There were professional curators from 1895 and when huge mobs, up to 45,000, appeared during the Exposition year of 1901, over 100 animals were to be seen. Thereafter the fluctuations in the animal population were severe since conditions were far from ideal and vague dissatisfaction and disappointment prevented much popular notice except on the rare occasions when new cages or unusual specimens appeared. Perhaps the rarest in these many quiet years was the presentation of a Bald Eagle taken on Grand Island by Dr. H. S. Wende in 1907. He had attacked the eagle while it was killing a calf, injured it enough to make capture possible, and promptly brought it to the Zoo, trailing a cloud of injured innocence because he had been condemned for possession of a protected species of animal.

A decisive stirring began in 1931 with the incorporation of the Buffalo Zoological Society. This had been carried out because a considerable number of people had been appalled by the conditions of the Zoo—it was later possible to joke of the danger of being asphyxiated in the monkey house. But the state of finances of city government barred all action so that things became even worse before improvements began.

But when the corner was at last turned things were bettered to a degree previously unimaginable, at least since Goodyear's 1901 dream

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had faded. The Depression had sent officials everywhere in search of practicable public works to relieve the unemployed, and when President Roosevelt's New Deal began to make funds available in quantity for such purposes the Zoo was soon thought of. By 1937, over $1 million had already been spent and the Commissioner of Parks was beginning to look for donors who would provide animals to stock a greatly enlarged facility. Not only was it to be larger, but many new ideas as to maintaining animals in captivity were to be employed. Natural habitats, moats to replace bars, plenty of running water, cages large enough for birds to fly in freely, and islands were among these. Most of the design came from H. A. Fruauff, architect of the Public Works Department, the stone was quarried at the site to provide basements and deeper soil bases, and a great semicircular building was to be center of all. The cost kept rising as money kept flowing from the Federal Treasury and by the time all was finished in the summer of 1941, about $3 million had been expended.

A very capable curator, R. Marlin Perkins, took over the operation in 1938, the Zoological Society increased its efforts to collect dues from a hopefully large membership to buy animals, and many donors came forth to add to the animal population. The problems did not end. War time pressures kept maintenance appropriations nearly to nothing after food and cleaning had been provided. Perkins' special interest, the reptiles, was served by the opening of a house in 1942, but such efforts were truncating other needed services. By that year newspaper reporters were repeating themselves on the need of identification signs and the greatest other attention given the zoo were covert threats to replace Perkins with a deserving local politician, giving other political figures an opportunity for denunciations of these conspirators. Perkins evidently was aware of this and in 1944, departed for the Lincoln Park Zoo in Chicago and a considerably higher salary.

By the end of the war even a new and carefully designed set of buildings would need rehabilitation after years of no repair work, and the Zoo's did. Joseph Abgott had succeeded to the curatorship and was battling manfully to provide all that was needed as frugally as possible, but by 1948, he protested a budget reduction and openly acknowledged infestations of rats and cockroaches that dwarfed the legitimate inhabitants in numbers. The Zoological Society once more rushed into the breach and the worst was repaired. In 1950, concessions for the sale of souvenirs and refreshments were granted so that some of the costs would be retrenched, and in 1951, a miniature railroad was installed for the same purpose. Both raised scandals and the railroad ultimately departed but the concession remained.

The city government allowed $105,000 for repairs from the capital expenditures budget in 1952 but a repetition was demanded in 1956. By then 1¼ million people annually visited the Zoo, and the budget was $153,000. At the same time further refinements were demanded. In spite of the previous efforts to adjust environments to the needs of the animals, such simple requirements as perches on which the great cats could stretch themselves for exercise were lacking and the cats were ruining their feet on the concrete floors of their cages. Controversy broke out within the Parks Department but the final solutions were still in the future.

There seemed to be a more stable and permanently active Zoological Society and adequate budgets. The Society under such presidents as Professor Albert R. Shadle and Peter C. Andrews very much extended its pattern and as a result brought about regular programs of animal purchases. The Society also introduced a staff member of the Museum of Science into the Zoo operation via membership in its own Board of Directors. This was Clayton F. Freiheit. Becoming Curator in 1960, he soon achieved the most desired of all zoological achievements: a successful breeding program of the Zoo's own specimens. This not only stocked cages and furnished trading material but proved the existence of a healthful maintenance situation.

Following these developments and with easier public budgets a stable operation of the Zoo seems to have been achieved. When the Rotary Club offered to set up a Children's Zoo under the Zoological Society but within the Zoo grounds, negotiations proceeded smoothly through a necessarily complex set of requirements to complete success. Regular repair programs, sometimes quite large, have become the established thing, and a new giraffe house costing $250,000 was planned and constructed quite without serious concern. Altogether it may be concluded that the beginning phase of Zoo history has been survived.

From the foregoing it is apparent that Erie County has been consistently more receptive to the "new" in culture than most metropolitan areas of comparable size. Despite the lack of great wealth, as in Pittsburgh and Detroit, it had sufficient patrons in such families as the Knoxes, Schoellkopfs, Goodyears, Albrights, Hamlins, and Kleinhans to finance progressive institutions. Included in its population also were sufficient practitioners, connoisseurs, and Sunday visitors to provide a public for the services of the institutions and to enable them to survive two world wars and a prolonged depression. Their future today would appear assured and they form an integral part of an attractive, well-balanced society.

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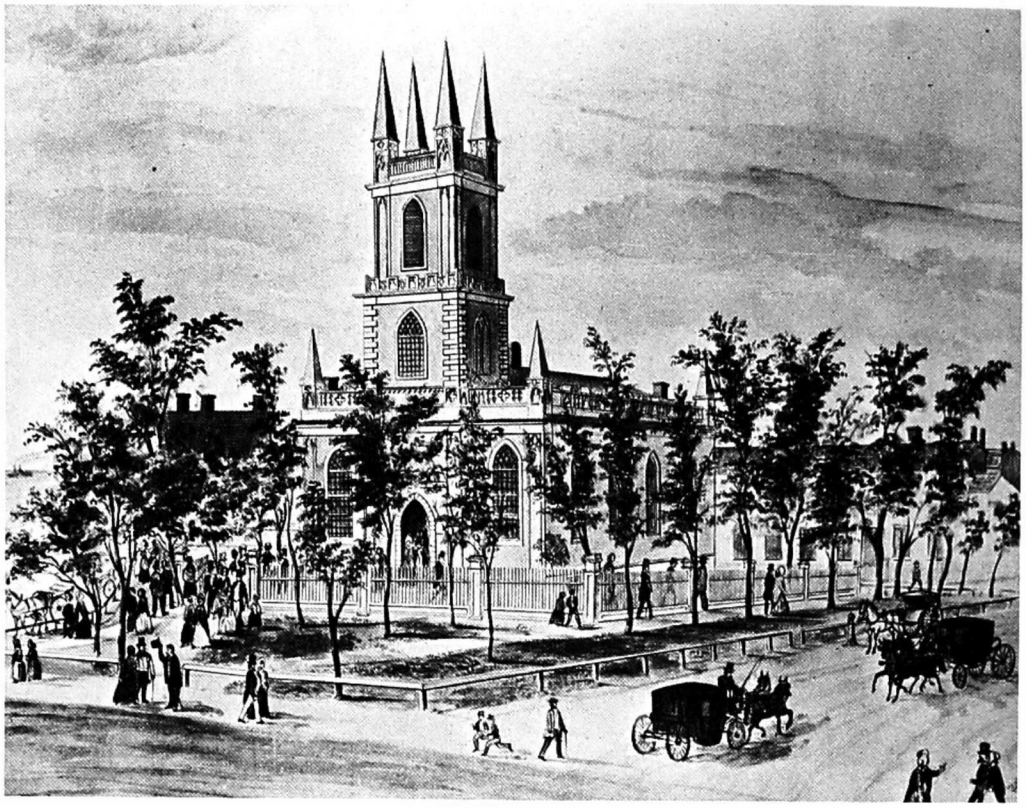
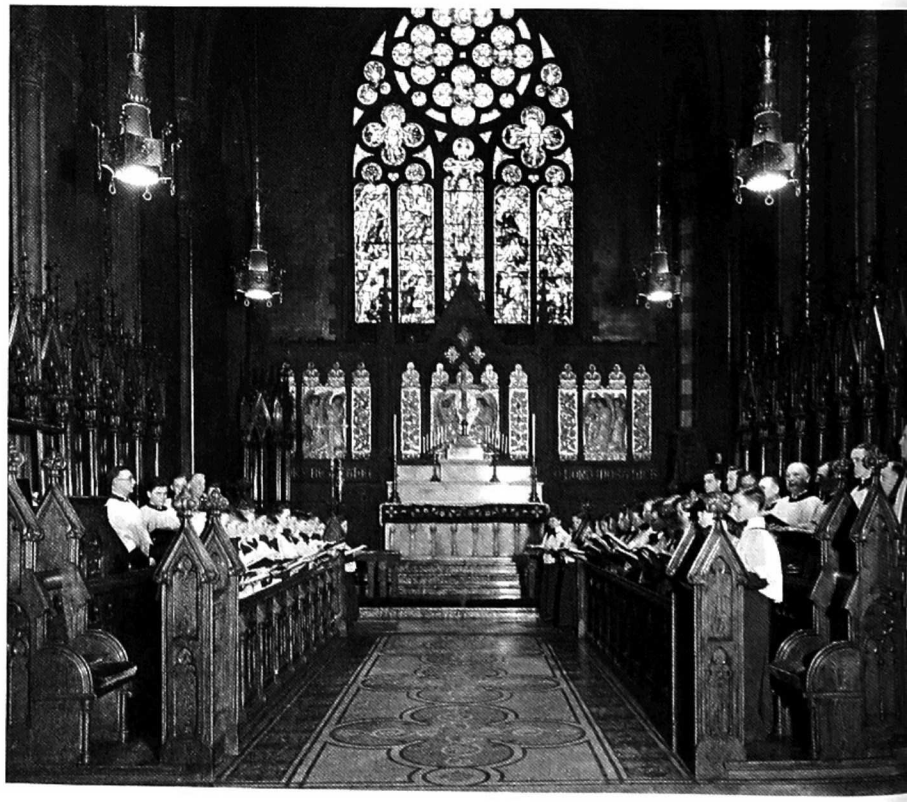


St. Paul's Church, Buffalo, 1849

Churches

St. Paul's Cathedral



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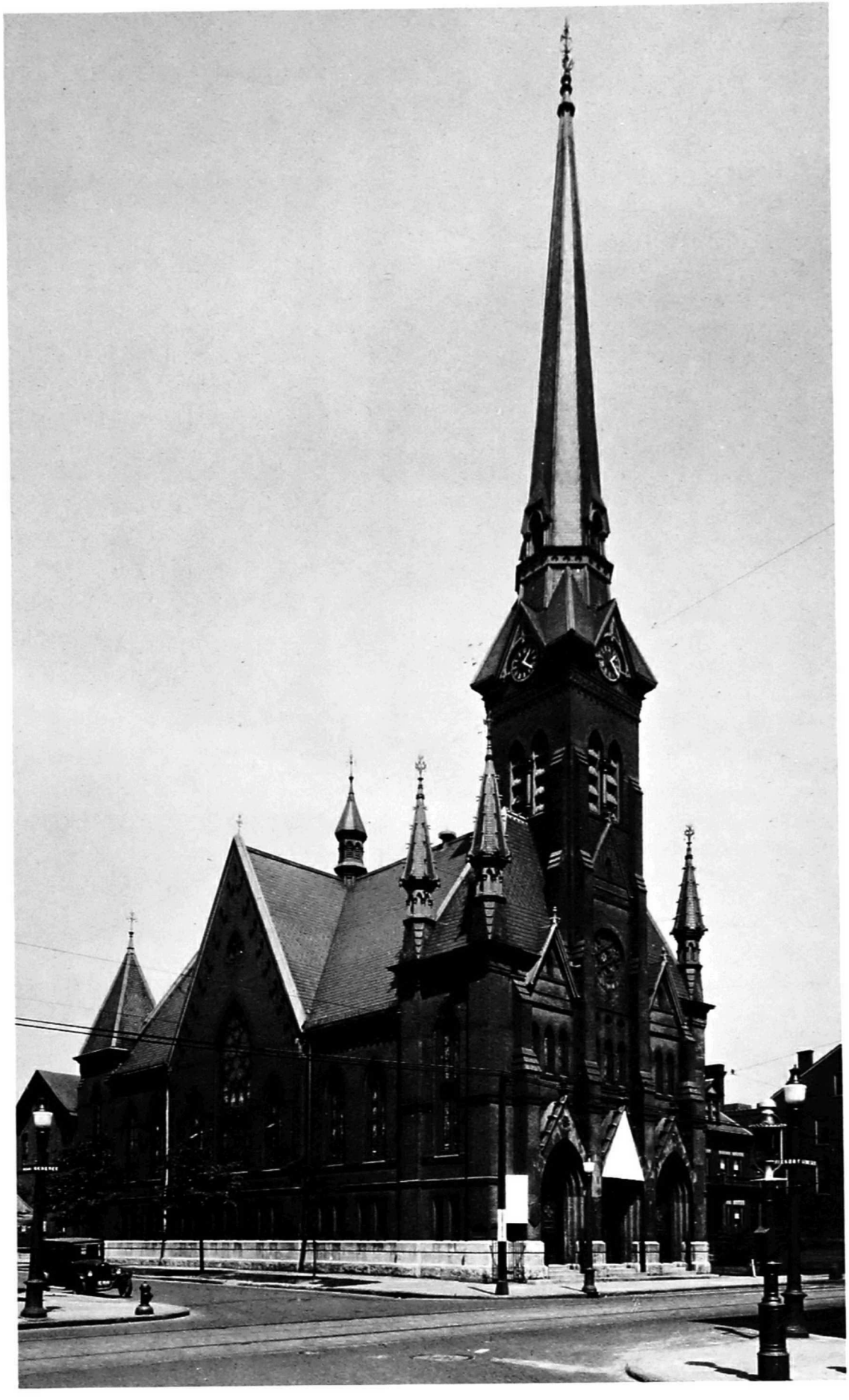

St. Peter's Evangelical Church

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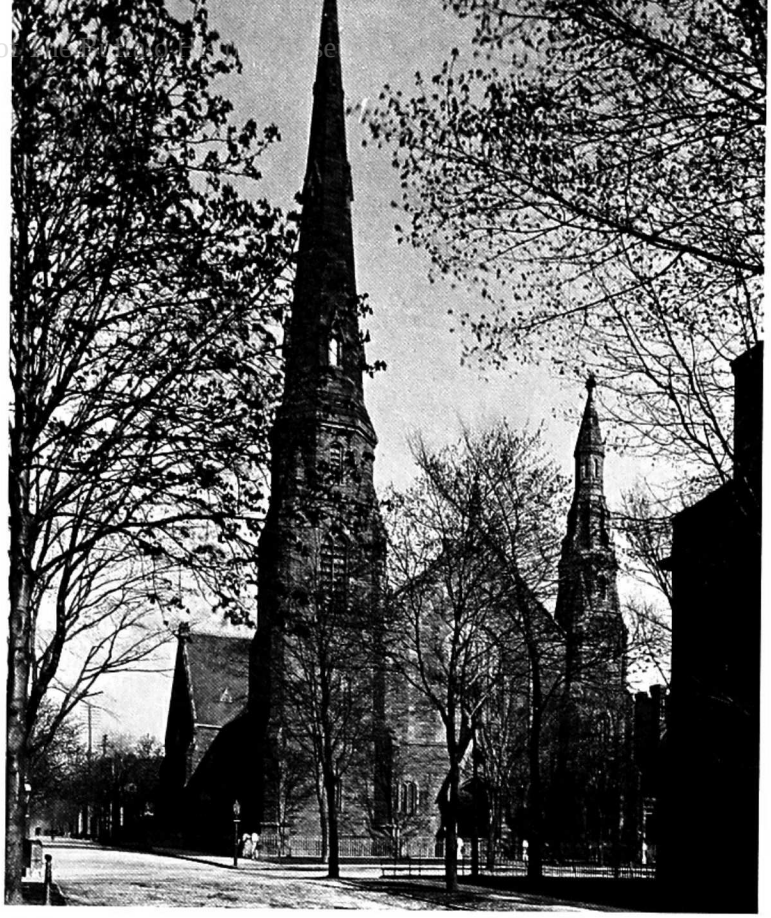
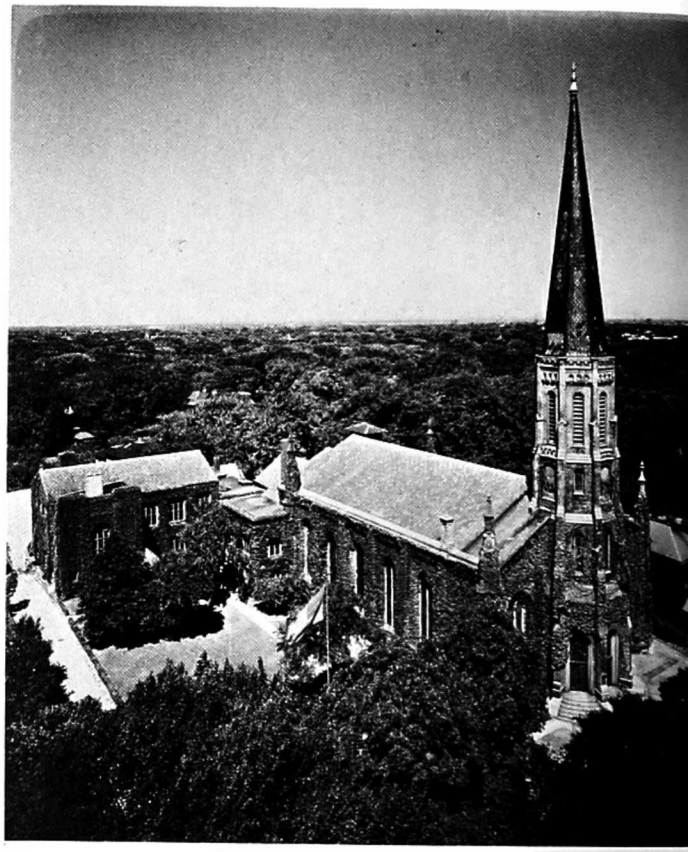
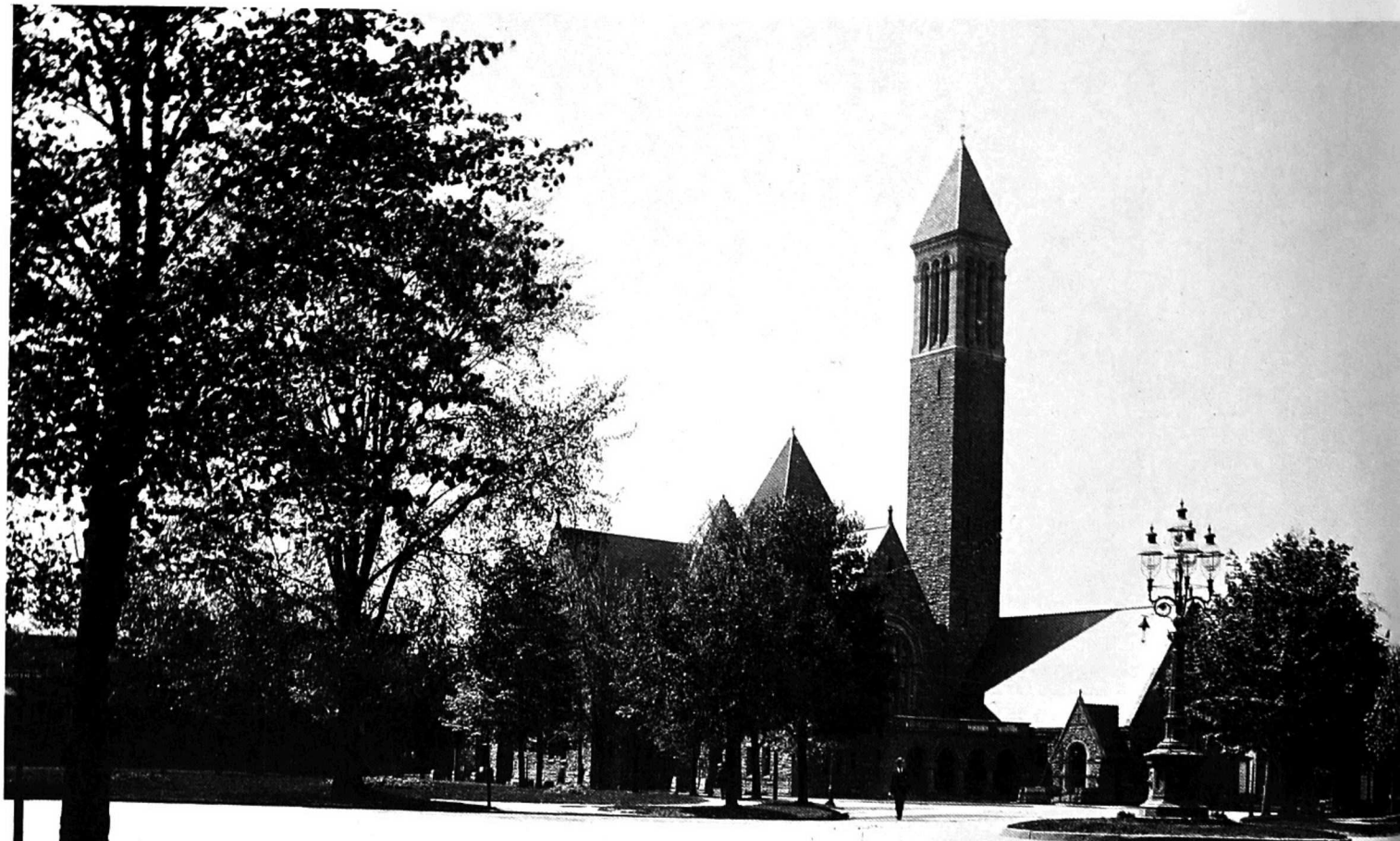


Asbury Delaware Methodist Episcopal Church, c. 1910



Westminster Presbyterian Church

First Presbyterian Church



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Delaware Avenue

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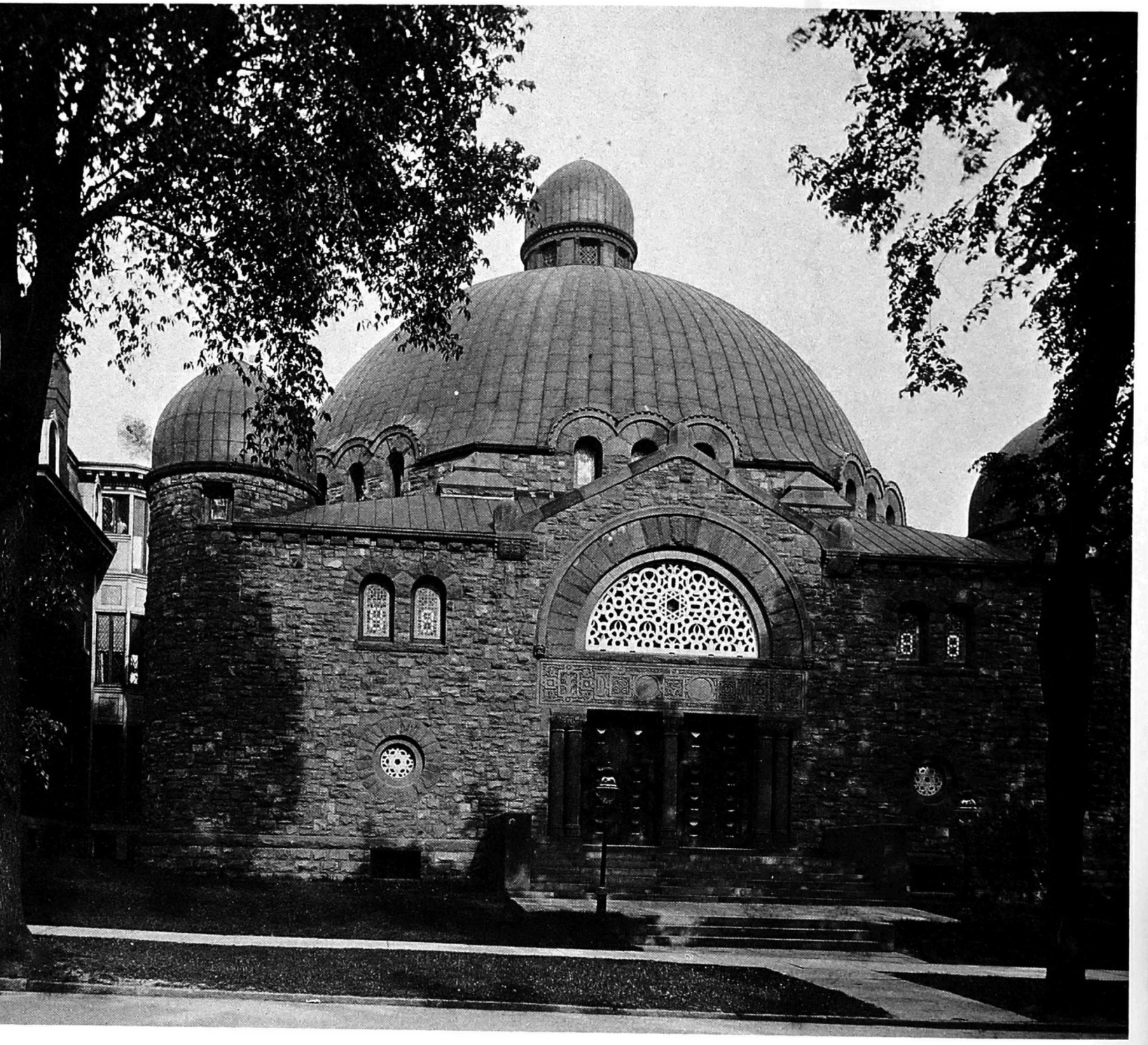

Old Temple Beth Zion

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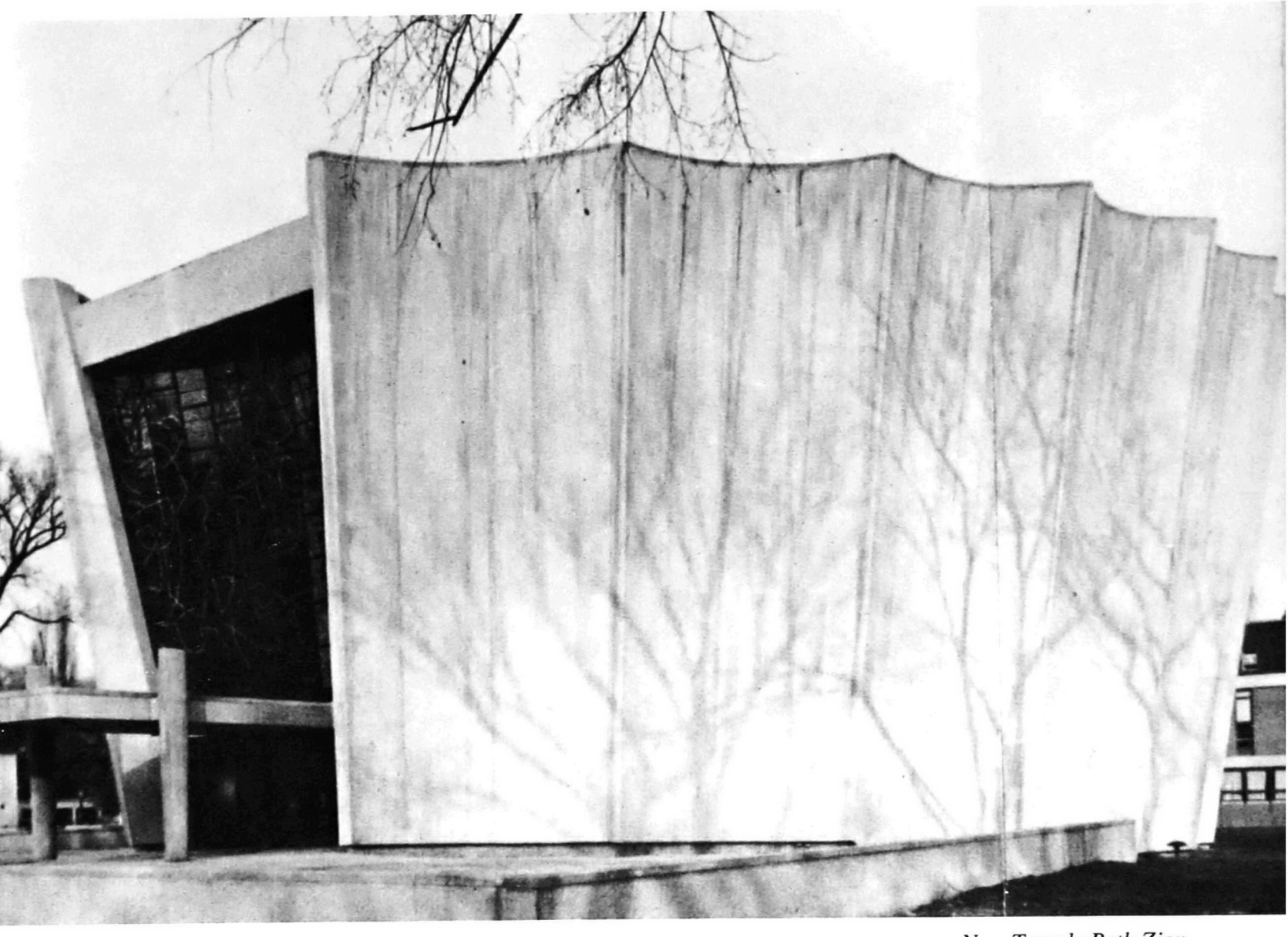
Basilica, Our Lady of Victory



New Temple Beth Zion

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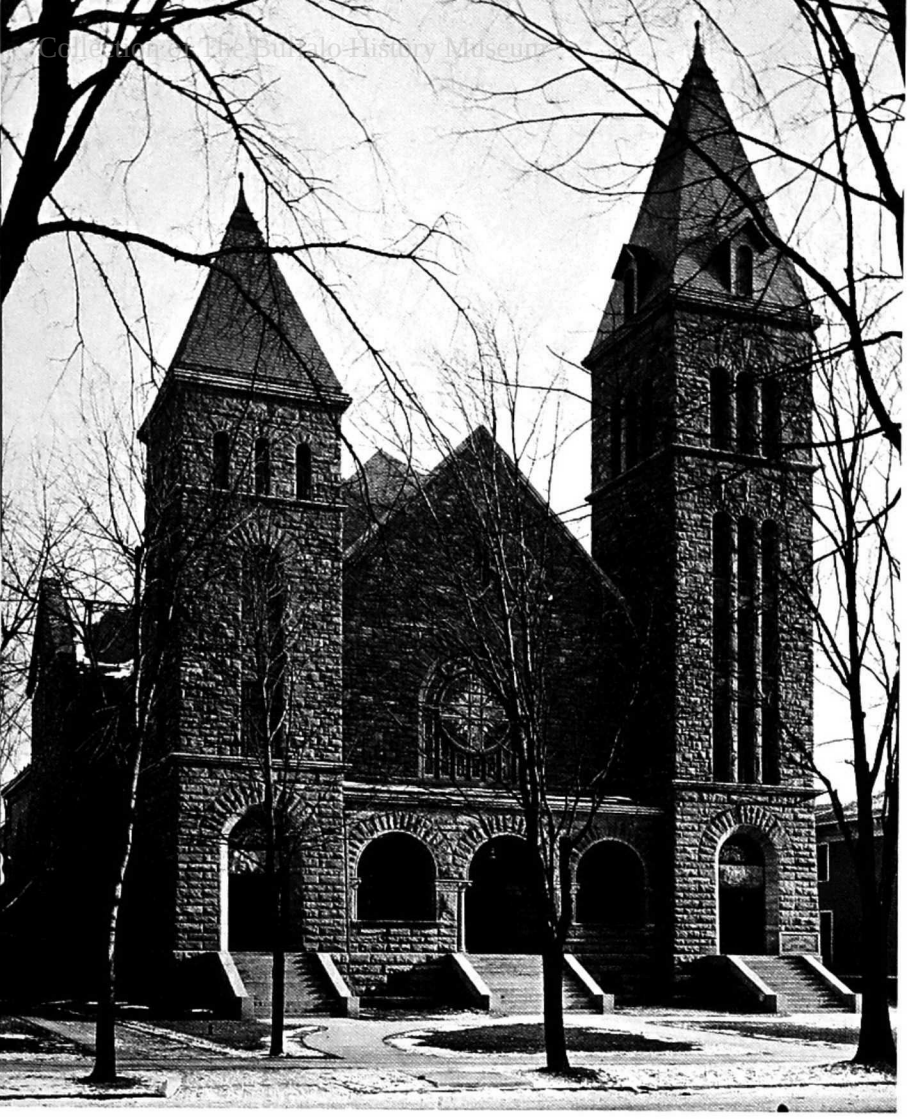

Delaware Avenue Baptist Church

S.S. Peter and Paul Russian Orthodox Church

St. Mary of Sorrows Roman Catholic Church

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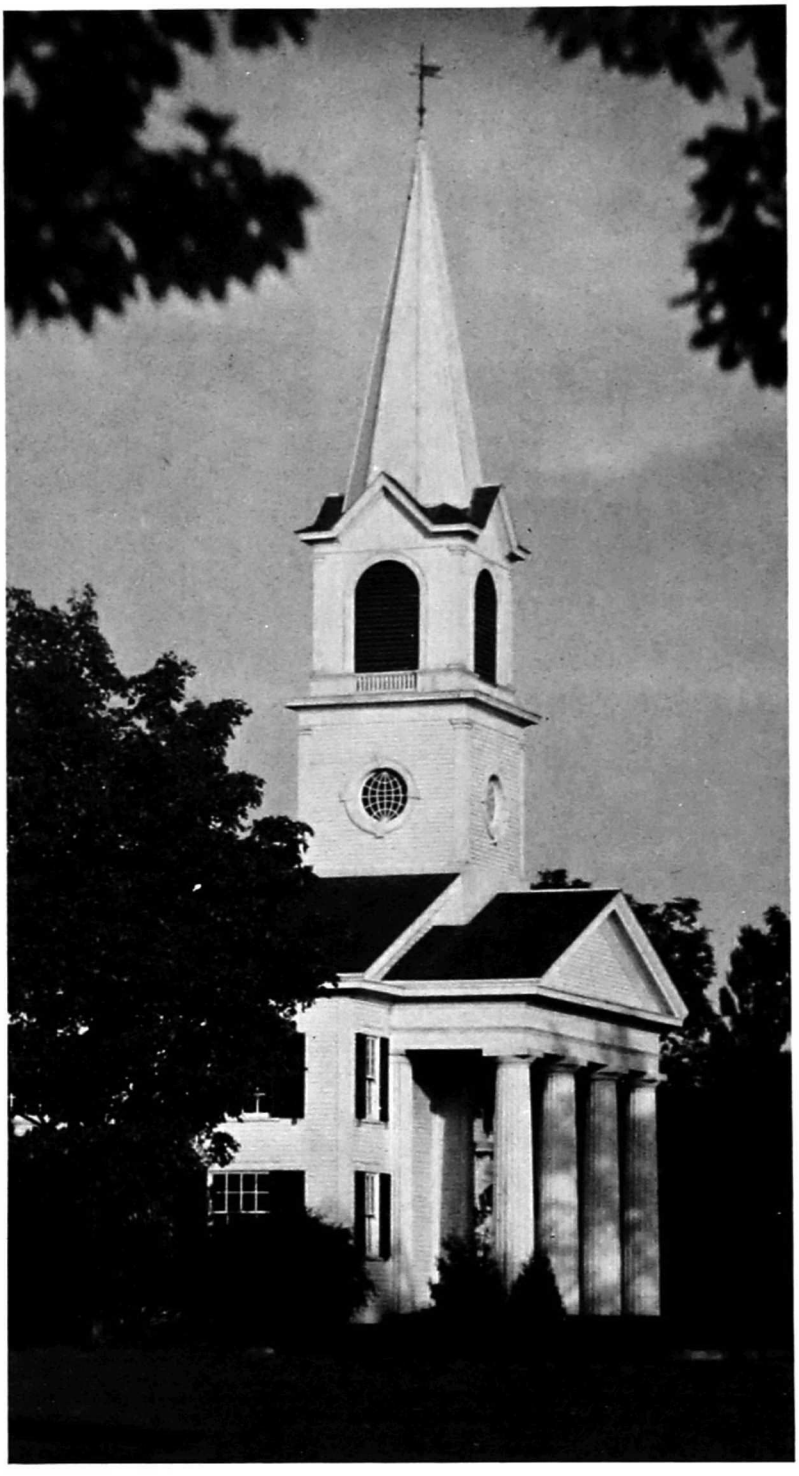
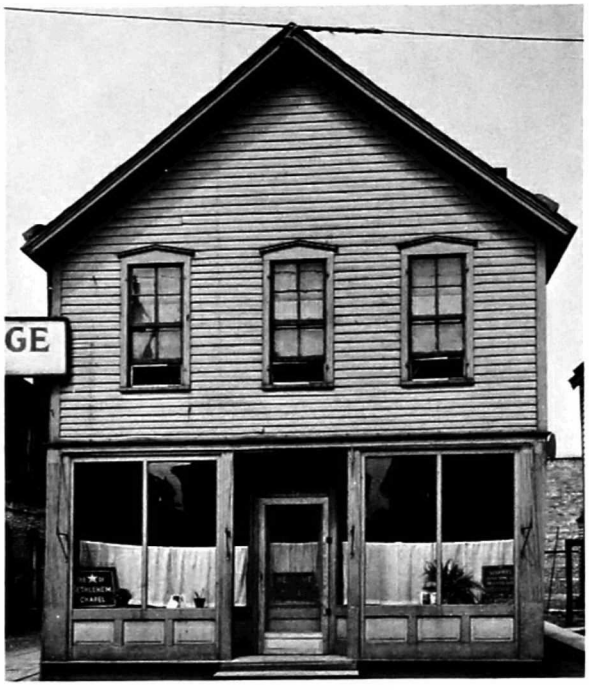


First Church of Evans, Derby, N.Y.

The Star of Bethlehem Chapel



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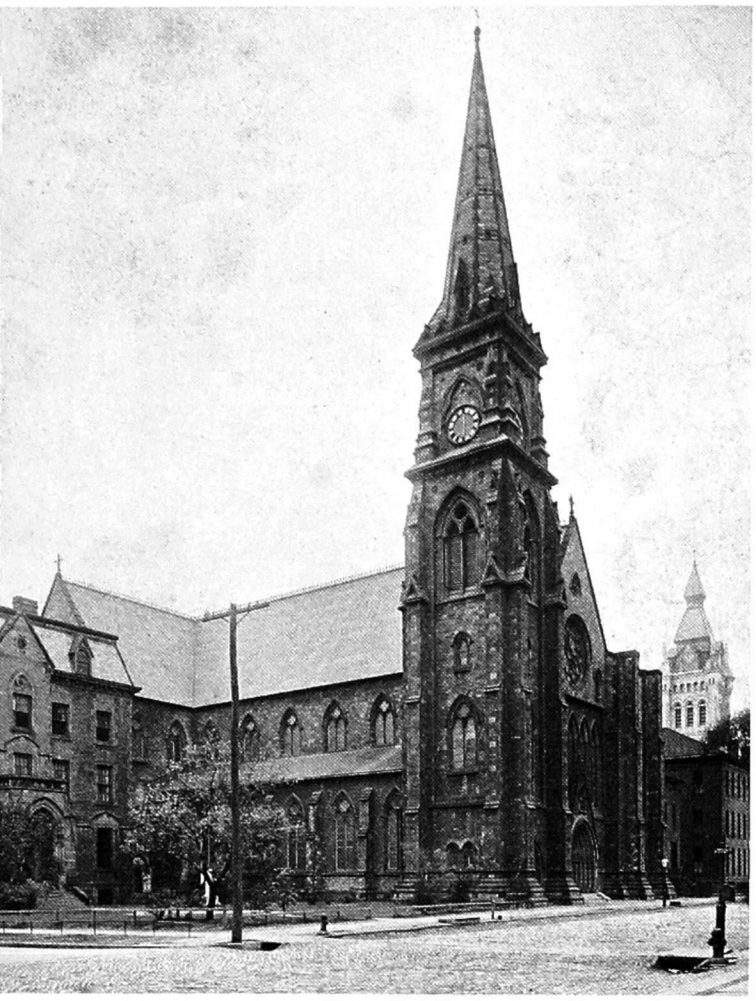
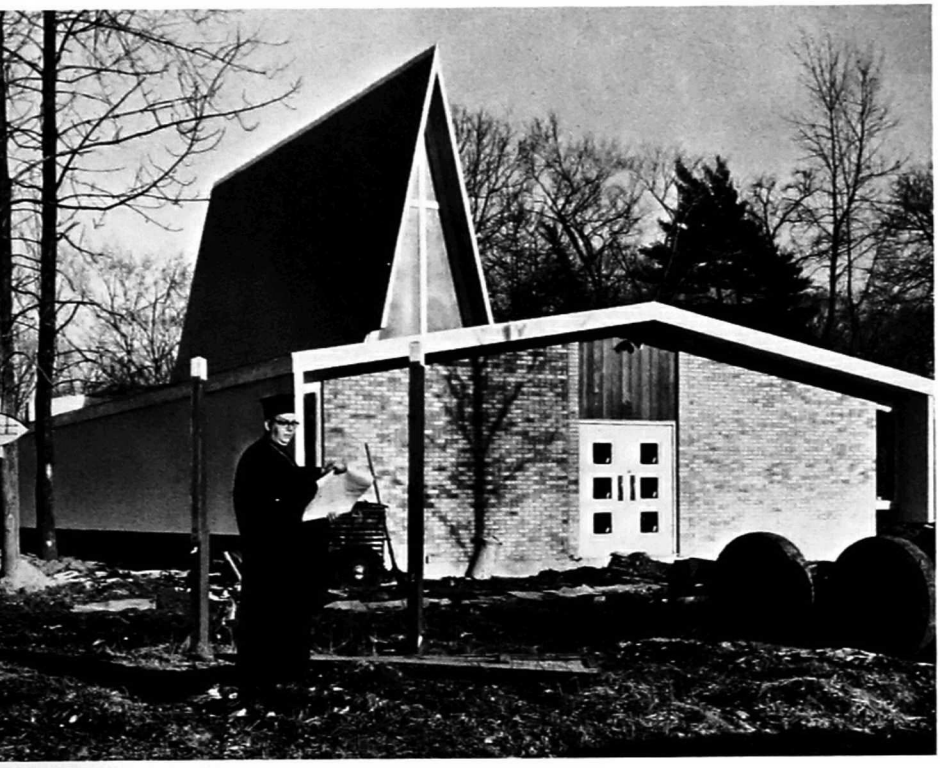


Old St. Joseph's Cathedral

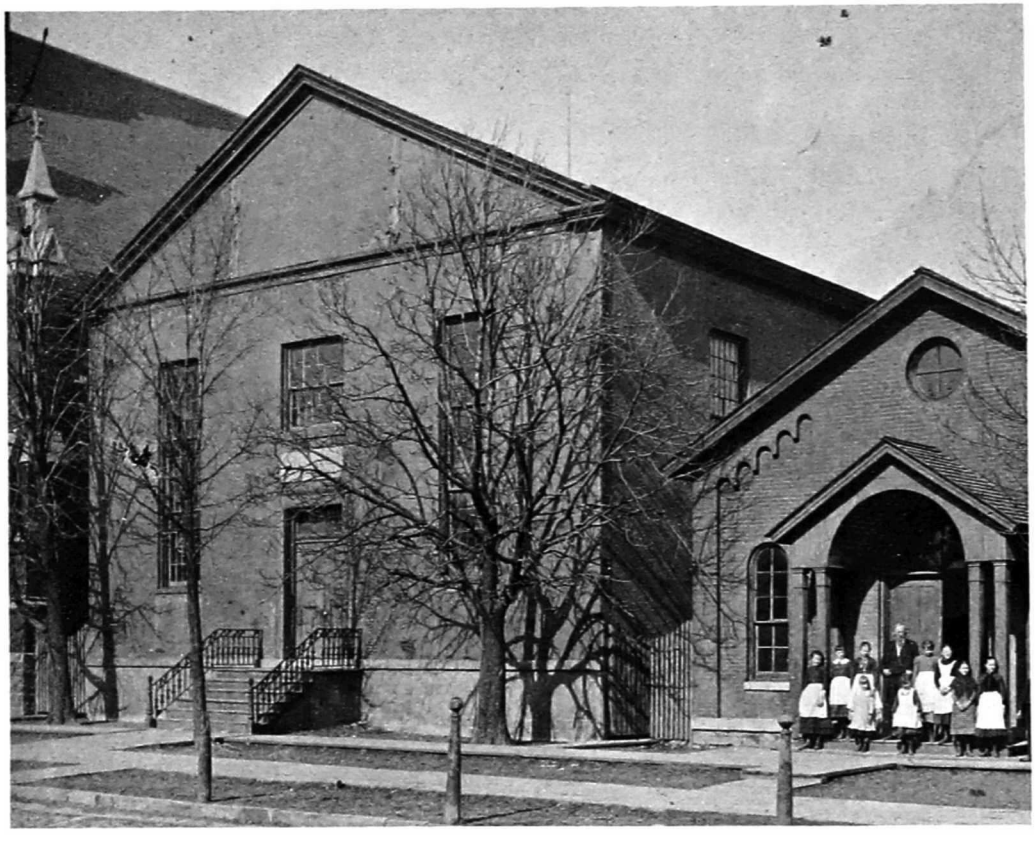
St. Louis Church

Collection of The Buffalo History Museum

St. George Orthodox Catholic Church



German Evangelical Lutheran St. John's Church and Schoolhouse, built 1835, taken down 1888.



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